Ætatis Suæ. 65. Octob: 10. 1664.

All that thou seest and readest is Divine:
Learning thus vs'd is water turn'd to wine:
Well may wee then despaire to draw his minde
View heere the case; ith Booke the Jewell finde.

P: V: A: M. fecit.

Sould by Wilt Miller at the Gilded Acorn in St. Pauls Churchyard. Croſs ſculpſit.

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THE

LIVES & DEATHS

OF SUCH

WORTHIES

Who by their PRUDENCE, POLICY, and POWER have purchaſed, and procured to themſelves the Surnames of

GREAT

Whoſe Names are ſet down in the following Page.

By *Sa. Clarke* ſometime Paſtor in St. *Bennet Finck* London.

LONDON,

Printed by *A. M.* for *William Miller* at the Guilded Acorn in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door, 1665.

Nebuchadnezzar the *Great.*
Cyrus the *Great.*
Artaxerxes Mnemon one of the Great Emperours of *Persia.*
Alexander the *Great.*
Epaminondas the Great Captain of the *Thebans.*
Hannibal the Great Captain of the *Carthaginians.*
Pompey the *Great.*
Julius Cæsar, *Augustus Cæsar* } Both well deserving the Name of *Great.*
Life of *Christ*,
Herod the *Great.*
Charles the *Great.*

THE

LIFE & DEATH

OF

POMPEY

the Great.

With all his Glorious Victories and Triumphs.

AS ALSO

The LIFE and DEATH

OF

ARTAXERXES MNEMON,

One of the Great

PERSIAN EMPEROURS.

By *Sa. Clarke* sometime Pastor in St. *Bennet Finck* London.

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THE LIFE & DEATH OF POMPEY THE GREAT.

SExtus Pompeius Magnus, the Father of *Pompey* was much hated by the People of *Rome*, who feared his greatnesse obtained by Armes (for he was a Noble Captain) and to shew their distast, when he was slaine by a Thunderbolt, as his Body was carrying to buriall, the People seized upon it, and did great despite unto it. But on the contrary, never any other *Roman*, besides *Pompey*, had the love of the People so soone, nor that continued constanter, both in prosperity, and adversity, than it did to him: And that which procured their love, and good liking, was his temperance in life, aptnesse

His Parentage.

His towardlyneſſe.

aptneſſe to Armes, Eloquence of ſpeech, Faithfullneſſe of his word, and Courteſy in his behaviour. He gave without diſdain, and received with great Honour: Being but a child, he had a certain grace in his look, that wan mens good wills before he ſpake. His countenance was amiable mixed with gravity; and when he come to mans eſtate, there apppeared in his geſture, and behaviour, a grave, and Princly Majeſty. His haire ſtood a little upright, and the ſweet caſt, and motion of his eyes made him very graceſull. He was ſober, and temperate in his Diet, contenting himſelf with common meates; and when once in his ſickneſſe, his *Phyſician* adviſed him to eate a *Thruſh*, and none could be gotten, a Friend told him, that *Lucullus* (a certain great man) kept them all the year, where he ſhould be ſure not to fail; he replyed, *What then? If* Lucullus *were not, ſhould not* Pompey *live?* and therewithall, letting his *Phyſicians* counſell alone, he bad them dreſſe him ſuch meat as was eaſy to be had.

His abſtinence.

Pompey being a young man, and in the Field with his Father, who was in Armes againſt *Cinna*, there lay with him in his Tent a Companion of his, called *Lucius Terentius*, who being corrupted with money, promiſed *Cinna* to ſlay *Pompey*, and other of his Confederates had promiſed to ſet their Generals Tent on fire. This conſpiracy was diſcovered to *Pompey* as he ſat at ſupper, which nothing amazed him, but he drank freely, and was merrier with *Terentus* than ordinary: But when it was bed-time, he ſtole out of his own Tent, and went into his Fathers. In the night *Terentius* went into *Pompey*'s Tent, and with his Sword gave many a thruſt into the Mattereſſe: Preſently alſo the whole Camp was in an uprore, and the Souldiers, out of hatred to their Generall, would needs in all haſt have gone, and ſubmitted to the Enemy: and *Strabo* durſt not go out of his Tent to ſpeak to them, but *Pompey* ran amongſt theſe Mutineers, and with teares in his eyes beſought them not to betray their Generall: He went alſo and threw himſelf

His courage and Prudence.

himself flat on the Ground athwart the Gate of the Camp, and told them that they should march over him if they had such a desire to be gone: whereupon, the Souldiers being ashamed of their treachery, returned to their lodgings.

He is accused.

Presently after his Fathers death, *Pompey* being his heir, he was accused for robbing the common Treasury, and in particular for taking certain toiles, and cords of Hunters nets: He confessed the having of them, and that his Father gave him them when the City of *Asculum* was taken; but that he had since lost them, when *Cinna* came to *Rome* with his Army, at which time the unruly Souldiers, breaking into his House, plundred him of all that he had. This matter had many dayes of hearing before it was determined, in which time *Pompey* shewed so much courage, and Prudence in managing of it, that he wan such credit, and favour by it, that *Antistius*, who at that time was *Prætor*, and Judge of the cause, fell into such a liking of him, that secretly he offered him his Daughter in marriage, and *Pompey* liked so well of the match, that the parties were privately made sure each to other: And not long after, through the care, and paines of *Antistius*, when the Judges came to passe Sentence, *Pompey* was cleered.

And cleered.

His marriage.

This businesse being over, *Pompey* married *Antistia*: after which going into *Cinna*'s Camp, he was wrongfully accused of some misdemeanours; whereupon, being afraid of the Tyrant, he secretly stole away; and when he could not be found in *Cinna*'s Camp, there went a rumour abroad that *Cinna* had murthered him, which so irritated some, who of a long time had hated *Cinna*, that upon this occasion, they rose up against him: But he thinking to save himself by flight, was pursued by a Captain with a drawn Sword; *Cinna* seeing him, fell down on his knees to him, and profered him his Signet Ring, which was of great price, to spare his life: *Tush* (said the Captain) *I come not to seal any Covenant, but to be revenged*

venged upon a Villaine, and cruel Tyrant, and withall ran him through and slew him.

Cinna slaine.

Cinna being thus dispatched, *Carbo* took upon him the Government, a more cruel Tyrant than the former: And after him, *Sylla* succeeded; and at this time the *Romans*, being grievously oppressed by one Tyrant after an other, thought themselves happy in the change of Governours. For their City was brought into such misery, as hoping no more to see *Rome* recover her lost liberty, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage.

Carbo succeeds.

And *Sylla.*

In *Sylla's* time *Pompey* was at a place in *Italy* called *Picenum*, in the Marches of *Ancona*, where he had certain Lands, but much more the love and favour of the Citizens for his Fathers sake. He seeing that the most Noble men of *Rome* forsook their Houses, and estates to repair to the camp of *Sylla*, as unto a place of safety, he also resolved to go thither, yet not in a base manner, like a Fugitive, but purposed to raise an Army, and to go in an Honourable manner as one that could doe *Sylla* good service. So he made tryall of the good will of the *Picentines*, who readily joyned with him, and whereas there was amongst them one *Vindius*, who opposed *Pompey*, saying, *That a Boy that came from School but the other day, must now in hast be a Captain*, the rest of the Citizens were so incensed against him, that they ran upon him and slew him.

Thus *Pompey* being but twenty three years old, not tarrying for Commission from any man, took upon himself Authority, and causing a Tribunall to be set up in the mid'st of the market place of *Auximum*, a great, and Populous City, he commanded the two Brethren, called the *Ventidians* (the chiefest men of the City, but his enemies) presently to avoid the City: Then began he to leavy men to constitute Captaines, Leiutenants, Sergeants, and such other Officers as appertain to an Army. And from thence he went to the other neighbouring Cities, where he did the like, so that in a short

space

ſpace he had gotten three compleat Legions together, as alſo Amunition, Carts, and all other neceſſaries for them.

Pompey raiſed an Army,

In this ſort did *Pompey* advance towards *Sylla*; not in haſt, as a man that was afraid to be met with by the way, but by ſmall Journeyes, lodging ſtill where he might have the beſt advantage againſt an enemy, cauſing the Cities whereſoever he came to declare againſt *Carbo*, and for *Sylla*. Yet three Captains who adhered to *Carbo*, *Carinna*, *Celius*, and *Brutus*, did in three ſeverall places compaſſe him in on every ſide, thinking to have deſtroyed him. *Pompey* was nothing amazed hereat, but marſhalling his Army, he firſt ſet upon *Brutus*, having placed his Horſemen (amongſt whom himſelf was in Perſon) before the Battel of his Footmen, and when the men at Armes of his enemy (who were *Gauls*) came to charge upon him, he ſingled out the chiefeſt amongſt them, and ran him through with his Spear, and ſlew him. The other *Gauls* ſeeing their Champion ſlaine, turned their backs, and in their flight, over ran their own Footmen; ſo that at laſt they all fled for their lives.

He goes towards *Sylya*.

His danger by the way

His Victories.

Then the Cities round about, being terrified with this overthrow, came in and yeilded themſelves to *Pompey*. Afterwards *Scipio* alſo the Conſul, coming againſt *Pompey* to fight him, when the Battels were ready to joyn, before they threw their Darts, *Scipio's* Souldiers ſaluted *Pompey*, and went over to his ſide, whereupon *Scipio* was faign to fly. And laſtly *Carbo* himſelf ſending diverſe Troops of Horſe againſt him by the River *Arſis*, *Pompey* charged them ſo furiouſly, and drave them into ſuch a place of diſadvantage, that being neither able to fight nor fly, they delivered up themſelves with their Horſes, Armes, and all to his mercy.

Sylla all this while heard nothing of theſe overthrows which *Pompey* had given to his enemies, but underſtanding his danger, being environed with ſo many Armes, fearing

fearing leſt he ſhould miſcarry, he made haſt, and marched to his relief.

He meets *Sylla.*

Pompey being informed of *Sylla*'s approach, commanded his Captaines to Arme themſelves and to ſet their Army in good array, that their Generall *Sylla* might ſee how bravely they were appointed. For he expected that *Sylla* would do him great honour, as indeed he did, even beyond his expectation: For when *Sylla* ſaw him afar off, coming towards him, and his Army marſhalled in ſuch good order of Battell, and his men ſo bravely advancing themſelves, being elated with their late Victories, he alighted from his Horſe; and when *Pompey* came to do his duty to him, and called him Emperour, or Soveraigne Prince, *Sylla* reſaluted him with the ſame Title, which made all that were preſent to wonder that he would give ſo honourable a name to ſo young a man as *Pompey* was, who as yet was not made a Senator: Conſidering alſo that *Sylla* himſelf did now contend for that Title, and Dignity with *Marius*, and *Scipio*. The intertainment alſo that *Sylla* gave him afterwards, was every way anſwerable to the firſt kindneſſe that he ſhewed him. For when *Pompey* at any time came to him, he would riſe up, and put off his Cap to him, which he did not to any other Noble man that was about him: Yet was not *Pompey* puffed up with all this, nor the prouder for it.

Sylla honours him.

Shortly after *Sylla* would have ſent *Pompey* into *Gaul* (now *France*) becauſe that *Metellus*, the *Roman* Generall there, was thought to have done no exploit worthy of ſo great an Army as he had with him: But *Pompey* anſwered, that there was no reaſon to diſplace an ancient Captain that was of greater fame, and experience then himſelf, *Yet* (ſaid he) *if* Metellus *himſelf be contented, and will deſire it of me, I will willingly go, and help him to end this War.* *Metellus* being informed hereof, wrote for him to come.

His modeſty.

Pompey then entering *Gaul*, did of himſelf wonderfull exploits, and ſo revived the courage, and valour

of

of old *Metellus*, that the War prospered exceedingly in their hands: But these were but *Pompey's* first beginnings, and were wholly obscured by the luster of those many Wars, and great Battels which he fought afterwards.

His acts in *Gaul.*

When *Sylla* had over come all *Italy*, and was proclaimed *Dictator*, he rewarded all the great Captains, and Leiutenants that had taken his part, and advanced them to honourable places, and Dignities in the Commonwealth, freely granting whatsoever they requested of him; But for *Pompey*, highly esteeming him for his Valour, and thinking that he would be a great support to him in all his Wars, he sought by some meanes to ally him to himself, *Metella*, his Wife being also of the same opinion, they both perswaded him to put away his Wife *Antistia*, and to marry *Æmilia*, who was Daughter to *Metella* by a former Husband, though she was married to an other, and now with child by him. These marriages were wicked, and Tyrannicall, fitter for *Sylla's* time, than agreeable to *Pompey's* nature, and condition. And truly it was a shamefull thing for *Pompey* to forsake his Wife *Antistia*, who for his sake, a little before had lost her Father, that was murthered in the very Senate House upon suspition that he took part with *Sylla* for his Son *Pompey's* sake: and to take *Æmilia* from her lawfull Husband, by whom she was great with child, and to whom she had been married not long before: which also caused the Mother of *Antistia* to lay violent hands upon her self, seeing her Daughter to receive such open and notorious wrong. But God who hates such Injustice, and cruelty, followed *Pompey* with this Judgement, that his Wife *Æmilia* died miserably presently after in childbirth in his House.

His second marriage.

Tyrannicall proceedings

About this time newes was brought to *Sylla*, that *Perpenna* was gotten into *Sicilie*, and had brought all that Island into subjection to him, where he might safely intertain all *Sylla's* enemies: That *Carbo* also kept the Seas thereabouts with a certaine number of Ships: That *Domitius*

mitius was gone into *Africk*, to whom reforted many other Noblemen who were efcaped from the proſcriptions and outlaries of *Sylla*.

He is ſent into *Sicily*.

Againſt all theſe was *Pompey* ſent by his Father in Law with a great Army, who no ſooner was arrived in *Sicily* but *Perpenna* fled, and left the Iſland to him. Then did *Pompey* deale friendly and favourably with all the Cities which before had endured great troubles and miſery, and ſet them again at liberty, the *Mamertines* only excepted, whod welt in *Meſſina*: they deſpiſing his juridiction and Government, pleaded the ancient priviledges of the *Romanes* which had been formerly granted unto them. But *Pompey* anſwered them angerly, *What do you prating to us of your Law that have our Swords by our ſides?* He dealt alſo too cruelly with *Carbo* in his miſery; for he might have killed him in hot blood when he firſt fell into his hands with leſſe blame: But *Pompey*, when he was taken, cauſed him to be brought before him, though he had been thrice Conſul, and to be publickly examined, ſitting himſelf in his Tribunall, and condemned him to die in the preſence of them all, to the great diſtaſt, and offence of all that were preſent: Yet he bad them take him away to execution, which was done accordingly.

And conquers it.

His cruelty.

Pompey dealt as cruelly alſo with *Quintus Valerius*, a man of rare parts, and excellent Learning, who being brought to *Pompey*, he took him aſide, and walked a few turns with him, and when he had learned what he could of him, he commanded his Guard to take him away and diſpatch him. *Pompey* indeed was compelled to make away all *Sylla*'s enemies that fell into his hands: But for the reſt, all that he could ſuffer ſecretly to ſteale away, he willingly connived at it, and would not take notice of it, yea, himſelf did help many to ſave themſelves by flight.

Pompey had determined to have taken ſharp revenge of the City of the *Himerians*, who had ſtoutly taken the enemies part: But *Stheneis*, one of the Governours of the City,

City, craving audience of *Pompey*, told him boldly, that he should doe great injustice if he should pardon him, who was the only offender, and destroy them who were not guilty. *Pompey* then asking him who he was that durst take upon himself the offence of them all? *Sthenis* answered, *That it was himself who had perswaded his Friends, and compelled his enemies to do what was done*: *Pompey* being much pleased to hear the frank speech, and boldnesse of the man, he forgave both him, and all the Citizens.

His Prudence.

After this *Pompey* being informed that his Souldiers did kill divers in the high-wayes, he caused all their Swords to be sealed up, and whose seal soever was broken, he punished them soundly for it.

He passes into *Africk*.

Pompey being busy about these matters in *Sicily*, he received instructions, and a Commission from *Sylla*, and the Senate at *Rome*, to depart thence immediately into *Africk*, with all his power to make War against *Domitius*, who had a very great Army. *Pompey* accordingly speedily prepared to take the Seas, leaving *Memmius*, his Sisters Husband, to Govern *Sicily*, and so imbarking in sixscore Gallies and eight hundred other Ships, wherein he transported his Victuals, Ammunition, Money, Engines for Battery, and all other his Warlike provision, he hoised Saile, and landed one part of his Army at *Utica*, and the other at *Carthage*, and presently after his landing, there came to him seven thousand Souldiers from his enemies to take his part, besides seven whole Legions that he brought with him.

His great Victories there.

Against him came *Domitius* with his Army in Battell array: but before him there was a Quagmire, that ran with a very swift streame, very hard to get over; Besides, it had rained exceedingly all that morning, so that *Domitius* judging it impossible then to fight, bad his men to trusse up and be gone. *Pompey* on the other side, spying this advantage, caused his men to advance, and coming upon the enemy, who was now out of order, had a cheap Victory over them, wherein he slew about seven-

teen thousand of them, whereupon he was by his Souldiers saluted with the name *Imperator*, or Emperour, but he told them he would not accept of that honourable Title, so long as he saw his enemies Camp yet standing, whereupon they ran presently and assaulted it, and took it by force, and slew *Domitius* therein.

After this overthrow, all the Cities in that Country, came and submitted to *Pompey*, and those that refused were taken by force. They took also King *Jarbas*, who had sided with *Domitius*, and gave his Kingdom to *Hiempsal*. But *Pompey* being desirous further to imploy his Army, he went many dayes journy into the maine Land, conquering all whersoever he came, making the power of the *Romans* dreadfull to those Barbarous Nations, who before made small acount of them. He caused also the Wild Beasts of *Africk* to feel his force, bestowing some dayes in hunting of Lyons, and Elephants: And in fourty dayes he conquered his enemies, subdued *Africk*, and setled the affaires of the Kings, and Kingdoms of that part of the Country, being then but twenty four years old.

He is commanded to disband his Army.

Pompey being returned to *Utica*, he received Letters from *Sylla*, willing him to discharge his Army, and to retain only one Legion with himself till the comming of another Captain that was to succeed him in the Government of that Country. This grieved him not a little, though he made no shew of it at all: But the Souldiers were much offended at it, and when *Pompy* prayed them to depart, they gave out broad speeches against *Sylla*, and told him directly that they were resolved not to leave him whatsoever became of them, and that they would not leave him to trust to a Tyrant.

His Souldiers love to him.

Pompey seeing that he could not prevaile with them, rose out of his seat, and went into his Tent weeping: But the Souldiers followed him, and brought him again to his Chaire of State, intreating him to remaine there, and command them, and he desired them to obey *Sylla*, and to leave their mutinies. In fine, he seeing they were resolved to presse him, swore that he would

would kill himself rather then they should compel him, yet scarce did they leave him thus.

Hereupon it was reported to *Sylla* that *Pompey* was rebelled against him: which when he heard, he said to his Friends, *Well, I see then that it is my destiny in my old age to fight with children.* This he said, because of *Marius* the yonger, who had done him much mischief, and had greatly endangered him. But afterwards, understanding the truth, and hearing that all generally in *Rome* would go to meet *Pompey*, and receive him with all the honour they could, he resolved to go beyond them all in shew of good will: wherefore going out of his House to meet him, he embraced him with great affection, and welcomed him home, calling him *Magnus* that is Great, and commanded all that were present to give him that Name also.

His returne into *Italy*.

Sylla honours him.

After this *Pompey* required the honour of a Triumph, which *Sylla* opposed, affirming that this honour should be granted to none but to such as had been Consuls, or at least *Prætors*: He told him also, that if he should stand for it he would oppose him. *Pompey* was not discouraged herewith, but boldly told him, *That all men did honour, not the setting, but the rising Sun.* *Sylla* heard not well what he said, and therefore enquired, and when it was told him, he wondred at the Confidence of so young a man, and cryed out twice, *Let him then Triumph on Gods Name.* Yet many were offended at it, but *Pompey* to anger them more, would be brought in his Triumphant Chariot drawn by four Elephants, many of which Beasts he had taken from the Kings, and Princes whom he had subdued: Howbeit the Citie Gates being too narrow for them, he was faign to leave his Elephants, and to be drawn in with Horses.

His first Triumph.

Now his Souldiers that had not all they looked for, nor that was promised to them, sought to hinder his Triumph, which being reported to him, he said, *That he would rather lose all his preparations, than be forced to flatter them.* He might have been made a Senator if he had sought after

ter it, but in that he did not, being so young, it pleased the People exceedingly, especially when after his Triumph they saw him still amongst the *Roman* Knights: On the other side *Sylla* was much vexed to see him come so fast forward, and so soon to rise to so great credit: yet being ashamed to hinder him, he suppressed it, till *Pompey*, contrary to his mind, brought in *Lepidus* to be Consul, through the good will of the People that furthered his desire. Hereupon *Sylla* seeing *Pompey* returning crosse the Market place after the election, with a great train of followers, he said to him, *O young man! I see thou art glad of this Victory, and so thou hast cause: for questionlesse its a brave thing that through the favour of the People thou hast brought in* Lepidus (*the vilest person of all other*) *to be Consul, before* Catulus *the honestest man in the City: But let me advise thee to look well to thy self, for thou hast advanced one that will be a dangerous enemy to thee.*

Sylla envies him.

The People love him.

Sylla also discovered his ill will to *Pompey*, in that when he made his Will, he gave Legacies to every one of his Friends, and left *Pompey* wholly out: yet did *Pompey* take it well enough, and whereas *Lipidus*, with some others, after *Sylla*'s Death, would have kept his Body from being buried in the field of *Mars*, and from Funerall solemnities, *Pompey* prevailed to bury him honourably.

Sylla's Death.

Shortly after *Sylla*'s Death, his Prophesy to *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus* proved true; For *Lepidus* openly usurping the power which *Sylla* had, raised an Army of those of *Marius* his faction, whom *Sylla* had hitherto suppressed, which put *Pompey* upon his best skill, and experience; For which end he presently took part with the Nobility, and the honester part of the People, by whom he was imployed to raise an Army against *Lepidus*, who had already the greatest part of *Italy*, and by the help of *Brutus*, kept *Gaul* on this side the Mountaines: the rest, *Pompey* easily subjected to himself, only he was somewhat long in besieging *Brutus* in *Modena*. During which

Pompeys Wars with *Lepidus*.

which time, *Lepidus* brought his Army to the Gates of *Rome*, demanding his second Consulship, which much affrighted the People: But they were soon comforted by a Letter which *Pompey* sent, wherein he informed them that he had ended his Wars without bloodshed. For *Brutus* had yeilded himself to *Pompey* who had slaine him.

Shortly after, *Lepidus* was driven out of *Italy* into *Sardinia*, where he fell sick, and died. At this time *Sertorius* was in *Spain*, who kept the *Romans* in great awe, being a valiant Captain, and one to whom all the Fugitives resorted. He had already overthrown many inferiour Captaines, and was now grapling with *Metellus Pius*, who in his youth had been a Noble Souldier, but now being old, and too wary, he neglected many opportunities, which *Sertorius*, by his dexterity took out of his hands.

Hereupon *Pompey* keeping his Army together, endeavoured, by the help of his Friends, to be sent into *Spain*, as an assistant to *Metellus*: and at last, by the endeavour of *Lucius Philippicus*, he obtained the Government of that Country.

When *Pompey* was arrived in *Spain*, *Sertorius* gave out bitter jeers against him, saying, *That he would use no other weapons against that young Boy but Rods*: and that, *if he were not affraid of the old women*, meaning *Metellus*, *much less was he afraid of him*. Yet for all these brags, he stood better upon his guard, and went stronger to fight than he did before, being afraid of *Pompey*. In this War the successe was very various, yet nothing grieved *Pompey* more than *Sertorius* his winning the City *Lauron*. Yet shortly after in a set Battel, neat the City of *Valentia*, he slew *Herennius*, and *Perpina*, both gallant Souldiers, and Lieutenants to *Sertorius*, with ten thousand of their men. This Victory so encouraged *Pompey*, that he hasted to fight with *Sertorius* himself before *Metellus* came to him, that he might have the sole Glory of the Conquest. So they both met by the River of *Sucron*, in the evening, both

He got into *Spain*.

His Wars there.

both fearing the comming of *Metellus*, the one that he might fight alone, the other that he might fight with one alone. But when it came to triall, the Victory fell out doubtfull, for either of their wings had the upper hand: *Sertorius* wan great honour in this Battell, bearing all before him whereſoever he went: and *Pompey* encountering a great man at Armes, cut off one of his hands, yet he eſcaped by turning up his Horſe with very rich capariſons amongſt *Pompey*'s followers, and whileſt they were contending about the Horſe, he eſcaped.

The next morning very early, both the Generals brought their Armies again into the Field, to confirme the Victory, which either of them ſuppoſed that he had gotten: But *Metellus*, comming to *Pompey* at that preſent, *Sertorius* retreated, and diſperſed his Army. *Pompey* going to meet *Metellus*; when they came near, he commanded his Sergeants, and Officers to put down their bundles of Rods, and Axes which they carried before him, to honour *Metellus* the more, being a better man than himſelf: But *Metellus* would not ſuffer it, but in every thing made *Pompey* his equall, only when they Camped together, *Metellus* gave the watch word to all the Army.

Sertorius with a running Army, cut them ſhort of Victuals, ſpoiling the Country, and keeping the Sea-ſide, ſo that they were foced to divide themſelves and to goe into other places for proviſion. *Pompey* in the mean time having ſpent moſt of his eſtate in this War, ſent to *Rome* for money to pay his Souldiers, threatening that if they would ſend him no money, he would return with his Army into *Italy*. *Lucullus* being now Conſul, though he was *Pompey*'s enemy, yet procured the money for him, that himſelf might the better prevaile to be ſent againſt King *Methridates*: for he feared that if *Pompey* returned into *Italy*, he would procure to have that imployment.

In the mean time *Sertorius* died, and *Perpenna*, who was the chiefeſt man about him, ſupplied his room. But though

though he had the same Army, the same meanes, and the same power, yet had he not the same wit, and skill to use it. *Pompey* therefore marching directly against him, quickly discovered his insufficiency, and laid a bait for him, sending ten Troops to prey in the fields, commanding them to disperse themselves abroad, which accordingly they did, and *Perpenna*, took the opportunity, and charged upon them, and had them in chase, but *Pompey* tarrying for them at a Foord, was ready with his Army in good order, gave them battell, and obtained the victory, and thus ended all the War: For most of the Captaines were slaine, and *Perpenna* himself taken Prisoner, whom he presently put to Death. *Perpenna* shewed to *Pompey* Letters from the greatest Noblemen of *Rome*, who were desirous of change of Government, willing him to return into *Italy*. But *Pompey* fearing that they might occasion great commotions in *Rome*, put *Perpenna* presently to Death, and burned all the writings, not so much as reading any one of them.

His Victory.

His Prudence.

Pompey after this, remained in *Spain* till he had pacified all tumults, and then went with his Army back into *Italy*, and arrived just when the War of the Bondmen and Fencers, led by *Spartacus*, was in the greatest fury. Upon *Pompey*'s comming, *Crassus* being sent Generall against them, made haste to give them battell, wherein he overcame them and slew twelve thousand and three hundred of these fugitive slaves. Yet Fortune intending to give *Pompey* some part of the honour, five thousand of these Bondmen, who escaped from the battell, fell into his hands, whom he overcame, and wrote to the Senate at *Rome*, that *Perpenna* had overcome the Fencers in battell, and that he had plucked up this War by the roots. The *Romans* receiving these Letters, were very glad of the newes for the love which they bore to him. Yet for all the great honour and love they did bear to him, they suspected, and were afraid of him, because he did not disband his Army, fearing that he would follow *Sylla*'s steps, and rule over them by force: Hereupon as many

His return into *Italy*.

His victory over the Fencers.

went forth to meet him out of fear, as out of good will. But when he told them, that he would disband his Army so soon as he had Tryumphed, then his ill-willers could blame him for nothing, but that he inclined more to the People than to the Nobles; and because he desired to restore the Tribuneship to the People, which *Sylla* had put down.

His favour with the People.

Indeed the common People at *Rome* never longed for any thing more than they did to see the Office of the Tribunes set up again: and *Pompey* was very glad that he had such an opportunity, thereby to ingratiate himself with them, and to requite the love which they had shewed to him. This was the second Tryumph, and the first Consulship which the Senate decreed to *Pompey*, which made him neither the greater, nor the better man. Yet was it such an Honour, as *Crassus* (the richest, greatest, and eloquentest man in *Rome*) durst not demand before he had requested *Pompey*'s good will therein: And truely *Pompey* was very glad of the request, having of a long time sought an opportunity whereby to gratifie him, and therefore he made earnest suit to the People for him, assuring them that he would as much thank them for making *Crassus* his fellow-Consul, and Colleague, as he would for making himself Consul.

Yet when *Pompey* had obtained his request, and they were both created Consuls, they were in all things contrary one to the other, and never agreed in any one thing whilest they ruled together: *Crassus* had the more authority with the Senate, and *Pompey* with the People: for he restored to them the Office of Tribunes, and passed by Edict, that the Knights of *Rome* should have power again to Judg in Causes both Civil and Criminall. This wonderfully pleased the people, when himself came in Person to the Censors, and pray'd that he might be dispensed with for going to the Wars.

At this time *Gellius* and *Lentulus* were the Censors, who being honourably set in their Tribunal seats, taking a view of all the *Romane* Knights that mustered before them,

them, they marvelled when they saw *Pompey* comming, with all the Ensignes of a Consul borne before him, and himself (as other Knights did) leading his Horse by the bridle: and when he came neer, he commanded the Sergeants that carried the Axes before him, to make room for him to pass by the Barrs with his Horse, where the Censors sate. This made the People to flock about him, wondring and rejoycing with great silence: the Censors themselves also were marvellous glad to see him so obedient to the Law, and did him great reverence. Then did the elder of the Censors examine him thus; *Pompey* the Great, *I pray thee tell me, if thou didst serve so long in the war as the Law doth appoint?* *Pompey* answered aloud, Yes verily have I done, & that under no Captain but my self. The People hearing this, shouted aloud for joy, and the Censors themselves came down from their seats, and accompanied *Pompey* to his House, to please the great multitude that followed him, clapping their hands for joy. His Humility.

At the end of their Consulship, grudges growing higher between *Crassus* and *Pompey*, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, a Knight, who till then had never spoken in the publick Assembly: He getting up into the Pulpit for Orations, told the People openly, that that night *Jupiter* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell both the Consuls from him, that they should not leave their Office before they were reconciled together: Yet for all this *Pompey* stirred not: But *Crassus* took him by the hand, and spake thus before the People; *My Lords! I think it no dishonour to me to give place to* Pompey, *sith you your selves have thought him worthy to be called* the Great, *before he had any haire on his face, and to whom you granted the honour of two Triumphs before he came to be a Senator.* Having thus spoken, they were reconciled together, and so gave up their Office.

Crassus after this, retired to his former manner of life, and *Pompey*, as much as he could, avoided pleading mens causes in publick, and by degrees withdrew himself from frequenting the Market-place, and came seldom abroad,

His pride.

but when he did, he had alwayes a great traine following him. It was a rare thing to see him to be familiar with any one, or to come abroad but with a great company of attendants.

The power of the Pirats.

The power of the Pirats upon the Seas began in *Cilicia*, of which at first there was no great account made, till they grew bold and venturous in King *Methridates* Wars, being hired to serve him: and when the *Romans* engaged in Civill Wars at home, they neglected looking after them, which made them more audacious. For they did not only rob and spoil all Marchants by Sea, but plundred Islands, and Cities upon the Sea-coast, insomuch as men of great Nobility, and Wealth joyned with them, and they set up store-houses in divers places, and had Beacons to give warning by fire all along the Sea-coasts, which were well watched: they had also great Fleets of Ships well furnished, with excellent Galliots, skilfull Pilots, and Marriners: their Ships were swift of Sail, and Pinnaces for discovery. All the Sea-coast over there was Musick, singing, and rioting amongst them: Prizes were daily brought in, Persons of quality taken prisoners, and put to great ransome. Their Ships were a Thousand in number, and they had taken four hundred Towns. They had Spoiled and destroyed many Temples that had never been prophained before. They had many strange Sacrifizes and Ceremonies of Religion amongst them, and besides all other insolences and injuries which they did the *Romans* by Sea, they often went on Land, and plundred and destroyed their Country Houses; and once they took two *Roman Prators* in their purple Robes, with their Sergeants and Officers, and carried them quite away. At another time they surprised the Daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had the honour of a Tryumph) as as she was walking in the Fields, and put her to a great Ransome. And further to dispite the *Romans*, when they had taken any of them, and they told them that they were Citizens of *Rome*, they would cloath them

them like *Romans*, and putting out the Shipladder they would bid them be gone to *Rome*, and if they refused they would throw them overboard, and drown them.

These Pirats had all the *Mediterranean* Seas at their command, that a Marchant durst scarce look out, or traffique any whether. This moved the *Romans* (fearing a famine by their means) to send *Pompey* to recover the Dominion of the Seas from them. The first man that moved that *Pompey* might not only be made Admirall at Sea, but have absolute power to command all Persons whatsoever without giving any account of his doings, was *Gabinius*, *Pompey's* Friend: which was done accordingly, and absolute authority was given unto him, not only of the Seas, but for the space of four hundered Furlongs from the Sea, within which compasse were many great Nations, and mighty Kings. It gave him power also to choose out of the Senate fifteen Leiutenants, and to give to every of them severall Provinces in charge, and also to take money out of the Treasury to defray the charges of a Fleet of two hundred Saile, with full power besides to leavy what men of War he thought good, and as many Galliots, and Marriners as he pleased.

Pompey sent against them.

His large Commission,

This Law was confirmed by the People. Yet the Nobility, and chiefe Senators thought that this authority did exceed, not only all envy, but that it gave them apparent cause of fear to give such unlimited power to a single Person: whereupon they were all against it but *Cæsar*, who promoted it, not so much to favour *Pompey*, as to ingratiate himself with the People. But the Noblemen fell out with *Pompey*, and one of the Consuls was very hot with him, told him that he sought to follow *Romulus* his steps, but peradventure he would come short of that end he made: This so provoked the People that they had thought to have killed him: But *Catulus*, a worthy man, spake also against this Edict, yet spake much in the praise of *Pompey*, and in conclusi-

on,

on, aviſed the People not to adventure a man of ſo great account in ſuch dangerous Wars; *For* (ſaid he) *if you chance to loſe him, whom have ye then to put in his place?* The People cried out, *Your ſelfe.* After this, ſeeing how the People were bent, he ſpake no more.

His Policy.

Next after him *Roſcius* would have perſwaded them to have ſent an other with *Pompey* as his Colleague, but the People made ſuch an outcry againſt him, that a Crow flying over the Market place fell to the Ground. Upon the day when the Decree was to be fully paſſed, *Pompey* went forth of the City, and when he underſtood that it was confirmed, he returned the ſame night privately, to avoid the envy they would have borne him if the People ſhould have flocked in multitudes to have waited on him home.

The next morning he came abroad, and Sacrificed to the Gods, and audience being given him in a publick meeting, he ſo handled the matter that they much inlarged his power, almoſt doubling the preparations, which were at firſt Decreed to him. For it was ordained that he ſhould have five hundred Ships, one hundred and twenty thouſand Footmen, and five thouſand Horſemen. He choſe alſo twenty four Senators, all of them having been Generals of Armies, and two Generall Treaſurers. Whileſt theſe things were preparing, the price of Victuals fell, which rejoyced the People much, and they ſaid openly, that the very Name of *Pompey* had almoſt ended the War already.

His Victorics over the Pirates.

Pompey divided all the Sea into thirteen Diviſions, and in each of them he appointed a certain number of Ships, and a Leiutenant over each of them: and by thus diſperſing his Navy all abroad, he brought all the Pirates Ships that were in a Fleet within his danger, and when he had taken them, he brought them all into an Harbour. But ſuch of them as could eſcape, fled into *Cilicia*, as the ſureſt place of retreat: Theſe *Pompey* would needs follow in his own perſon with ſixty of his beſt Ships:

Ships: Yet went he not till he had ſcowred the *Tuſcan* Seas, with the coaſt of *Libia*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and *Corſica*, of all thoſe Thieves that had wont to keep thereabouts, and this he did within the ſpace of fourty Dayes, taking infinite paines, both himſelf and his Lieutenants.

Piſo, one of the Conſuls, did all he could to hinder *Pompey*'s preparations, and ſupplies of Oare men, out of envy to his proſperity. *Pompey* being informed of it, ſent his Ships to *Brunduſium*, himſelf in the meane time paſſing through *Tuſcany* came to *Rome*; where ſo ſoon as his comming was known, the People ran out to meet him, as if he had been a long time abſent; and that which made them more joyfull was, that now Victuals came in freely out of all parts, the Seas being cleared from Pirates. *Pompey* could have had *Piſo* put out of his Conſulſhip, but would not. So having ſetled all things in quiet according to his deſire, he haſted to his Navy at *Brunduſium*, and hoiſing Sale, paſſed to *Athens*, where he landed and Sacrificed to the Gods, and ſo returned to his Ships. At his going out of the City there were two writings in his Praiſe affixed to the Gate. That within was this,

He comes privately to *Rome*.

His return to his Navy.

The humbler that thou doſt thy ſelf as man behave,
The more thou doſt deſerve the Name of God to have.

That on the outſide of the Gate was this,

We wiſht for thee, we wait for thee,
We worſhip thee, we wait on thee.

Now *Pompey* having taken many of theſe Pirates, upon their ſubmiſſion ſpared their lives, which ſo encouraged the reſt, that flying from his Captains, and Lieutenants, they came and delivered up themſelves with their Wives and children into his hands. *Pompey* pardoned all that thus came to him, and by that meanes came to have knowledge of the reſt, whom he purſued, and in the end took. The moſt and richeſt of them had conveyed

His Clemency, and wiſdome.

veied their Wives, children and goods into ſtrong Caſtles and Townes upon Mount *Taurus*, and they that were fit for ſervice, imbarked, and lay before a City of *Coraſeſium*, where they tarried for *Pompey*, and gave him Battel by Sea, and after endured a Siege by land: Yet after a while, they beſought him to receive them to mercy, yeilding themſelves, their Towns, and Iſlands, which they had ſtrongly fortified, into his hands. Thus was this War ended, and all the Pirates, within leſſe than three moneths ſpace, driven out of the Seas.

Pompey won alſo a great number of Ships, and ninety Gallies armed with Copper Spurres. As for thoſe whom he had taken (who were in number about twenty thouſand luſty men and good Souldiers) he would not put them to Death, but planted them in inland Countries in certain ſmall Townes of the *Cilicians*, that were ſcarce inhabited, who were very glad of them and gave them Lands to maintain them: and whereas the City of the *Solians* had not long before been deſtroied by *Tygranes*, King of *Armenia*, he repleniſhed it again by placing many of them there. He beſtowed others of them in the City of *Dyma* in the Country of *Achaia*, which lacked Inhabitants, and had great ſtore of good Land belonging to it, though many of his enemies greatly blamed him for it.

Before *Pompey* was choſen Generall againſt the Pirates, young *Metellus* was ſent *Prætor* into *Creet*, who finding it to be a den of theſe Thieves, he took many of them, and put them to Death: the reſt that eſcaped, being ſtraightly beſieged by him, ſent unto *Pompey*, craving pardon, and deſiring him to receive them to mercy: *Pompey* accordingly pardoned them, and wrote to *Metellus*, requiring him to give over that War, commanding the Cities alſo that they ſhould not obey *Metellus*. He ſent alſo *Lucius Octavius*, one of his Leiutenants, who entered into the Towns beſieged by *Metellus*, and fought againſt him in the behalfe of the Pirates. This act of

Pompey

Pompey procured him much ill will, for that he fought for the common enemies of the world, who had neither God nor Law, and that only to deprive a *Roman Prætor* of his Triumph, who had done such good service against them. Yet *Metellus* left not off his Wars for *Pompey*'s Letters, but having taken the Pirates, he put them to Death. His envy.

When the newes came to *Rome* that the piratick War was ended, and that *Pompey* had no more to doe, but to go from City to City to visit them, one *Manlius* a Tribune of the People, brought in another Law, that *Pompey*, taking the Army from *Lucullus*, and all the Provinces under his Government, with all *Bythinia*, which *Glabrio* kept, should go and War upon *Tygranes*, and *Mithridates*, and yet reserve in his hands all his jurisdiction, and Army by Sea in as royall a manner as he had it before, which was to make him an absolute Monarch over all the *Roman* Empire. The Senate stuck not so much at the injury offered to *Lucullus*, depriving him of the honour of his doings, and giving it to another, but that which most grieved them was, to see *Pompey*'s power established into a plain Tyranny: Hereupon they encouraged one another to oppose it to the uttermost: yet when the day came for the passing of this Law, they all drew back for feare of angring the People, and none durst oppose it: Only *Catulus* inveied against it a long time together: But say what he could, the Decree passed by the voices of the Tribes. And thus was *Pompey* in his absence, made Lord of all that which *Sylla*, with much effusion of bloud had attained to with great difficulty. His Commission much enlarged,

When *Pompey* by Letters from *Rome* was informed what Law the People had past in his behalfe, he seemed to be much grieved that such great Offices, and charges should be laid upon him one in the neck of another, and clapping his hand on his thigh he said, *O Gods! shall I never see an end of these troubles? Had it not been better for me to have been a meane man, and unknowne, than thus* His Dissimulation.

continually to be ingaged in War? What! shall I never see the time, that breaking the neck of spite, and envy against me, I may yet once in my life live quietly at home in my Country with my Wife and Children. His Friends that were about him were much displeased with this his deep dissimulation, knowing that his ambitious desire to rule made him glad at heart to be thus imployed, the rather because of the contention between him and *Lucullus*, which his deeds forth with discovered.

His Pride. Hereupon he sent forth his Precepts into all quarters, requiring all Souldiers immediatly to repaire to him, and caused all the Kings, and Princes within his jurisdiction to attend him, and so, going through all the Countries, he changed all that *Lucullus* had before established. He also released the penalties that were imposed upon them, and took from them all the favours that *Lucullus* had granted them.

Lucullus finding himself so hardly dealt with, Friends on both sides mediated a meeting betwixt them, that they might talk together, and accordingly they met in *Galatia*, having their Sergeants, and Officers with Rods wreathed about with Lawrell carried before them, which shewed that *Pompey* came to take *Lucullus*'s honour from him. Indeed *Lucullus* had been Consul before *Pompey*, and was the older man, yet *Pompey* exceeded him in Dignity, having Triumphed twice. At their first meeting they discoursed very courteously, each commending the others deeds, and each rejoicing at the others good successe: but at parting they fell to hot words; *Pompey* upbrading *Lucullus*'s covetousnesse, and *Lucullus Pompey*'s ambition, so that their Friends had much ado to part them.

He crosses *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* when he was gone, divided the Lands in *Galatia* which he had conquered, and bestowed other gifts upon them. *Pompey* on the other side, Camping hard by him, commanded the People every where not to obey him: He took his Souldiers also from him, leaving him only sixteen hundred, choosing out such as

as he thought would do him small service. He blemished his glory also, telling every one that *Lucullus* had fought only with the shadow and pomp of those two Kings, and that he had left him to fight with all their force, and power. *Lucullus* on the other side said, that *Pompey* went only to fight with such as himself had subdued, and that he sought the honour of Triumph over *Armenia*, and *Pontus*, as he had formerly practiced to Triumph for overcoming a few Slaves and fugitives.

Lucullus being now gone, *Pompey* sent strong Garrisons into all the Sea coast from *Phœnicia* to the *Bosphorus*, and then marched towards *Mithridates*, who had in his Camp thirty thousand Footmen, and two thousand Horsemen, yet durst he not fight, but encamped upon an high Mountain till he was forced to leave it for lack of Water. He was no sooner gone but *Pompey* seized upon the place, and setting his Souldiers to dig, he found Water enough for all his Army. Then he encamped round about *Mithridates*, besieging him in his owne Camp: *Mithridates* endured it fourty five dayes, and then slaying all the sick and impotent in his Camp, with the choise of his Army he escaped by night. His Wars with *Mithridates*.

Another time *Pompey* found him by the River *Euphrates*, and lodged hard by him. *Mithridates* prepared, suspecting that *Pompey* would that night storm his Camp; but *Pompey* thought it not safe to fight in the dark, and therefore resolved rather to encompasse him that he might not fly, and to fight him in the morning: but *Pompey*'s old Captains would needs fight presently, which *Pompey* at last consented to; and the *Romans* ran upon them with great cries, which so affrighted their enemies, that they presently turned their backs and fled, so that the *Romans* slew ten thousand of them, and took their Camp. *Mithridates* himself with eight hundred Horse then, made a lane through the *Romans*, and so escaped. Yet as soon as they were passed, his men dispersed, some

one way, some an other, that himself was left with three Persons only, whereof *Hypsicratea* a valiant woman was one, who never left him, but always rode on his Horse, being armed after the *Persian* manner, till he came to a strong Castle called *Inda*, where was store of Gold, and Silver, and the Kings chiefest Treasure. Here *Methridates* divided all his richest Apparel amongst his Friends, and to each of them a mortall poison to carry about them, whereby they might prevent falling into their enemies hands alive.

He builds a City.

Pompey built a City in the place where he gained this Victory betwixt the Rivers of *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, situate in *Armenia* the Lesse, which he called *Nicopolis*. This City he gave by the consent of his Souldiers, to such of them as were old, lame, sick, wounded, or disbanded: to whom many of the Neighbours after wards repairing, the *Nicopolitans* lived after the manner of the *Cappadocians*.

Methridates flight.

From hence *Methridates* had intended to have gone into *Armenia*, but King *Tigranes* prohibited it, and promised an hundred Talents to him that could kill him. Passing therefore by the head of *Euphrates*, he fled through the Country of *Colchide*: In the mean time *Pompey* invaded *Armenia*, being sollicited thereto by *Tigranes* the younger, who rebelled against his Father, and met *Pompey* at the River of *Araxes*, which falleth into the *Caspian Sea*. Then did *Pompey* and he march forward, taking in such Towns as yielded unto them. *Tigranes*, who had been much weakned by *Lucullus*, understanding that *Pompey* was a mild and gentle nature, he put his Souldiers into Garrisons, and himself with his Friends, and Kinsmen went to meet *Pompey*. When he came neer his Camp, being on Horseback, there came two Sergeants to him commanding him to alight, which he did accordingly, and put off his sword and gave it them, and when he came before *Pompey* he shamefully fell upon the ground, and imbraced his knees: but *Pompey* took him by the hand, raised him up, and made him sit

Base flattery.

down

down by him on the one side, and his Son on the other, saying to them both, *As for your former losses you may thank* Lucullus *for them, who hath taken from you* Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, *and* Sophena, *but for what you have left till my comming, you shall enjoy it, paying to the* Romans *six thousand Talents, for the wrong you have done them: Provided also that your Son shall have* Sophena *for his part.*

Tigranes accepted of the Conditions, whereupon the *Romans* saluted him King, and he gave great summes of money amongst the Army: But his Son was much discontented, and when *Pompey* sent for him to come to Supper with him, he refused, wherefore *Pompey* imprisoned him, and kept him to be led in his Triumph at *Rome*.

Shortly after *Phraates*, King of *Parthia*, sent Ambassadors to desire this young Prince who was his Son in Law, and to tell *Pompey* that *Euphrates* must be the uttermost bounds of his Conquest. *Pompey* answered, that *Tigranes* had more right to his Son than *Phraates*, & as for limiting his borders, he would do it with justice. So leaving *Afranius* to keep *Armenia*, he passed by other Nations that inhabited about the Mountaine of *Caucasus*, having *Mithridates* in chase. Two of the chiefest of these Nations were the *Iberians*, and the *Albanians*, neere to the *Caspian* Sea. These upon his request, suffered him to passe through their Countries. But Winter hasting on apace, these Barberous People raised an Army of fourty thousand fighting men, and passed over the River of *Cyrnus*. *Pompey* could have hindered their passage, but yet let them come over, and then fought with them, and overcame them, and slew multitudes of them in the Field, whereupon they submitted, and made peace with him.

His War with the *Albanians*

Then *Pompey* went against the *Iberians*, who took part with *Mithridates*. They were more and better Souldiers than the *Albanians*: they were never subject to the *Medes*, and *Persians*, nor to *Alexander* the Great.

And *Illyrians*

These

These *Pompey* overcame also in a bloudy fight, and slew nine thousand of them, and took ten thousand Prisoners. From thence he went into the Country of *Colchide*, where *Servilius* met him by the River of *Phasis*, with his Fleet with which he kept the *Pontick* Sea: He found it a hard work to pursue *Methridates* any further, who had hid himself amongst a People that bordred upon the Lake of *Maotis*. He heard also that the *Albanians* had rebelled, wherefore he went back to be revenged on them, passing over the River of *Cyrnus* again, yet with much difficulty, because the Barbarous People had made a defence on the further side, by felling, and laying many Trees across all along the Banck of the River: and when he was got over, he was to travel through a dry Country a great way before he came to any Water, whereupon he caused ten thousand Goats skins to be filled with water, and so marched over it. At the River *Abas* he met with his enemies, who had now an Army of one hundred and twenty thousand Foot men, and ten thousand Horsemen, but Armed only in Beasts skins. Their Generall was *Cosis*, the Kings Brother. In the Battel this *Cosis* flew upon *Pompey*, and throwing a Dart at him, wounded him in the flanck; but *Pompey* ran him through with a Lance, and slew him. Some say that some *Amazons* assisted this People against *Pompey*.

His Valour.

After this Battel *Pompey* going back to invade the Country of *Hyrcania*, as far as the *Caspian* Sea, was forced to retreat by reason of an infinite number of deadly Serpents that he met withall, wherefore he went back into *Armenia* the lesse, to which place he had many rich presents sent him from the Kings of the *Elymians*, and the *Medes*, to whom he returned courteous answers. Yet he sent *Afranius* with part of his Army, against the King of *Parthia*, who had much harrased and plundred the Country of *Tygranes*, and he drave him out.

Serpents drive him back.

His Chastity.

At this time the Concubines of *Methridates* were brought to him, but he would not touch any one of them, but

but sent them all home again to their Parents, and Friends, being most of them the Daughters of Princes, and other Noble Captains. Only *Stratonice* whom *Mithridates* loved above all the rest, with whom he had left the custody of his Castle where lay all his Treasures of Gold and Silver, was but a Singers Daughter. She delivered the Castle into *Pompey*'s hands, and besides, offered him rich and goodly presents, all which he refused, saveing such as might serve to adorne the Temples of the Gods, and that might beautifie his Triumph, leaving the rest to *Stratonice* to dispose of as she pleased. The King also of the *Iberians* sent him a Bedstead, Table, and Chaire, all of pure Gold, praying him to accept it as a token of his love, he delivered them into the Treasurers hands to be accountable for them to the State.

His self-denyall.

From hence *Pompey* went to the City of *Amisus*, where he did such things as he had before condemned in *Lucullus*, taking upon him to establish Laws, to give gifts, and to distribute such honours, as Victorius Generals used to doe when they had ended all their Wars. And this he did to gratifie twelve Barbarous Kings, and Princes, and Captains that came to him thither. Writing also to the King of *Parthia*, he gave him not that Title which others used to do, who stiled him *King of Kings*. He had also a wonderfull desire to winne *Syria*, and to passe through *Arabia* even to the *Red Sea*, that he might enlarge his Victories every way, even to the Great Ocean. As he did when he conquered *Lybia*, and in *Spain* had enlarged the *Roman* Empire to the *Atlantick* Sea; and in pursuit of the *Albanians* he went almost to the *Hyrcanian* Sea.

His Ambition.

As he passed on towards the *Red Sea*, he commanded his Souldiers, with a sufficient number of Ships to to wait for the Marchants that sailed to *Bosphorus*, and to seize upon the Victuals, and other Marchandize that they carried thither: and so passing on with the greatest part of his Army, he came to the place where he found the

His Charity.

the Bodies of the *Romans* that were slaine by *Methridates* under their Captain *Trierius*, which he caused to be honourably buried, which thing *Lucullus* had neglected to do, which made his Souldiers hate him.

His acts in *Syria*, and *Judea*.

Pompey having now by *Afranius* conquered the *Albanians* dwelling about Mount *Amanus*, he marched into *Syria*, and conquered it, making it a *Roman* Province: He conquered also all *Judea*, where he took King *Aristobulus*: He built certaine Cities there, and delivered others from bondage, sharply punishing the Tyrants in them. He also spent much of his time there, in deciding controversies, and in pacifying the contentions which fell out betwixt free Cities, Princes, and Kings. And truly if *Pompey*'s fame, and renowne was great, so was his Vertue, Justice, and Liberality, which covered many faults which his familier Friends about him did commit. For he was of such a gentle nature, that he could neither keep them from offending, nor punish them when they had offended.

Pompey's acts in *Judea*.

Whilst *Pompey* was in *Judea*, being angry with *Aristobulus*, he marched against him, *Hyrcanus* (the Brother of *Aristobulus*, who contended with him for the Kingdom) provoking him thereunto. *Pompey* understanding that *Aristobulus* was fled into *Alexandrion*, a strong and stately Castle, seated upon a high Hill, he sent and summoned him to come unto him, and *Aristobulus* being advised not to make War against the *Romans*, he came to *Pompey*: and after he had debated his Title to the Kingdom, with his Brother *Hyrcanus*, by *Pompey*'s permission he retired into the Castle again. This he did two or three times, alwayes flattering *Pompey*, out of hope to prevail in his suit. Yet *Pompey* required that he should deliver up his Castles into his hands, which he was faine to do, though he was much discontented at it, and therefore he went to *Jerusalem* with a purpose to prepare for War.

Pompey not thinking it fit to give him any time for preparation, followed him immediately, and first encamped

camped at *Jericho*, where were most excellent Dates, and Balsome, the most precious of all other Ointments, and from thence he marched towards *Jerusalem*. *Aristobulus* repenting what he had done, came and met him, promising him money, and that he would yeild up, both himself and the City in a peacable way. *Pompey* pardoned him, and sent *Gabinius* with a party of Souldiers to receive the money: Yet were they faigne to return without it: for *Aristobulus*'s Souldiers would not stand to what he had promised. *Pompey* being much provoked hereby commited *Aristobulus* into custody, and presently marched against *Jerusalem*.

He comes to *Jericho*.

Hemarches to *Jerusalem*.

The Citizens being at this time divided amongst themselves, they that stood for *Hyrcanus* were willing to open the Gates to *Pompey*: But the faction of *Aristobulus* refused, and prepared for War, because *Pompey* kept their King Prisoner: and accordingly they seized upon the Temple, and cut down the Bridge which led into the City. *Hyrcanus* and his Friends, let in the Army, and delivered over to them, both the City, and the Kings Pallace, the custody of both which, *Pompey* committed to *Pisa*, who fortified the Houses and buildings that were neere the Temple, first offering to the Besieged conditions of of Peace, and when they refused, he prepared to give a Generall assault, being assisted by *Hyrcanus* with all things needfull.

On the North side of the City *Pompey* encamped, which was the easiest to be assaulted: yet were there high Towers, and a deep ditch made with hands, besides a deep valley which begirt the Temple, and towards the City, the place was very steep when the Bridge was taken away. To overcome these difficulties, the *Romans* raised Mounts, cuting downe Trees round about, and filling up the Trench with materials which the Souldiers brought. This work proved very difficult, considering the vast depth of the Trench, and the resistance of the *Jewes*, made from above. But when *Pompey* observed that the *Jewes* rested every seventh Day (for though

The Temple besieged.

they would defend themſelves from an aſſailing enemy, yet they held it unlawfull on that day to hinder any work that the enemy did) he choſe thoſe Dayes eſpecially wherein to carry on his work: So that in time the Trench was filled, and the Tower fitted upon the Mount, and the Engins planted which ſhot huge ſtones wherewith they battered the Temple, yet was it long before thoſe ſtrong and ſtately Towers yeilded to the aſſaults of the beſiegers.

The *Romans* being much tired, *Pompey* wondred at the obſtinacy of the *Jewes*, eſpecially conſidering that all this while they never intermitted their daily Sacrifices, which the Prieſts every morning and evening offered upon the Altar, not omitting the ſame in their greateſt extremities. In the third moneth of the Siege, the greateſt Tower, being ſhaken by the battering Rams, at laſt fell, and brake down a great peice of the Wall, at which breach many of the *Romans* ruſhed into the Temple. Theſe running up and down, while ſome of the *Jewes* ſought to hide themſelves, and others made ſmall reſiſtance, ſlew them all. Many of the Prieſts, though they ſaw the enemies ruſhing in with their drawn Swords, yet being nothing at all diſmaied, continued their Sacrifices and were ſlaine at the very Altar, prefering the duty which they owed to their Religion before their own lives.

The Temple taken.

All places were full of ſlaughters. ſome of the *Jewes* were ſlaine by the *Romans*, others by their owne Countrymen that were of the contrary faction. Many threw themſelves down headlong from the Rocks: others ſetting their Houſes on fire, burnt themſelves, not enduring to behold thoſe things that were done by the enemy. Here fell twelve Thouſand of the *Jewes*, whereas of the *Romans* there were but few ſlaine, though many wounded. Amongſt the Captives that were taken, was *Abſalon*, the Uncle and Father in Law of *Ariſtobulus*, the Son of *John Hyrcanus*.

The *Jews* ſlaine.

Upon the ſame day and in the ſame moneth was the Temple

Temple taken by *Pompey*, as it had been taken by *Nebuchadnezzar* five hundred and fourty three years before: and it fell out also to be on their *Sabbath*, about the twenty eight day of our *December*. *Pompey*, entered into the Temple, and many others with him, and there beheld those things which were not lawfull to be seen by any, but the High Priests only. And whereas there were in the Temple, the Table and Candlesticks with the Lamps, all vessels for Sacrifice, and the Censers all of pure Gold, and a huge heape of Spices, and in the Treasuries of sacred money above two thousand Talents, yet *Pompey* medled not with any of these, but the next day he commanded them which had the charge of the Temple, to purifie, and cleanse it, and to offer their solemn Sacrifizes unto God.

Note the time when the Temple was taken.

Pompey then restored the High Priesthood to *Hyrcanus*, both because he had shewed himself so forward all the time of the Siege, as also for that he hindred the *Jewes* that were in all the Country, from joyning with *Aristabulus*: and together with the Priesthood he gave him the Principality also, only forbiding him to wear a Crown. Then did he put to death those that were the chiefest cause of the War, and made the *Jewes* Tributaries to the *Romans*, and the Cities which they had formerly conquered in *Celosyria*, he took from them, commanding them to obey their own Governours: and the whole Nation of the *Jewes*, formerly advanced through prosperity, he contracted within their ancient bounds.

Hyrcanus made Prince and Priest.

The King of the *Arabians* that dwelt at the Castle of *Petra*, that never before made any account of the *Romans*, was now greatly afraid, and wrote to *Pompey* that he was at his devotion to doe what he commanded. *Pompey* to try him, brought his Army before his Castle of *Petra*, and lodged them for that day, and fell to ridibg, and mannaging his Horse up and down the Camp: In the meane time Posts came riding from the Realme of *Pontus* with Letters of good newes, as appeared by their

Javlins wreathed about with Lawrel: the Souldiers ſeeing that, flocked about the place to hear the newes, but *Pompey* would make an end of his riding before he would read the Letters, whereupon many cryed to him to alight, which he did: But then he wanted a high place to ſtand upon, and the Souldiers were ſo impatient to hear the newes that they would not ſtay to make one, they heaped ſaddles one upon an other, and *Pompey* geting up upon them, told them, that *Methridates* was dead, having killed himſelf becauſe his Son *Pharnaces* rebelled againſt him, and had wan all which his Father poſſeſſed, writing to him that he kept it for himſelf and the *Romans*. Upon this newes all the Camp rejoyced wonderfully, and Sacrifized to the Gods with great mirth.

Methridates Death.

Pompey finding this troubleſome War to be ſo eaſily ended, preſently left *Arabia*, and by ſpeedy marches he came to the City of *Amiſus*. There he met with great Preſents which were ſent him from *Pharnaces*, and many dead Bodies of the Kings kindred, and the Body of *Methridates* himſelf, who was known by certaine ſcars in his face. *Pompey* would by no meanes ſee him, but to avoid envy he ſent him away to the City of *Sinope*. He much wondred at his rich Apparrell, and Weapons: The Scabbard of his Sword coſt four hundred Talents: His Hatt alſo was of wonderous workmanſhip. *Pompey* having here ordered all things according to his mind, he went homewards with great pomp, and Glory. Coming to *Mytylene*, he eaſed the City of all Taxes for *Theophanes* his ſake, and was preſent at certaine Playes, the ſubjects whereof were the great acts of *Pompey*. He ſo liked the Theater where theſe Playes were made, that he drew a moddle of it to make a ſtatlier than it in *Rome*. As he paſſed by the City of *Rhodes*, he heard the *Rhetoricians* diſpute, and gave each of them a Talent. The like he did at *Athens* unto the *Philoſophers* there, and towards the beautifying of the City he gave them fifty Talents.

His policy.

His Liberality.

At

At his return into *Italy* he expected to have been received very honourably, and longed to see his Wife, and Children, thinking also that they longed as much to see him: But God so ordered it, that in his own House he met with occasion of sorrow: For his Wife *Mutia* in his absence had played the Harlot. Yet whilst he was a far off, he made no account of the reports which were made to him of her: But when he drew neere to to *Italy*, he was more attentive to them, whereupon he sent her word he would own he no more for his Wife. There were also rumors spread abroad in *Rome* which much troubled him; it being given out that he would bring his Army strait to *Rome*, and make himself absolute Lord of the Empire. *Crassus* hereupon, to give more credit to the report, and to procure the greater envy against *Pompey*, conveied himself, Family, and Goods out of *Rome*.

He returns into *Italy*.

He divorceth his Wife.

But when *Pompey* came to *Italy*, calling his Souldiers together, he made an Oration to them as the time and occasion required, and then commanded them to disband, and every one to returne to his own home, and to follow his business till the time of his Triumph. As he passed, such was the love of the People to him, that multituds of them accompanied him to *Rome* whether he would or no, and that with a greater power than he brought with him into *Italy*, so that if he had been disposed to have made Innovation, he needed not the assistance of his Army therein.

He disbands his Army.

The People honour him.

At this time there was a Law that no man should enter into *Rome* before his Triumph, wherefore *Pompey* sent to the Senate, requesting them to defer the choise of Consuls for a few dayes, that he might further *Piso*, who sued for the Consulship that year: But through *Catoes* meanes they denyed his request. *Pompey* marvelling to hear of his boldnesse and free speech, was very desirous to make him his Friend. So *Cato* having two Neeces, he desired to marry one himself, and to have the other for his Son; but *Cato* flatly denied him, though his Wife, and Sister were

He seeks to win *Cato*.

were angry that he refuſed to make alliance with *Pompey* the *Great*.

After this, *Pompey* being deſirous to prefer *Afranius* to be Conſul, he cauſed money to be given to the Tribes of the People which being reported abroad, made every man ſpeak evil of him, as having put the Conſulſhip to ſale for money, whereas himſelf had Purchaſed it by his Noble and valiant deeds.

His ſecond Triumph.

The time for his Triumph being come, the ſtatelineſſe, and magnificence was ſuch, that though he had two dayes to ſhew it, yet lacked he time to produce all. For there were many things prepared for the ſhew which were not ſeen, and would have ſet forth another Triumph. Firſt the Tables were carried wherein were written the names of the Nations for which he Triumphed: as the Kingdomes of *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Media*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Meſapotomia*: As alſo the People that dwell in *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtina*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia*: And all the Pyrates that he had overcome by Sea, and Land. In all theſe Countries he had taken a thouſand Caſtles, and neer nine hundred Townes, and Cities. Of Pyrates Ships eight hundred. Moreover he had repleniſhed with Inhabitants thirty nine deſolate Towns. Theſe Tables alſo declared, that the Revenue of *Rome*, before theſe his Conqueſts, aroſe but to five thouſand Myriads, but now he had improved them to eight thouſand, and five hundred Myriads. Beſides, he now brought into the Treaſury to the value of twenty thouſand Talents in Silver, Gold, Plate, and Jewels, beſides what had been diſtributed already amongſt the Souldiers, of which he that had leaſt, had fifteen hundred Drachma's for his ſhare.

The Priſoners that were led in this Triumph, were the Son of *Tygranes*, King of *Armenia*, with his Wife, and Daughter: The Wife of King *Tygranes* himſelf, called *Zozime*: *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*. The Siſter of *Mithridates*, with her five Sons: And ſome Ladies of

of *Scythia*. The Hostages of the *Iberians* and *Albanians*, as also the Kings of the *Commagenians*: Besides a great number of Marks of Triumph which himself and his Lieutenants had won in severall Battels. But the greatest honour that ever he wan, and which no other of the Consuls ever attained to, was, that his three Triumphs were of the three Parts of the World, to wit, his first of *Africk*: His second of *Europe*: And his third of *Asia*; and all this before he was fourty years old. But from this time forward *Pompey* began to decline, till (with his Life) he had lost all his Honour.

Lucullus at his returne out of *Asia*, was well received by the Senate, and much more after *Pompey* was come to *Rome*. For the Senate encouraged him to deal in affairs of State, being of himself slow, and much given to his ease and pleasure, because of his great Riches. So when *Pompey* was come, he began to speak against him, and through *Catoes* assistance, gat all things confirmed which he had done in *Asia*, and which had been undone by *Pompey*. *Pompey*, having such an afront put upon him by the Senate, had recourse to the Tribunes of the People, the vilest of whom was *Clodius*, who closed with him, and had *Pompey* ever at his elbow, ready to second what motion soever he had to make to the People: He also desired *Pompey* to forsake *Cicero*, his ancient Friend, but *Clodius* his utter enemy. By this meanes *Cicero* was brought into danger, and when he required *Pompey*'s assistance, he shut the doore against him, and went out at a back-doore; whereupon *Cicero* was forced to forsake *Rome*.

Cicero leaves *Rome*.

At this time *Julius Cæsar* returning from his Prætorship out of *Spain*, laid such a plot as quickly brought himself into favour, but tended to the ruine of *Pompey*. He was now to sue for his first Consulship, and considering the enmity between *Pompey* and *Crassus*, he considered that if he joyned with one, he made the other his enemy, he therefore made them Friends, which indeed undid the Commonwealth. For by this means

Cæsar policy.

Cæsar

He flatters the People.

Cæſar was choſen Conſul, who ſtrait fell to flattering of the People, and made Lawes for their advantage, diſtributing to them Lands, which embaſed the Majeſty of the cheiſe Majeſtrate, and made a Conſulſhip no better then the Tribunſhip of the People. *Bibulus*, his fellow Conſul, oppoſed him what he could, and *Cato* alſo, till *Cæſar* brought *Pompey* into the Pulpit for Orations, where he asked him whether he conſented to the Decree which he had ſet forth? *Pompey* anſwered *That he did: and that he would defend it with the Sword.* This gat him much ill will.

Pompey marries *Cæſars* Daughter.

Not many dayes after, *Pompey* married *Julia* the Daughter of *Cæſar*, formerly betrothed to *Servilius Cæpio*: and to pacifie *Cæpio*, *Pompey* gave him his own Daughter in marriage, whom yet he had promiſed to *Fauſtus*, the Son of *Sylla*. *Cæſar* alſo married *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Piſo*. Afterwards *Pompey* filling *Rome* with Souldiers, carried all by force. For as *Bibulus* came to the Market place accompanied with *Cato* and *Lucullus*, they were baſely abuſed, and many were wounded, and when they were driven away, they paſſed the Act for dividing of the Lands as they pleaſed. The People being encouraged hereby, never ſtuck at any matter that *Pompey* and *Cæſar* would have done. And by this means all *Pompey*'s former Acts were confirmed, though *Lucullus* oppoſed what he could. *Cæſar* alſo was appointed to the Government of both *Gauls* with four whole Legions.

He dotes on his yong Wife.

Then were choſen Conſuls, *Piſo*, Father in Law to *Cæſar*, and *Gabinius*, *Pompey*'s great flatterer. *Pompey* now ſo doted on his young Wife, that he ſuffered himſelf wholly to be ruled by her, and leaving all publick affairs, he went with her to Country Houſes, and places of pleaſure, which encouraged *Clodius*, a Tribune of the People to deſpiſe him, and to enter into ſeditious attempts. For when he had driven *Cicero* out of *Rome*, and ſent away *Cato* to make War in *Cyprus*, and *Cæſar* was occupied in *Gaul*, finding that the People were at his beck,

beck, because he flattered them, he then attempted to undo some things that *Pompey* had established. Amongst others he took young *Tigranes* out of Prison, and carried him up and down with him, and continually picked quarrels against *Pompey*'s Friends. *Pompey* comming abroad one day to hear how a matter of his was handled, this *Clodius* having gotten a company of desperate Ruffians about him, gat up into a high place, and asked aloud, *Who is the most licentious Captain in all the City?* They answeted, *Pompey*. And *Who* (said he) *is he that scratcheth his head with one finger?* They again answered, *Pompey*, claping their hands with great scorne. This went to *Pompey*'s heart, who never used to be thus abused, and he was yet more vexed, when he saw that the Senate was well pleased with this his disgrace, because he had forsaken, and betrayed *Cicero*. Upon this a great uprore was made in the Market place, and many were hurt, whereupon *Pompey* would come no more abroad whilst *Clodius* was Tribune, but advised with his Friends how he might ingratiare himself with the Senate: they advised him to put away his Wife *Julia*, to renounce *Cæsars* Friendship, and to stick again to the Senate. Some of these things he disliked, yet was content to call home *Cicero*, who was *Clodius* his mortall enemy, and in great favour with the Senate.

Pompey disgraced.

Hereupon *Pompey* brought *Cicero*'s Brother into the Market place to move the matter to the People, with many men about him, and they fell to blowes, so that many were slaine, yet he overcome *Clodius*, and *Cicero* was called home by the Decree of the People, who also brought *Pompey* into favour with the Senate, and caused a Law to be made whereby to enable *Pompey* to bring Corn to *Rome*: and thus by *Cicero*'s meanes *Pompey* had once again power given him both by Sea and Land over all the *Roman* Territories. For all the Havens, Marts, and Fairs, and all Storehouses, and Marchandizes, yea, and Tillage came into his hand.

Cicero recalled.

For this *Clodius* acused him, saying, that the Senate had made this Law, not because of a dearth of Victuals, but that they made a dearth that so the Law might passe for restoring *Pompey*'s power, which was almost come to nothing. *Pompey* having now full Authority to cause Corn to be brought to *Rome*, he sent his Friends, and Lieutenants abroad, and himself went into *Sicily*; and when he was ready to returne again, there arose such a storme, that the Mariners feared to weigh their Anchors; but he commanded them to doe it, saying, *Its necessary that the People should have Corn, but its not necessary that I should live.* Thus by his prudence and courage he filled all the Markets with Corn, and the Seas with Ships, and so great plenty of Provision was brought in, as fully furnished, not only *Rome*, but all *Italy*.

Pompey sent for Corne.

Note.

About this time *Cæsars* great conquests in *Gaul* wan him much credit. But whilst they thought him to be Warring afar off, he appeared in the middest of the People at *Rome*, and much apposed *Pompey* in the weightiest matters of the Commonwealth. For he had the power of an Army which he hardened with paines, and continuall exercise, not only to fight against the Barbarous People, but to make himself invincible, and dreadfull to the world. Moreover, by that infinite quantity of Gold, and Silver, and other Treasures that he gat from the enemy, he purchased many Friends to himself, sending great Presents to *Rome*, to the *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, *Consuls*, and their Wives; therefore when he was come back over the *Alps*, and Wintered in the City of *Luca*, multitudes of the People, yea, two hundred of the Senate themselves, amongst whom were *Crassus*, and *Pompey*, went out of *Rome* unto him. All these *Cæsar* returned back again, some with store of money, others with good Words; But with *Pompey* and *Crassus* he agreed, that they two should sue to be Consuls, and that himself would send them good store of voices upon the day of Election: and that if they were chosen they should get a Decree of the People, that they should have some new

Cæsar comes privately to *Rome*.

He bribes the Officers.

Provinces

Provinces, and Armies assigned to them, and with all, that they should procure his Government to continue for five years longer. This Plot being discovered, and spread abroad, gave great distast to honest men, and many who had intended to sue for the Consulship, gave it over. Only *Lucius Domitius*, being encouraged by *Cato*, stood for it. For (said he) *Thou doest not contend for the Consulship, but to defend the liberty of thy Country against two Tyrants.* *Pompey* fearing *Catoes* faction, thought it not safe to let *Domitius* come into the Market place: He sent therefore armed men against him, who slew the Torchbearer that came before him, and made all the rest to fly, amongst whom *Cato* was the last man that retired, who, whilst he defended *Dimitius*, was wounded in the elbow.

Thus *Pompey* and *Crassus* came to be Consuls, wherein they carried themselves very dishonestly. For the People being about to choose *Cato*, *Prator*, *Pompey* perceiving of it, brake up the Assemby, falsly alleadging that he had certain ill signes, and afterwards, corrupting the the Tribes with money, they chose *Antius*, and *Vatinius*, *Prators*, and then by *Trebonius*, a Tribune of the People, they published an Edict that *Cæsar* should hold his Government five years longer: Unto *Crassus* they appointed the Province of *Syria*, and to make War against the *Parthians*. Unto *Pompey* they allotted *Affrick* and both the *Spaines*, with four whole Legions, of the which, at *Cæsars* request, he sent him two, to assist him in his Wars in *Gaul*.

Pompey chosen Consul.

Provincis divided.

Crassus, at the going out of his Consulship, departed into *Syria*, and *Pompey* remained in *Rome* to dedicate the Theater which he had built, where he caused many goodly Playes to be made, and caused Wild Beasts to be baited, & hunted, amongst which, five hundred Lions were killed: but the most terrible sight of all, was amongst his Elephants. This he did to gratifie the People, though to his very great cost, and he procured much love to himself thereby. But he gat more envy from others by commiting

Pompey's Theater dedicated.

the Government of his provinces, and Legions, unto his Leiutenants, whilſt himſelf with his wife took their pleaſure up and down *Italy*.

At an Election of the *Ædiles*, on a ſudden there was a great hurlyburly, Swords were drawn and many were ſlaine about *Pompey*, ſo that he was faigne to ſend home his Garments that were ſprinkled with their bloud, and to fetch others. His young Wife that was great with child, ſeeing his clothes bloudy, was ſo frighted that ſhe fell into a ſwound, that they had much ado to recover her. At an other time, being with child again, ſhe fell in labour, and dyed in childbirth: and as *Pompey* was carrying her into the Country to bury her neer unto the City of *Alba* at his Country Houſe, the People took her corpſe, and carrying it into the Field of Mars, buried it their: and this they did more for *Cæſar*, than for *Pompey*'s ſake.

Julia dyeth.

This alliance between *Pompey* and *Cæſar* being thus broken, which rather covered than bridled their ambition to Rule, there aroſe a new ſtirre in *Rome*, and every mans mouth was full of ſeditious words: About which time newes came that *Craſſus* was overcome and ſlaine in *Parthia*, who was the only barre to hinder theſe two from Civil War: for they both feared him, and therefore kept themſelves quiet. Yet they thought the Empire of *Rome* was too little for them. *Pompey* thinking that *Cæſar* would not disband his Army, ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him by procuring Offices in the City: and when he could not procure them, the People being bribed by *Cæſar*, he left the City without a Magiſtrate, ſo that there were none to Command, or whom the People might obey. Hereupon a rumour was ſpread that a *Dictator* muſt be choſen, and that *Pompey* muſt be the man: This *Cato* oppoſed with all his power: But when *Pompey*'s Friends excuſed him, ſaying, that he neither ſought, nor would accept of it, then *Cato* highly commended him, and pray'd him to ſee good order kept in the Commonwealth, which accordingly he undertook.

Pompey and *Cæſar* quarrel.

Then

Then were *Domitius* and *Massala* chosen Consuls, but after awhile one of them died, whereupon many were earnestly bent to have a *Dictator*, and *Cato* fearing great disorders, was willing that *Pompey* should have some Office to keep him from that which was more Tyranicall. *Bibulus* a cheif man in the Senate, and *Pompey's* enemy, was the first man that moved that *Pompey* might be chosen Consul alone: For (said he) by this meanes the Commonwealth shall be rid of present trouble, or it shall be in bondage to an honest man. It was expected that *Cato* would have opposed this motion; but rising up, he told them, that he would not first have made this motion, but seeing it was propounded by an other, he thought it meet, and reasonable to be followed. For (said he) *Its better to have an Officer to command, whatsoever he be, than to have none at all, and that there was none so fit to command in so troublesome a time as* Pompey.

All the Senate consented hereto, and ordained that *Pompey* only should be Consul, and that if he saw it needfull to have the assistance of an other, he might name whom he saw good, yet not till two months were past. *Pompey* being thus made Consul alone, he carried it very friendly unto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honour he had done him, in treating his assistance in the execution of his Office. *Cato* replyed that he had no reason to thank him; for what he had done, he had not done it for his sake, but out of his respect to the publick good: and that if he asked his counsel in any thing, he would give it him privately, if not, that he would openly speak that which he thought best.

Pompey made Consul.

Pompey then married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, the late Wife of young *Publius Crassus*, slaine with his Father in *Parthia*. This Lady was of excellent beauty, and gifts, well learned, skilfull in Musick, Geometry, and Philosophy. she was modest, and sober, free from brawling, or folliſh curiosity. Her Father was Noble both by Birth, and deportment.

He marries Cornelia.

Yet

Yet many disliked *Pompey*'s marrying so young a Wife, and giving himself to Feasting and jollity, when he should have looked to his Consulship in so troublesome a time.

Hisjustice.

Pompey proceeded sharply against those that by Bribery, and indirect meanes came to their Offices. He made Lawes, and Ordinances for the administration of justice, and himself dealt uprightly in all things, and took order that Judgement should be administered with silence, safety, and gravity. But when his Father in Law was accused, he sent for three hundred and sixty Judges home to his House, praying them to help him, which the accuser of *Scipio* understanding, let fall his suit. *Plancus* also being accused, *Pompey* (contrary to the Law) spake in his commendation; whereupon *Cato*, who was one of the Judges, stopped his ears, saying, that he would not hear an offender praised, being contrary to the Law: *Plancus* was condemned by all the Judges to the great shame of *Pompey*. Yet otherwise he set all things in good order, and chose his Father *Scipio* for his fellow Consul for the five last moneths. Then he caused the Government of his Provinces to be assigned to him for four years more, with commission to take out of the Treasury a Thousand Talents yearly, for to defray the charges of his Wars.

And injustice.

Cæsars Friends seeing this, moved that some consideration might be had of him also, who made great Wars for the Commonwealth, and by his good service had deserved either to be chosen Consul again, or else that they should prolong his charge, and Government, that no other successor might reap the fruit of his labours; Much stir arose about this matter: But *Pompey* said, that he had received Letters from *Cæsar*, by which he requested a successour, and to be discharged of this War: adding, that he thought it fit they should grant him the priviledge to demand the second Consulship though he was absent. This *Cato* stoutly withstood, saying, that

that leaving his Army he must returne home as a private man, and in his own Person crave recompence of his Country. *Pompey* replying nothing hereto, made many think he bore no great good will to *Cesar*, the rather because he had sent to him for the two Legions which he had lent him under colour of his War against the *Parthians*. Though *Cesar* smelt his design, yet he sent his Souldiers, and rewarded them liberally.

He sends to *Cæsar* for his two Legions.

About this time *Pompey* fell dangerously sick at *Naples*, whereof he yet recovered again, and the *Neapolitans* sacrifized to the Gods, for his recovery; the like also did their Neighbours round about, and it ran so generally through *Italy*, that there was no City or Town wherein they did not make open Feasting, and rejoyced for many dayes together. The infinite number of people also which went to meet him out of all places was such, that there was not roome enough for them all, but the highwayes, Cities, Townes, and Ports were full of People, Feasting and sacrifizing to the Gods for his recovery. Diverse also went to meet him that were Crowned with Garlands, casting Nosegays, and Flowers upon him. Yet some thought that this was the cause of the Civil Wars that ensued. For hereupon he grew so proud to see himself thus honoured, that forgetting his former Government, he began to dispise *Cæsar*, thinking that he could easily overcome him when he pleased. Besides, *Appius* that brought him his two Legions from *Cesar* out of *Gaul*, reproached much his doings there, and gave out many foul words against *Cæsar*. For he said that *Pompey* knew not his own strength, who might overcome *Cæsar* with his own Legions, for that when they saw *Pompey*, they would forsake *Cæsar* and turne to him.

His sickness, and recovery.

The People honour him.

Pompey's Pride.

These flattering speeches made *Pompey* so secure, that he laughed them to scorne who were afraid of War; and such as said that if *Cæsar* came to *Rome*, they knew not how his power could be resisted, he smilingly bad them

Note.

them take no thought, for if he did but ſtamp on the ground, he could fill *Italy* with Armies both of Horſe and Foot out of all places. In the meane time *Cæſar* increaſed his Army, and drew neer to *Italy*, and ſent ſome of his Souldiers daily to *Rome* to be preſent at the election of Magiſtrates, and many of thoſe that were in Office he wan with money: amongſt whom was *Paulus*, one of the Conſuls, whom he drew to his ſide by giving him fifteen hundred Talents. The like he did to *Curio*, a Tribune of the People by paying his vaſt debts, and he gained thereby *Mark Anthony*, who was engaged for a great part of *Curio*'s debt. A Captain alſe ſent from *Cæſar*, being at the Senate door, and underſtanding that they would not prolong *Cæſars* Government as he deſired, claping his hand on his Sword, he ſaid, *Well! this ſhall give it him.*

The miſeries of War.

Curio tequeſted in the behalſe of *Cæſar*, that they would either cauſe *Pompey* to disband his Army, or elſe licence *Cæſar* to have his Army as well as he. For (ſaid he) being private men they will either agree between themſelves, or both being of like ſtrength, neither will ſeek any alteration for fear of the other. But *Marcellus* the Conſul, oppoſed this hotly, calling *Cæſar* Thiefe, and ſaying that he would proclaime him an open enemy to *Rome* if he did not diſperſe his Army. Yet *Curio*, *Anthony*, and *Piſo* procured that the Senate ſhould decide the matter, ſaying, *All they that would have* Cæſar *disband his Army, and* Pompey *to keep his, let them go to the one ſide of the Houſe, and ſuch as would have them both to disband, let them ſtand on the other:* by this meanes it was carried againſt *Pompey*. *Curio* much rejoyced at the Victory, and going into the Market place, he was there received by his faction with ſhouts of joy, and clapping of hands, and noſegays of Flowers thrown upon him.

Pompey was not preſent to ſee the good will of the Senators to him; but *Marcellus* ſtood up and ſaid, that he he would not ſtand trifling, and hearing Orations, when he

he knew that ten Legions were already passed over the *Alps*, intending to come in Armes against them, and that he would send a man that should defend their Country well enough. And so going through the Market place unto *Pompey*, being followed by all the Senators, he said openly: *Pompey, I commnad thee to help thy Country with that Army thou hast already, and also to leavy more to aid thee.* *Lentulus* also used the same speech to him, who was chosen for the year following.

Pompey made General against *Cæsars*

When *Pompey* went to leavy Souldiers in *Rome*, some would not obey him, and others went very unwillingly, the most part of them crying out Peace, Peace. *Anthony* also, against the Senators minds, read a Letter to the People sent from *Cæsar*, wherein he seemed to make reasonable requests to draw the affections of the Common People to him. For he moved that both *Pompey* and he should resigne their Governments, and dismisse their Armies, referring themselves wholly to the Judgments of the People, and to deliver up unto them an account of their doings. *Cicero*, who was lately returned from *Cilicia*, endeavoured to bring them to an agreement, propounding that *Cæsar* that should leave the Government of *Gaul*, and his Army, reserving only two Legions, and the Government of *Illyria*, attending his second Consulship.

The fruits of division.

Pompey liked not this motion, and so all treaty of Peace was cut off. In the mean time newes came to *Rome* that *Cæsar* had won *Ariminum*, a large and strong City in *Italy*, and that he came directly to *Rome* with a great power: But the truth was he came but with three thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, and would not stay for the rest of his Army that was not yet come over the *Alps*, but hasted rather to surprise his enemies on the sudden, who were all in a hurlyburly, not expecting him so soon, than to stay till they were fully ready to fight with him. When he came to the River of *Rubicon* (which was the utmost bound of the Province which

Wars between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*.

he had the charge of in *Italy*) he wade an Alt, pondring with himſelf the great enterprize he took in hand: At laſt he cryed out to them that were by, *Jacta eſt alea*, let the Die be caſt: Or let us put all to the hazard, and ſo paſſed on with his Army.

Cæſar paſſes *Rubicon.*

Newes hereof comming to *Rome*, never was there ſuch a conſternation and fear ſeen amongſt them. For all the Senate ran immediatly to *Pompey*, together with all the reſt of the City Magiſtrates, and *Tullus* asked him, what power he had in readineſſe to reſiſt *Cæſar*? He anſwered (but ſomething faulteringly) that he had his two Legions that came from *Cæſar*, and with thoſe that he had levied in haſt, he thought he ſhould make up thirty thouſand fighting men. Then *Tullus* cryed out, *Ah! thou haſt mocked us* Pompey; and thereupon ordered Ambaſſadors to be ſent to *Cæſar*. *Phaonius* alſo, a bold man, ſaid, *Stamp now with thy foot upon the ground*, Pompey, *and make thoſe Armies come which thou haſt promiſed.* *Pompey* patiently bore this mock. Then *Cato* thought good that they ſhould make *Pompey* Leiutenant Generall of *Rome*, with full and abſolute Power to command all, ſaying, *They that knew how to doe the greateſt miſchief, know beſt how to remedy the ſame.* And ſo immediately he departed to his Government in *Sicily*. Alſo all the other Senators went to the Provinces whereunto they were appointed.

Pompey repoached.

Thus all *Italy* being in Armes, no man knew what was beſt to be done: For ſuch as were out of *Rome* came flying thither out of all parts, and ſuch as were in *Rome*, fled out as faſt, where all things were in diſorder. They which were willing to obey were very few, and they who by diſobedience did hurt, were too many, neither would they ſuffer *Pompey* to order things as he would, becauſe every one followed his own fancy, yea, in one day they were in diverſe minds. All this while *Pompey* could hear no certainty of his enemies, the reports being ſo various; and when he ſaw the tumult, and confuſion ſo great at *Rome* that there was no poſ-

The confuſion in *Italy.*

ſibility of pacifying it, he comanded all the Senators to follow him, declaring all ſuch as ſtaid behind to be *Cæſars* Friends. The two Conſuls fled alſo without Sacrifizing to the Gods, as their manner was when they went to make War: And *Pompey* in his greateſt danger and trouble had great cauſe to think himſelf happy, becauſe he had every mans good will.

Pompey leaves *Rome.*

Shortly after *Pompey* was gone out of the City, *Cæſar* came into it, who ſpake very friendly to all whom he found there, labouring to quiet their fears: Only he threatned *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes, becauſe he would not ſuffer him to take any of the Treaſure of the Commonwealth, ſaying, *That it was not ſo hard a thing for him to kill him as to ſpeak it.* Thus having put by *Metellus*, and taken what he pleaſed out of the Treaſury, he prepared to follow *Pompey*, intending to drive him out of *Italy* before his Army ſhould come to him, out of *Spain.*

Cæſar enters *Rome.*

Pompey in the meane time took *Brunduſium*, and having gotten ſome Ships together, he cauſed the two Conſuls preſently to embark, with thirty Companies of Footmen, which he ſent before to *Dyrrachium.* He ſent alſo his Father in Law *Scipio*, and his Son *Cneius Pompeyus* into *Syria* to provide him Ships. Then did he fortify *Brunduſium*, and guarded the Walls with Souldiers, commanding the Citizens not to ſtir out of their Houſes. He caſt up Trenches alſo within the City at the end of all the ſtreets, ſaving thoſe two which led to the Haven, and filled thoſe Trenches with ſharp-pointed ſtakes, and when at leaſure he had imbarked all the reſt of his Souldiers, he by a ſigne, called off thoſe which guarded the Walls, and having received them into his Ships, he hoiſted Sailes and departed.

Pompey at *Brunduſium.*

He leaves *Italy.*

Cæſar finding the Walls of *Brunduſium* unguarded, preſently ſuſpected that *Pompey* was fled, and rushing into the City, he had certainly falne into the pits, but that the *Brunduſians* gave him warning of them, whereupon

Cæſar purſues him.

he fetched a compaſſe about to go to the Haven, and coming thither, he found all the Ships under ſaile ſave two, wherein were a few Souldiers. Some judged this departure of *Pompeys* the beſt Stratagem of War that ever he uſed: But *Cæſar* marvelled that being in ſo ſtrong a City, and expecting his Army out of *Spain*, and being Maſter of the Seas beſides, he would ſo eaſily forſake *Italy*. Thus *Cæſar* within threeſcore dayes became Lord of all *Italy* without bloudſhed. He was very deſirous ſpeedily to have followed *Pompey*, but having no Ships ready, he was forced to ſtay. Then did he haſten into *Spain* to joyn *Pompey's* Army with his own.

Pompey's power by Sea.

Pompey in the mean ſpace had gotten a marvellous great power together both by Sea, and Land. By Sea he had five hundred good Ships of War, beſides multitudes of Galliots, Foiſts, and Pinnaces. By Land he had all the flower of the Horſemen of *Rome*, and of all *Italy* to the number of ſeven thouſand, Valiant men, and of great Houſe: But his Footmen were raw and untrained Souldiers, whom *Pompey* continually exercifed at the City of *Berœa*, taking as much paines therein as if he had been in his youth. It was great encouragement to others to ſee *Pompey*, being fifty eight years old, fighting on foot compleatly Armed, and then ſpeedily to mount on Horſeback, and in his full Career to draw, and put up his Sword, to caſt his Dart with as much agility and ſtrength, and point blank, that few young men could do the like.

His induſtry, and activity.

To *Pompey* there came diverſe Kings, Princes, and Lords of great Countries: and of *Roman* Captains, who had born Office, to the number of a whole Senate. Amongſt theſe, there came alſo *Labienus*, who formerly had been *Cæſars* great Friend, and an aſſiſtant to him in his Wars in *Gaul*. There came alſo to him *Brutus*, a very Valiant man, who had never before ſpoken unto *Pompey*, becauſe he thought him guilty of his Fathers Murther, but now he willingly joyned with him as a defender of the

Many came to him.

the *Roman* Liberties. *Cicero* himself also, who had written, and given counsel for Peace, thought it a shame not to be amongst the number of those who would hazard their lives in the defence of their Country. There came also *Didius Sextus*, though he was an old man, and lame of one of his legs, whom when *Pompey* saw comming (though others laughed him to scorn, yet) he rose up and went to meet him, judging it a signe of much love when such old men chose rather to accompany him in danger, than to remaine at home in safety.

The chief of *Pompey*'s Army, sitting in Counsel, decreed that no Citizen of *Rome* should be put to death, but such as fell in Battel: That no City subject to the Empire of *Rome* should be sackt, which made *Pompey*'s part liked the better: And most judged those, enemies both to the Gods, and men, that did not wish him the Victory. *Cæsar* also shewed himself very courteous, and mercifull; for having taken all *Pompey*'s Army in *Spain*, he set all the Captaines at liberty, and only reserved the Souldiers to himself: Then comming over the *Alps* again, he passed through all *Italy*, and came to *Brundusium* in the Winter time, and from thence, passing over the Sea he came to the City of *Oricum*: and having *Vibius*, one of *Pompey*'s familiar Friends with him, whom he had taken Prisoner, he sent him to *Pompey* again to desire that they might meet, and both of them disband their Armies within three dayes, and being reconciled, and having given their Faith each to other, to returne into *Italy* like good Friends together. But *Pompey* durst not trust to these fair words, judging them but snares to entrap him. He therefore suddenly removed to the Sea coast, and took all the places of strength neer to the Sea side, safely to lodge his Camp in, and all the Ports, Harbours, and Crecks, fit for Ships to lie in, so that whatsoever Wind blew, it served his turne to bring him either men, Victuals, or money.

Cæsars curtesy, and mildnesse.

Cæsar, on the other hand was so distressed both by Sea and

Cæſar wants Victuals.

and Land, that he was driven to haſten to a Battell, and to aſſail *Pompey* even in his own ſtrength, to force him to fight with him, and for the moſt part he alwayes had the better in moſt skirmiſhes, ſaving one, wherein he was in danger to have loſt all his Army. For *Pompey* had valiantly repulſed all his men, and made them fly, and had ſlaine two thouſand of them in the field, but he durſt not enter pell mell with them into their Camp when they fled: which made *Cæſar* ſay to his Friends, *That his enemy had won the Victory that day if he had known how to overcome.* This Victory did ſo encourage *Pompeys* men, that they would needs hazard a Battel. But *Pompey*, though he wrote to many of his Friends and Confederates as if he had already beaten *Cæſar*, yet was he not willing to adventure all upon a Battell, thinking it better, by protracting time and cutting his enemy ſhort of Victuals, to overcome him.

Cæſar beaten.

For this end *Pompey* perſwaded his men to be quiet, and not to ſtirre: But when *Cæſar*, after this laſt bickering, being ſcanted of Victuals, raiſed his Camp, and departed to go into *Theſſaly*, through the Country of the *Athamaneans*, then he could no longer bridle their courage, who cried out, *Cæſar* is fled, let us follow him: And others ſaid, let us returne home into *Italy*. And ſome ſent their Friends, and ſervants to *Rome* to hire them Houſes neere the Market place, intending at their return, to ſue for Offices. Some in a jollity would needs ſaile to *Lesbos*, where *Pompey* had left his Wife *Cornelia*, to carry her the good newes that the War was ended.

Imprudence.

Pompey calling a Councell, *Affricanus* thought it beſt to go into *Italy*, and to win that, as being the chiefeſt mark they ſhot at in this War: For whoſoever had that, was ſure of all *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*: He ſaid alſo, that it was a diſhonour to *Pompey* (who ſhould be very tender of his credit) to ſuffer their Country to be in ſuch bondage, and ſubjection to ſlaves, and baſe flatterers of a Tyrant, when as it offered it ſelf as

it

it were, into their hands. But *Pompey* thought it dishonourable for him to fly from *Cæsar*, and to make him follow him, ſince he now had him in chaſe, nor lawfull before the Gods now to forſake his Father in Law *Scipio*, and many others, who had been Conſuls, and who were diſperſed up and down *Greece*, and *Theſſaly*, who by this meanes would certainly fall into *Cæſars* hands, together with their Riches, and Armies. He ſaid alſo, that they had care enough for the City of *Rome* by drawing their Armies fartheſt from it, ſo as they remaining ſafe and quiet at home, not feeling the miſeries of War, might joyfully welcome him home that remained Conquerour.

With this determination he followed *Cæſar*, not intending to give him Battel, but to beſiege him and ſo to cut him ſhort of Victuals: But whilſt he purſued him faire and ſoftly, his men cryed out of him, that he intended not to War againſt *Cæſar*, but againſt his own Country, that he might ſtill keep the authority in his hand. *Phaonius* alſo mocked him, and went crying up and downe, *My Maſters, I give you notice that you are like to eat no* Tuſculan *Figs this year.* With theſe and many others ſuch lewde ſpeeches, they compelled *Pompey* to ſubmit to their raſh and giddy deſires, contrary to his more Prudent purpoſe, and determination, which yet a Generall over ſo many Nations, and Armies, ſhould not have done. Theſe little conſidered that he with whom he was to fight, was *Cæſar*, who had taken a thouſand Townes, and Cities by aſſault, had ſubdued above three hundred ſeverall Nations, had won infinite Battels of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and was never overcome: Had alſo taken a Million of men Priſoners, and had ſlaine as many in diverſe Battels. Yet *Pompeys* men ſtill vexing him with their importunity, when they were come into the Fields of *Pharſalia*, cauſed him to call a Counſel. There *Labienus* the Generall of the Horſemen, ſwore before them all, that he would not returne from the Battell till he had driven his enemies out

Folly.

Cæſars great Victories.

out of the Field: and the like Oath did all the reſt of the Commanders take.

Prodigies.

The night before the fatall Battel there were heard ſudden and fearfull noiſes in *Pompeys* Camp, which awaked all the Souldiers. At the changing of the fourth Watch, there was ſeen a great light over *Cæſars* Camp, like unto a burning Torch which came and fell in *Pompeys* Camp. In the morning *Cæſar* intending to raiſe his Camp, and to remove to the City of *Scotuſa*, whilſt his Souldiers were buſy in ſending away their Bag, and Baggage, ſome brought *Cæſar* word that they ſaw much Armour, and many weapons carryed too and fro in their Enemies Camp, and heard a great noiſe and buſtling, as of men that were preparing to fight. His Scouts alſo brought him word that *Pompeys* Van was already ſet in Battel array. *Cæſar* much rejoyced when he heard this, ſaying, *Now the day is come that we ſhall no longer fight with hunger, and want, but with men,* and thereupon gave order that they ſhould preſently put out the red coat of Armes upon his Tent, which was the ſigne uſed amongſt the *Romans* when they were to fight. The Souldiers when they ſaw that, left their Tents, Carriages and all, and with great Shouts of joy, ran to arme themſelves, and ſo without noiſe or tumult they were by their Captaines put into Battel array.

The Battell of Pharſalia.

Pompey himſelf led the right wing of his Battel againſt *Anthony*. The middle Battel he gave to *Scipio* his Father in Law which was right againſt *Domitius Calvinus*: His left Wing was led by *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*, which was guarded by the men at Armes, for all the Horſemen were placed there, to diſtreſſe *Cæſar* if poſſibly they could, and to overthrow the tenth Legion, which contained the valianteſt Souldiers that *Cæſar* had; and amongſt whom himſelf alwayes uſed to fight in Perſon. *Cæſar* ſeeing the left Wing of his enemies ſo ſtrong with the guard of Horſemen, brought ſix Companys of Foot for a reſerve, and placed them behind the tenth Legion, commanding them to ſtand cloſe, that they might not be

be discovered by the enemy: and commanded them when the Horsemen should charge upon them, that they should not throw their darts strait forward but upward at their faces: For (said he) *These brave Fellows and fine Dancers, will not endure to have their faces marred.*

Pompey being an Horseback rode up and down to observe how both Armies were marshalled, and perceiving that his enemies stood still in their ranks, expecting the signall of Battel, and that his own Battel waved up and down disorderly, as men unskillfull in the Wars, he feared that they would fly before they were charged. Therefore he commanded his Van to stand steadily in their ranks, and to defend themselves in a close fight when they enemy should assault them. But *Cæsar* disliked this devise: for thereby (said he) the force of their blowes was lessened, and by with-holding them from giving the charge, that courage was taken away which the assailant carrieth with him when he comes on with fury, it made them also more faintheartED in receiving the enemies charge. In *Cæsars* Army there were about twenty two thousand fighting men, and in *Pompeys* above twice so many.

When the signal of Battel was given on either side, and the Trumpets sounded an Alarme, every man began to look to himself: But a few of the chiefest of the *Romans*, and some *Grecians* that were amongst them, that yet were not entred into the Battell, perceiving the imminent danger, began to bethink themselves to what a sad passe the ambition, and contention between these two great Persons had brought the State of *Rome* unto, where were kinsmen against kinsmen, and Brethren against Brethren imbrewing their hands each in others bloud. Whereas, if they could have been contented quietly to Govern what they had conquered, the *Romane* Empire was big enough for them both. Or if that could not have quenched their insatiable desires and thirst after Glory, they had occasion enough offered them

againſt the *Germans*, and *Parthians*: Or elſe they might have proceeded to Conquer *Scythia*, and *India*. For what *Scythian* Horſemen, or *Parthian* Arrows, or *Indian* Riches, could have withſtood the power of ſeventy thouſand *Roman* Souldiers, eſpecially being led by two ſuch Captaines as were *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, whoſe Names were famous through the World.

Now when the Fields of *Pharſalia*, were covered over with Horſe and men in Armes, after the Signall was given, the firſt man of *Cæſars* Army that advanced forward to give the charge, was *Caius Craſſinius*, a Captain of one hundred twenty and five men: and this he did to make good his promiſe to *Cæſar*, who having asked him that morning what he thought of the event of the Battel? he ſaid, *Oh* Cæſar! *Thine is the Victory, and this day thou ſhalt commend me either alive or dead.* Valour. Thereupon he brake out of his rank (many others alſo following him) and ran into the midſt of his enemies, making a great ſlaughter; but as he ſtill preſſed forward, one ran him through the neck and ſlew him.

Pompey did not make his left wing to advance over ſuddenly, but ſtaid to ſee what his Horſemen would do, who had already divided themſelves, intending to compaſſe in *Cæſar*, and to force his Horſemen (who were fewer in number) to give back upon his ſquadron of Foot men, and thereby to diſorder them. But on the other ſide, *Cæſars* Horſemen gave back a little, and the ſix Companies of Footmen that he had placed ſecretly behind them (being three thouſand in number) ran ſuddenly to charge the enemy in the flank: and comming neer to *Pompeys* Horſemen, they threw their Datts (as *Cæſar* had appointed them) full in their faces. The young Gentlemen, being raw Souldiers, and little expecting ſuch a manner of fight, had not the hearts to defend themſelves, nor could abide to be hurt in their faces, but turning their heads, and clapping their hands on their faces, they fled ſhamfully. They being thus routed,

routed; *Cæsars* men made no account to follow them, but went presently and charged his Infantry, and especially where they had no guard of Horsemen, by which meanes they might be the easiler compassed about. Thus they being charged by these in the Flank and in the Van also by the tenth Legion, finding themselves (contrary to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies, whereas they thought to have environed them, they could no longer make resistance, but were put to the rout also.

Pompey beaten.

When *Pompey* saw the dust flying up in the aire, and thereby conjectured the flight of his Horsemen, he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgeting that he was *Pompey* the *Great*, and so retiring into his Camp, he sat silent for a good while, till such time as his enemies entered pell mell into it, together with his men that fled: and then he said no more, but, *What! Into our Camp?* And so rising up, he put on a gown fit for his sad condition, and secretly stole out of the Camp: His other Legions also fled, and *Cæsars* men made a huge slaughter of the Tent keepers, and of their servants that guarded the Camp: there were slaine about six thousand. But at the taking of the Camp *Cæsars* Souldiers plainly saw the madnesse and folly of *Pompey's* men: For their Pavillions and Tents were full of Nolegayes, and Garlands of Mirtle, and their Couches covered with Flowers, their Tables full of Bowls of Wine, as men prepared to sacrifize for joy, rather than to arme themselves to fight

He flies.

When *Pompey* was gone a little way from his Camp, he forsook his Horse, having very few with him, and perceiving that none pursued him, he walked fair and softly on foot, having his head full of thoughts. For he, for thirty four years together used alwayes to be Victorious, and therefore now it was strange to him to fly: He also saw how in one hours space, he had lost all that Glory and Riches which he had purchased by so many great Victories. He, that not long before was followed and obeyed by

Vanity of all earthly injoyments.

ſo many thouſand men of War, by ſo many Nations, and Horſemen; by ſuch a great Fleet upon the Sea, was now falne into a low and poor eſtate, with ſo ſmall a traine, that his very enemies, who ſought him knew him not.

When he had thus paſſed the City of *Lariſſa*, he came into the Valley of *Tempe*, where being a thirſt he fell down on his belly, and drank of the River, then riſing up, he went, and came to the Sea ſide, and lay all night in a Fiſhers Cottage. The next morning by break a day he went into a little Boat upon the River, having ſome freemen with him, and as for his ſlaves he diſmiſſed them, and bad them go boldly unto *Cæſar*, and not to be afraid. Thus rowing up and down the ſhore ſide in this little Boat, he eſpied a great Ship in the Sea lying at Anchor, which was ready to ſaile away: The Maſter of the Ship was one *Peticius*, a *Roman*, who, though he was not acquinted with *Pompey*, yet he knew him well by ſight. Some of the Marriners told *Peticius* that they ſaw a little Boat comming towards them, wherein were ſome men that held up their hands, and made ſignes to them: *Peticius* looking, knew *Pompey*, and commanded his Marriners to let down the Boat, wherewith giving *Pompey* his hand, he received him into the Ship, and thoſe that were with him; and then hoiſed Sail. With *Pompey* their were both the *Lentuli*, and *Faonius*. Preſently after they eſpied King *Dejotarus* comming in a Boat towards them, and making ſignes to be taken in, which accordingly they did. At Supper time the Maſter made ready ſuch meat as he had aboard. And *Faonius* ſeeing *Pompey* for want of attendants, waſhing himſelf, he ran to him, and annointed him, and ever after waited upon him, doing ſuch Offices as ſervants do to their maſters, waſhing his feet, and preparing his food for him.

Humility.

Pompey then paſſing by the City of *Amphipolis*, ſailed to the Iſle of *Lesbos* to fetch his Wife *Cornelia*, and his Son, who were at *Mitilene*, and having there caſt Anchor

chor in the Rode, he ſent a ſervant into the City to his Wife, whoſe Meſſage did not anſwer her expectation. For ſhe had ſtill been put in hope by Letters, of her Husbands good ſucceſſe, and that the War was well ended: The meſſenger finding her thus confident, thought not fit to ſalute her, but rather by his tears diſcovered the great misfortune of *Pompey*; and at laſt told her, that ſhe muſt diſpatch quickly if ſhe would ſee her Husband, with one Ship onely, and that not his own, but borrowed: The young Lady hearing this, fell down in a ſown'd before him, but after ſhe was come to her ſelf, remembring that it was now no time to weep and lament, ſhe went ſpeedily through the City to the Sea ſide. There *Pompey* meeting her, took her in his Armes and embraced her: But ſhe ſinking under him, fell down, and at laſt ſaid: *Out alas? Wo worth my hard Fortune, not thine, good Husband, who now ſee thee with one poor Ship, who before thou marriedſt me the Unfortunate* Cornelia, *was wont to ſaile in theſe Seas attended with five hundred. Alas! Why art thou come to ſee mee, and didſt not rather leave me to my accurſed deſtiny, ſeeing my ſelf am the cauſe of all this thy evil? Alas! How happy had I been if I had died before I heard of the death of my firſt Husband* Publius Craſſus, *ſlaine in the* Parthian *War? And how wiſe had I been, if (according to my determination) I then had ſlaine my ſelf, whereas I yet live to bring this misfortune upon* Pompey *the* Great? To this *Pompey* anſwered: *Peradventure (my* Cornelia*) thou haſt known a better fortune which hath alſo deceived thee, becauſe ſhee hath continued longer with me than her manner is. But ſince we are barne men, we muſt patiently beare theſe troubles, and once more try what ſhe will doe. For it is not impoſſible for us again to change this adverſity for proſperity, no more than it was to fall from our late proſperity into this Calamity.*

When *Cornelia* heard him ſay ſo, ſhe ſent into the City for her houſhould ſtuff, and Famely: The *Metilenians*

Pompey goes to his Wife.

Their Speeches each to other.

tylenians also came to salute *Pompey*, praying him to come and refresh himself in their City: But *Pompey* refused, and advised them to obey the Conquerour; for (said he) *Cæsar is of a just, and Curteous nature.* Then *Pompey* turning to *Cratippus* the Philosopher, who came, amongst the Citizens to visit him, made his complaint to him, and reasoned a little with him about Divine Providence. Then taking his Wife and Friends he hoised saile and departed, staying no where but to take in fresh provision and water.

He reasous about Providence.

The first City that he touched at, was *Atallia* in the Country of *Pamphylia.* Thither came to him some Gallies out of *Cilicia*, and many of his Friends and Souldiers, insomuch as he had now sixty Senators in his Company. Then understanding that his Army by Sea was yet whole; and that *Cato* had gathered together a great number of his Souldiers after the overthrow, whom he had transported with him into *Africk*, he complained to his Friends for that they had compelled him to fight by Land, and not suffered him to make use of his Fleet, wherein he was the stronger, and that he kept not his Army neere to the Sea, that in case he miscarried at Land, he might presently have repaired to his Fleet at Sea, and thereby have refitted his enemy.

Thus *Pompey* being driven to attempt somewhat according to his small ability, to some Cities he sent Ambassadors, to others he went himself to gather money, wherewith he armed and manned some Ships. But fearing the sudden approach of his enemie, before he could be in readiness to resist him, he bethought himself to what place he might retire for his better safety, and resolved that there was never a Province of the *Romans* that was able to secure him, and for other strange Nations, he thought none safer for him to retire into than *Parthia*, which was able to aid and help him. Some advised

adviſed him to go into *Africk* unto King *Juba*. But *Theophanes* the *Lesbian* ſaid, that it was great folly to decline *Egypt* that was but three days ſail from thence, and where *Ptolemey* was, who was lately come to mans eſtate, and was infinitely bound to *Pompey* for the late favours which he ſhewed to his Father, and not put himſelf into the hands of the *Parthians*, the moſt unfaithfull Nation in the world. He thought it alſo an ill part for him to carry his young Wife of the Noble Family of *Scipio*, amongſt ſuch barbarous People, who care not how baſely they abuſe any ſtrangers. This Speech altered *Pompey*'s mind, and made him reſolve to flie into *Egypt*: and ſo with his wife *Cornelia*, he departed from *Cyprus* in a Galley of *Seleucia*. The reſt of his Train, imbarked alſo, ſome in Galleys, others in Merchants Ships, and ſo paſſed the Sea without danger.

Pompey flyes into *Egypt*.

When *Pompey* heard that King *Ptolomy* was in the City of *Peluſium* with his Army, warring againſt his Siſter, he ſteared that way, and ſent a meſſenger before to the King, to certifie him of his arrivall; and to entreat him to give him entertainment: King *Ptolomey* was at this time but a young man, and under him, the whole Realm was governed by one *Photinus*. He therefore aſſembled a Councell of the chiefeſt, and wiſeſt of his Court, and when they were met, *Photinus* in the Kings name commanded every man to declare his Judgment about the reception of *Pompey* whether they ſhould intertain him or not; and truly it was a ſad thing that *Photinus* an Eunuch, and *Theodotus* of *Chio*, who was the Kings Schoolmaſter for *Rhetorick*, and *Achillas* an *Egyptian*, ſhould conſult amongſt themſelves what they ſhould do with *Pompey* the *Great*.

He ſends to King *Ptolomy*.

A Councell about *Pompey*.

All this while *Pompey* rode at Anchour near to the ſhore, expecting the reſolution of this Councell, amongſt whom their opinions were various, ſome were for, others againſt his reception. But *Theodotus* the *Rhetorician*, to ſhew his eloquence, perſwaded them that neither the one, nor the other was to be done. For (ſaid

Base treachery and ingratitude.

(ſaid he) *if we receive him, we ſhall make* Ceſar *our enemy*, and Pompey *our Lord: If we receive him not*, Pompey *will blame us*, and Ceſar *alſo for not keeping him. Our ſafeſt way therefore is to kill him: for thereby we ſhall win the good will of the one, and not fear the diſpleaſure of the other:* Adding that *Mortui non mordent*, A dead man bites not. This they all reſolved upon, and accordingly gave *Achillas* Commiſſion to do it.

This being concluded, *Achillas* took with him *Septimius* (who had ſometimes ſerved under *Pompey*) and *Salvius* a Centurion, and two or three other Souldiers, and ſo made towards *Pompey*'s Galley, about whom there were at this time the chiefeſt of his Traine to ſee what would be the iſſue of this matter. But when they ſaw what intertainment he was like to have, and that they came not in that Princely manner, anſwerable to the hopes that *Theophanes* had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men comming towards him in a Fiſher-boat, they began to miſtruſt the ſequell, and adviſed *Pompey* to turne back, and to launch again into the Sea, whilſt he was yet out of the reach of their Darts. In the meane time the Fiſher boat drew near, and *Septimius* roſe up and ſaluted *Pompey* in the *Roman* Tongue by the name of *Imperator*, or Emperour. *Achillas* alſo ſpake to him in *Greek*, wiſhing him to come into his Boat, the ſhore being full of mudde, and ſand banks, ſo that his Galley could not carry him to the ſhore.

At this time they ſaw afarre off diverſe of the Kings Gallies which were arming with all ſpeed poſſible, and all the ſhore was full of Souldiers, ſo that though *Pompey* and his Friends would have altered their minds, yet they could not tell how to eſcape, and if they had diſcovered their miſtruſt of them, they had given the mutherers a cloak for their cruelty. *Pompey* therefore taking his leave of his Wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his Death before his end, he commanded two of his Centurions to go down before him

Pompey takes his leave of his Wife and Son.

him into the Boat, and took with him only *Philip*, one of his Slaves enfranchised, with another Slave called *Scymes*. When *Achillas* reaching out his hand to receive *Pompey* into his boat, he turned him to his Wife, and Son, and repeated these verses of *Sophocles*:

The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage bee.

These were the last words which he spake to them. The Land being far off, when he saw never a man in the boat speak friendly to him, he said unto *Septimius*, Me thinks, my Friend, I should know thee, for thou hast served under me heretofore: the other nodded with his head, but gave him no answer. *Pompey* observing these things, took a little Book into his hand, wherein he had written an Oration that he ment to make to King *Ptolomy*, and began to read it. As they approached to the shore, *Cornelia*, with her Friends about her, stood up in great fear, to see what would become of *Pompey*, and she hoped well when she saw many of the Kings People on the shore, comming towards *Pompey*, as it were to receive, and honour him at his landing. But even as *Pompey* took *Philip* by the hand to rise more easily, *Septimius* came behind him, and thrust him through with his Sword: *Salvius*, and *Achillas* also made at him with their Swords. *Pompey* did no more but took up his gown, with which he covered his face, and took the wounds in a manly manner, only sighing a little. Thus ended he his Life the very next day after his Birth, being fifty nine years old. *Pompey* is slaine.

They which rode at Anchor in their Ships, when they saw him thus murthered, gave such a fearfull cry that it was heard to the shore: And weighing their Anchors with speed, they hoised Sail and departed, having a lusty gale of Wind to help them. The *Egyptians*

tians had thought to purſue them, but when they ſaw they were paſt their reach, they let them go. Then ſtriking off *Pompeys* Head they threw his Body overboard, where it was a miſerable ſpectacle to all that deſired to behold it. *Philip*, his infranchiſed Bondman, ſtirred not from it till the *Ægyptians* had glutted themſelves with looking upon it. Then having waſhed it with Salt water, and wrapped it up in an old ſhirt of his own, he ſought about the ſands, and at laſt found a piece of an old Fiſher-boat, ſcarſe enough to burne all the Body: and as he was gathering the pieces of this Boat together, there came to him an old *Roman*, who in his youth had ſerved under *Pompey*, ſaying, *O Friend, what art thou that prepareſt the Funerals of* Pompey *the* Great? *Philip* anſwered, that he was a Bondman of his infranchiſed. *Well* (ſaid he) *then ſhalt not have all this honour alone, Pray thee let me accompany thee in this devout deed, that I may not altogether repent me that I have dwelt ſo long in a ſtrange Country, where I have endured much miſery; but to recompence me, let me have this good happe to touch* Pompeys *Body, and to help to bury this moſt famous Captain of the* Romans.

The next day *Lucius Lentulus*, not knowing what had happened, comming out of *Cyprus*, ſailed by the ſhore ſide, and perceiving a Funeral fire, and *Philip* ſtanding by it, he asked him whoſe Funerall it was? But ſtraight fetching a great ſigh, alas (ſaid he) perhaps it is *Pompeys* the *Great*. Then he landed a little, and was preſently ſlaine. This was the deplorable end of *Pompey* the *Great*.

Cæſar not long after came into *Ægypt*, where there were great Wars, at which time *Pompeys* Head was preſented to him, but he turned aſide and would not ſee it, abhorring him that brought it as a deteſtable murtherer. Then looking on his Signet Ring whereon was engraven a Lion holding a Sword, he burſt out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Photinus* he put to death.

The murthers juſtly puniſhed.

death. King *Potolomy* bing over thrown in Battell by the River *Nilus*, vaniſhed away and was never after heard of. *Theodotus* eſcaped *Cæſars* hands, and wondred up and down *Ægypt* in great miſery, diſpiſed of every man. And afterwards *Marcus Brutus* (who ſlew *Cæſar*) when he conquered *Aſia*, met with this *Theodotus* by chance, and puting him to all the torments he could poſſibly deviſe, he at laſt ſlew him. The aſhes of *Pompeys* Body were afterwards brought to his Wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a Town of hers near the City of *Alba*. His Buriall.

FINIS.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON, One of the Great MONARCHS OF PERSIA.

THere were two *Artaxerxes*'s that were Monarchs of *Persia*, the first was called *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, or *Long-hand*, because his right hand was longer than his left. The second (whose Life we are now setting forth) was called *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, from his excellent memory. This *Artaxerxes* was the Son of *Darius Ochus*, begotten by him on the Body of *Paryſatis*, before he came to be King: And *Paryſatis* was the Daughter of the first *Artaxerxes*. His Parentage.

Darius had by his Wife *Paryſatis* four Sons, of the which the eldest was this *Artaxerxes*, the second was called *Cyrus*, the two younger *Oſmes*, and *Oxathres*. This *Artaxerxes* before he came to the Kingdom, was called

called *Arſaces*, but after he came to the Kingdom he aſſumed the name of *Artaxerxes*: *Darius Ochus* raigned nineteen years, and dyed at *Babylon*. When he lay on his Deathbed, his Son *Artaxerxes* asked him by what Wiſdom and Policy he had maintained his State ſo long, To the end (ſaid he) that having learned by you, I may follow your ſteps therein? To whom *Darius* anſwered, *That he had done it, by doing right to God and man.*

A wiſe ſaying.

Cyrus from his childhood was of an hot ſtirring diſpoſition, and *Artaxerxes* on the contrary was alwayes mild and gentle. Wherefore *Paryſatis* alwayes loved her Son *Cyrus* more than the Elder, and therefore often urged her Husband *Darius Ochus* to follow the example of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, to leave him to ſucceed in the Kingdom, who was firſt borne, after he came to be King, and not him who was borne before. This indeed did help *Xerxes* to the Kingdom: Wherefore ſhe urged this Example to induce her Husband to leave the Kingdom to *Cyrus*, who was borne after his Father was Crowned King, and not unto *Arſaces*, who was borne before: Yet could ſhe never prevaile. For *Darius*, by his laſt will, gave the Kingdom to his eldeſt Son *Artaxerxes*, and made *Cyrus* Governour of *Lydia*, and the Kings Leiutenant Generall of all the lower Countries of *Aſia*, next to the Sea ſide.

He comes to the Kingdom.

Shortly after the Death of *Darius*, the new King *Artaxerxes* went unto *Paſargades*, there to be Conſecrated, and Annointed King by the Prieſts of *Perſia*. At this place was a Temple dedicated to *Menerva*, where the new Kings muſt be Conſecrated, after this manner: When he came into the Temple he muſt put off his own gown, and put on that which the firſt and great *Cyrus* wore before he was King. Then he muſt eat of a certain Tart or Fricacy made of Figs with Turpentine. Then he muſt take a Drink made with Vinegar and Milk, beſides ſome others ſecret Ceremonies, which none knew but the Prieſts themſelves.

Ceremonies at his Conſecration.

Now

Now when *Artaxerxes* was ready to enter into the Temple, *Tisaphernes* came to him, and brought him one of the Priests; who had been Schoolmaster to *Cyrus* in his Youth, who informed him that *Cyrus* had conspired Treason against him, and that he meant traiterously to kill him in the Temple when he should put off his Gown. Upon this accusation *Cyrus* was apprehended, and condemned: But as he was going to execution, his Mother took him in her armes, and wound the hair of her Head about his neck, wherewith she tyed him fast to her, and withall, she wept so bitterly, and made such pittifull mone to the King her Son, that at her intercession, he granted to *Cyrus* his life, and sent him again to his Government in the lesser *Asia*.

Treason discovered.

The Traytor pardoned.

Yet *Cyrus* was not satisfied with this, but shortly after entered into open Rebellion against the King his Brother; for which end he kept Souldiers in pay in diverse places, not bringing them altogether into one Army, because he desired to conceale his enterprise. He had also Friends, and Servants that levied him men in diverse places, and under diverse pretences. He had his Mother alwayes about the King that cleared all suspitions conceived against him. Himself also whilst he made these preparations, wrote very humbly to his Brother; one while craving something of him, and another while accusing *Tisaphernes*, to delude the King, and make him believe that he bent all his malice against the said *Tisaphernes*.

Cyrus his new Treason.

Artaxerxes at his first comming to the Crown, followed and imitated the goodnesse, and curtesie of the first *Artaxerxes*, giving easy audience unto suitors, and more honourably rewarding those that had deserved well of him: and he used such moderation in punishing offenders, that he made it appear that he punished not out of any malicious mind, or desire of revenge, not yet out of a will to hurt any man. When he had any thing given him he took it very thankfully, and did as willingly and frankly give to them again: For how small a thing

Artaxerxes his Virtues.

a thing ſoever was offered him, he took it well. One *Romiſes* upon a time preſenting him with a marvellous fair Pomgranate: *By the Sun* (ſaid he) *this man in a ſhort time of a little Town would make a great City, if he were made Governour of it.* At another time a poor Labourer ſeeing every man give the King a preſent, he having nothing to give, ran to the River ſide and took both his handsfull of Water, and came and offered it to the King, who took it ſo kindly, that in a cup of maſſey Gold, he ſent him a thouſand *Daricks*, which were pieces of Gold ſo called, becauſe the Image of *Darius* was ſtamped upon them. And when one *Euclidas* a *Lacedemonian*, preſumed to give him bold words, he anſwered by one of his Captaines, *Thou maiſt ſay what thou liſteſt, and I, as King may ſay and do what I liſt.* Another time as he was hunting, *Tiribazus* ſhewed the King his Gown that was all tattered: *Well* (ſaid the King) *what wouldeſt thou have me do?* I pray your Grace (ſaid *Tiribazus*) take you another and give me that you have on. The King did ſo, adding, *Tiribazus, I give thee my Gown, but I command thee not to weare it:* But *Tiribazus* being a fooliſh, light-headed fellow, not careing for the Kings Commandment, did ſtrait put on the Gown, and beſides, ſet on many Jewels which Kings only uſed to weare, whereupon every one in the Court murmured at him, becauſe it was a preſumption directly againſt the Laws of *Perſia*: Yet the King did but laugh at it, ſaying, *I give thee leave* Tiribazus *to wear thoſe Womens-gawds as a Woman, and the Kings Robe as a Fool.*

His gratitude.

His meekneſſe.

His prudence.

It was the manner in *Perſia*, that no Perſon ſat at the Kings Table but his Mother (which ſat uppermoſt) and his Wife which ſat lowermoſt, but *Artaxerxes* made his two younger Bretheren, *Oſtanes*, and *Oxathres* to ſit with him, which much pleaſed the *Perſians*, but eſpecially, becauſe he was contentent that his Wife *Statira* ſhould ſit openly in her Chariot, that ſhe might be ſeen, and reverenced by the other Ladies of the Court, and Country.

Country. But some that hated Peace and desired innovations, said, that the Realm of *Persia* needed such a Prince as *Cyrus*, that was bountifull, given to Armes, and that liberally rewarded his Servants.

At this time all the Cities of *Jonia*, except *Miletus*, which were under the Government of *Tissaphernes*, fell from him to *Cyrus*: And *Cyrus* sent to *Artaxerxes*, praying him that he would be pleased to trust him, being his Brother, with those Cities, rather than *Tissaphernes*, and in this suit his Mother also sticked hard for him: All this while the King discerned not the Treason intended against him; but thought that *Cyrus* kept his Army about him to strengthen him against *Tissaphernes*, and he was well content that they two should try it out between themselves; for *Cyrus* did daily send the King the Tribute of those Cities, which *Tissaphernes* formerly held. But in the mean time *Cyrus* sent to *Lacedemon*, praying them, that as he had hitherto supported them with men and money against the *Athenians*, so now they would send him some men, boasting if they sent him Foot, he would give them Horse, if Horsemen, he would give them Coaches. If they had Lands he would give them Townships: If Towns, he would give them Cities for their rewards: And for their wages, they should have it, not by tale, but by weight, and paid down presently. Hereupon the *Lacedemonians* judging his request but equall, and that this War would tend to their advantage, they decreed him aid, and the *Ephori* sent presently to their Admirall at *Samos*, to do whatsoever *Cyrus* required of him: He therefore with his Ships put over to *Ephesus*, where he met with *Tamos* the *Ægyptian*, who was Admirall with *Cyrus*, and offered him his service, joyning his Fleet to his: and so they both sailed round about the coast of *Jonia*, unto *Cania*, whereby they prevented *Syennesis* (who Governed there) that he could not stir to hinder *Cyrus* in his march against his Brother.

Cyrus his dissimulation.

Cyrus having now his Army in readinesse, resolved

to march into Upper *Asia*, giving out, that he went against the *Pisidians*, who (as he said) made often inrodes into his Government: He sent for *Clearchus*, of *Lacedemonia*, *Aristippus* of *Thessaly*, *Xenes* of *Arcadia*, those which were banished from *Miletus*, and the Army that lay before that City: *Proxenus* also a *Bœotian*, with all the power he could make, both of *Grecians* and others, to repaire speedily to him to *Sardis*. But *Tisaphernes* seeing greater preparations made than a bare going against the *Pisidians* could require, taking with him five hundred Horse, made all the speed that possibly he could to *Artaxerxes*, informing him of his danger, who thereupon presently prepared for the Wars.

The Treason discovered.

Cyrus in the mean time left some trusty *Persians*, his Friends, to look to *Lidia*, and *Tamos*, his Admirall, to take care of the Cities of *Jonia*, and *Eolia* in his absence, and himself with his Army marched towards *Caria*, and *Pisidia*, still giving it out, that some persons in those parts were grown unruly. He had in his Army a great number of his own, besides thirteen thousand *Grecians*; when newes of his approach was brought to the Court, all was strait in an uproare. Many accused the Queen-Mother as having a hand it, and all her servants were vehemently suspected: But that which troubled *Paysatis* most, was Queen *Statyra*, her Daughter in Law, who stormed exceedingly when she saw this War begun against her Husband, and cryed out on the Queen-Mother for it: *Paysatis* hereupon, being a cruel and malicious Woman, so hated her hence forwards, that she sought her Death by all meanes.

Cyrus in the mean time came on without resistance even to the City of *Babylon*: And whereas *Artaxerxes* had determined to retire into the farthest parts of *Persia*, *Tiribazus* was the first that durst tell him that he should not shun the fight, leaving to his enemies the Kingdomes of *Media*, *Babylon*, and *Susa*, considering that he

he had a greater Army than *Cyrus*, and far more skilfull Captaines: which words made the King to alter his mind, and to reſolve to give Battell ſo ſoon as he could.

Cyrus comming with his Army to the River *Cayſter*, received money from *Epiaxa*, Wife to *Syeneſis*, the King of *Cilicia*, wherewith he paid his Army full four moneths wages: and by her perſwaſion her Husband *Syeneſis* gave him alſo a vaſt ſumme of money towards the maintenance of his Army: and like a wiſe man, at the ſame time he ſupplyed *Artaxerxes* with neceſſaries for the War: and having two Sons, he ſent one of them to *Cyrus*, with a competent number of men for his ſervice, and the other he ſent privily away to *Artaxerxes*, to let him know, that having ſuch an Army come upon him, he durſt not but keep faire with *Cyrus*, nevertheleſſe that he continued a ture ſervant in heart to *Artaxerxes*, and would fall to him ſo ſoon as he had opportunity. Policy.

At *Tarſus* the *Grecians* (who were eleven thouſand Corſelets, and two thouſand Targateers) told *Cyrus* plainly, that they would march no farther; but by the wiſdome of *Clearchus* they were perſwaded to go on, and ſo they came to *Iſſus*, the utmoſt City of *Cilicia*: where *Cyrus*'s Fleet met him, bringing great ſupplies to him, and the Straights of *Syria* being abandoned, *Cyrus* marched without any ſtop to the place where the fight ſhortly after was. *Cyrus*, beſides the *Grecians* before mentioned, had in his Army one hundred thouſand fighting men, and two hundred hooked Chariots. Of *Artaxerxes* his part there were four hundred thouſand men, and fifteen hundred hooked Cariots: The place where the fight was, was called *Cynaxa*, five hunderd furlongs from *Babylon*. Their great Armies.

Cyrus his men were marvelouſly aſtoniſhed when they ſaw the Army of *Artaxerxes* in ſuch excellent good order, whereas themſelves were diſperſed here and there, ſtragling without any order, and ill armed, truſting

too much to themſelves and diſpiſing their enemies: So that *Cyrus* had much ado to ſet his men in Battell array, and yet was it with great noiſe, and tumult. But of all others the *Grecians* wondred moſt, when they ſaw the Kings Army march in ſo good order of Battell without any noiſe: for they thought to have ſeen them in great diſorder, and confuſion, and ſuppoſed that they would have made ſuch a noiſe as one could not have heard another: whereas *Artaxerxes* had marſhalled his Army excellent well. He had placed before his Battell his beſt Chariots armed with Sithes, and drawn by the ſtrongeſt and biggeſt Horſes he had, hoping by their fierceneſſe and fury to diſorder the ranks of his enemies.

Before the Battell began, *Clearchus* (Generall of the *Grecians*) adviſed *Cyrus* to keep behind his ſquadron, and not to hazard his Perſon amongſt his own men: To whom *Cyrus* anſwered: *What ſaiſt thou* Clearchus? *Wouldſt thou have me who ſtrive to be a King, to ſhew my ſelf unworthy to be a King?* But *Clearchus* himſelf committed as great, if not a worſe fault, whenas he would not order his men directly againſt the Battell of the enemy where *Artaxerxes* was, but pent them up by the Rivers ſide, for fear leaſt they ſhould be compaſſed in behind, whereas, if the *Grecians* had been ſet in oppoſition to the King, he had never been able to endure their charge, but had either been ſlaine or forced to fly, wherefore if *Artaxrexes* would have choſen or wiſhed a place where the *Grecians* might have done him leſſe hurt, he could not have deviſed a fitter place that was ſo far from him, and from whence the *Grecians* could neither ſee nor hear what was done in the place where he was, as afterwards appeared.

A Battell

Cyrus being mounted upon an hot, and hard mouthed Horſe, the Governour of the Province of the *Caduſians* ſpyed him afar off, and clapping ſpurs to his Horſe, he came with a full career to him, crying out, *O Traytor and moſt unfaithfull man! Thou diſhonoureſt the Name of*

Cyrus,

Cyrus, *for that thou hast brought such valiant* Grecians *upso wicked an enterprise, to spoile the* Persians *Goods, and to destroy thy Soveraign Lord and only Brother, who hath an infinite number of Slaves, and Servants that are honester men than thy self, and that thou shalt presently know by experience, for thou shalt die before thou seest the Kings face,* and therewithall he threw his Dart at him with all his force: But the Armour of *Cyrus* was so good that it pierced not, yet the blow made him stagger on his Horse back. *Artagerses* having given him this blow, presently wheeled about: But *Cyrus* threw a Dart at him so happily that he slew him, the head of his Dart passing quite through his neck. *Cyrus* hereupon presently flew upon those that were neerest to the Kings Person, and came so near the King that he slew his Horse under him: But *Tiribazus* presently mounted the King upon another Horse, and *Cyrus*, clapping spurs to his Horse, threw another Dart at the King and hit him: But at the third charge *Artaxerxes* told them about him that he could not abide this, and that he had rather die than suffer it, and thereupon he spurred his Horse to Charge *Cyrus*, (who also came fiercely against him) and threw his Dart at him, as also did all those that were about the King, and so was *Cyrus* slaine in this conflict.

Cyrus slaine.

Now after *Cyrus* was dead, *Artasyras*, one of the Kings Eunuchs, passing by, found his dead Body, whereupon he gallopped apace to the King, and with a smiling countenance told him the newes. *Artaxerxes* was so joyfull that he would needs go to the place to see it: But he was advised not to go in Person; for fear of the *Grecians*, who carried all before them, and were killing those that had fled before them. Upon this advice the King stayed, and sent thirty men with Torches in their hands to seek him out. The King was very ill, both by reason of the great thirst he suffered; as also by reason of a wound that he had received in his Breast by *Cyrus*: One of his Eunuchs therefore, called

Satibarzenes

Satribarzenes ran up and down to ſee if he could get any Water for him: and as he ran here and there, he met with ſome poor Slaves of the *Caunians*, amongſt which, one had in an old ragged Goats skin about eight glaſsfull of ſtinking naughty Water: This he preſently carried to the King, who drank it up every whit, and his Eunuch asking him afterwards if that naughty Water did him no hurt? The King ſwore by the Gods, that he never drank better Wine, nor ſweeter Water than that was, nor that pleaſed him better: and therefore (ſaid he) *I beſeech the Gods, if it be not my hap to meet with this man that gave thee this Water, to reward him, that yet it will pleaſe them to ſend him good Fortune.*

Note.

As the King was thus talking with the Eunuches, the thirty men with Torches returned, who aſſured him of the death of *Cyrus*: Multitudes alſo of his Souldiers gathered about him, ſo that he began to be couragious, and with an infinite number of Torches and lights about him, he went to the Place where the Body of *Cyrus* lay, and cauſed his Head and right hand to be ſtricken off, and takeing the Head by the hair, he ſhewed it to his men who were yet flying: they taking courage hereby, ſo flocked about the King, that in a ſhort time he had ſeventy thouſand Souldiers about him, with whom he returned again towards the Camp of *Cyrus*, which he rifled, and there met with a Concubine of *Cyrus*, a woman famous for her wit and beauty: She was a *Phocæan* born in *Ionia*: her name at firſt was *Mitto*, but *Cyrus*, called her *Aſpaſia*: She was brought bound to the King, for which he was ſo angry that he impriſoned thoſe that bound her, and ever after eſteemed her above all the Harlots he kept (who were in number three hundred and ſixty, all choiſe beauties) and moſt doted on her.

Aſpaſia taken.

The Brigade of *Grecians*, not knowing what had befalne *Cyrus*, kept on fighting ſtill, and had beaten *Tiſſaphernes* and all his power. But the King coming with the main of his Army to the relief of *Tiſſaphernes*, fell upon

The *Grecians* valour.

on the *Grecians* Camp and rifled it, yet when they returned from the pursuit, they recovered it and beat the King out again, and lodged Supperless in it that night, as well as Dinnerless the day before.

Artaxerxes after this Battell sent rich Gifts unto the Son of *Artagerses* whom *Cyrus* had slain with his own hands. He caused also the poor *Caunian* Slave that had given him the stinking Water, to be sought out, and of a poor wretch, and unknown before, he made him a Rich Nobleman. He punished such severely as had offended against martiall Discipline. And one *Arbaces* a *Median*, who at the first ran over to *Cyrus*, and after his Death he returned to *Artaxerxes* again, for punishment, he compelled him to carry a whore on his back, stark naked all day long about the Market place: and for one who had yeilded himself to his enemies, and yet falsly boasted that he had slaine two, he caused his Tongue to be boared through in three places.

Artaxerxes thinking that himself had slain *Cyrus*, and being desirous that all others should think so too, he sent Presents to *Mithridates* who had first hurt him in the forehead, commanding the messenger to tell him from the King, The King sends thee these Presents because thou didst first find the Caparisons of *Cyrus* his Horse and broughtest them to the King. The *Carian* likewise that had cut *Cyrus* his hamme which made him fall to the ground, asked his reward also, which the King gave him, and bad the messenger tell him, the King gives thee this because thou wast the second Person that brought him the good news of the Death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, though he was not well pleased with the message, said nothing for the present, but the unhappy *Carian* in a foolish vain, being overjoyed with the rich Presents, said, that he would not take them as a reward for bringing the news, but called the Gods to witness, that he was the man and the onely man that slew *Cyrus*, and that he did him great wrong to take that honour from him. The King was so incensed hereby

Artaxerxes his Gratitude.

His Justice.

His Vain-Glory.

hereby that he commanded some presently to strike off his head: But *Paysatis* (the Queen-Mother) said, *Let me alone with the Villain, I will chastise him well enough:* and withall she sent Sergeants, who hung him in chains for ten Days together, then caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head; and lastly poured molten lead into his ears, and so killed him.

Horrid Cruelty.

Not long after *Mithridates* was invited to a Feast where many of the Kings and Queen-Mothers Eunuches were, and *Mithridates* sat in the Golden Gown which the King had sent him: and after supper as they were drinking freely, one of the Queen-Mothers Eunuchs said to him, *Mithridates, the King hath given thee a rich Gown, Goodly chains, and Carchenets of Gold, and very Rich, so that every one thinks thee a happy man with them: Mithridates* answered; what meanest thou by this *Sparamixes?* I deserved better than these when the Battell was fought. Why? (said *Sparamixes*) what so valiant an act was it to take up a Caparison of a Horse that fell to the ground and to carry it to the King: *Mithridates* being a choller ick man, and his brain heat with wine, answered: *You may talk as long as you list of a Caparison of a Horse, but I tell you plainly that* Cyrus *was slain with my owne hands, and with no mans else. For I hit him not in vain as* Artagerses *did, but full in the forehead, hard by the eye, which pierced through his head, of which blow he died.* The envious Eunuch at his departure told this to *Paysatis*, who went presently and told it to the King. He was marvelously angry to lose the thing that was most honourable, and that best pleased him in his Victory. For he desired that all the world should believe, that though his Brother hurt him, yet he slew his Brother with his own hand: He therefore commanded that *Mithridates* should suffer the Death by Boats. which was thus; They took two Boats of equall size, and laying the offender in one of them upon his back, they covered him with the other, and fastned both Boats together, that his feet, hands, and head came out at holes made on purpose: then they

Cruelty.

gave

gave him meat as much as he would eat, which if refused they thrust aules into his eyes to force him: and when he had eaten, they gave him Honey and Milk to drink, powring it also all over his face, and turned his face full into the Sun, which was covered over with Flyes sucking at it. In his excrements also which came from him, Wormes did breed that devoured his flesh: And when they see the man is dead, they take off the upper Boat, and find all his flesh devoured to his very intrailes. *Mitrhridates* thus miseraby languished for seventeen dayes together, and then dyed with much torment.

Now *Parysatis*, to satisfie her revenge, had only *Mesabates* to reak her teen on, who was one of the Kings Eunuches, who, at his command, had cut off *Cyrus* his Head and hand: But he was so wary that she could get no advantage against him, wherefore she invented this devise. She was very skilfull in playing at Cards and Dice, and finding the King one day at leasure, she enticed him to play at Dice with her for a thousand *Daricks*, and was contented willingly to lose them, and paid them down. Then she prayed him to play with her for one of his Eunuches: the King was contented, but they agreed that each of them should name five of the chiefest whom they would except, and then the loser should presently deliver to the winner the choise of all the other Eunuches they had. Now did she play so warily and cunningly, that she wan the Game, and then required *Mesabates* to be dilivered to her, being none of those whom the King excepted. And when she had him, she delivered him to the Hangman, commanding him to flea him alive, and then to naile him to a Crosse and crucify him, and to hang his skin by him, which was done accordingly. The King was marvellously angry when he knew it, and was grievously offended with his Mother But Queen *Statyra* spared not to tell the Queen Mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her to put the

Subtilty of *Parysatis*.

Her cruelty.

Kings true and faithfull Servant to ſo cruell a Death, for *Cyrus* ſake. Yet *Paryſatis* laughed it out, ſaying to her Son, *Indeed it becomes thee well to be angry for an old Gelded Villaine, whereas I loſt a thouſand* Daricks, *and ſaid never a word for it.* In brief, ſhe would never be out of her Sons ſight but as little as might be, and would let his Wife *Statyra* have as little time with him as poſſible, that ſhe might Govern him as ſhe would; becauſe ſhe hated her of all Creatures living, as alſo for that ſhe would bear the greateſt ſway and credit about him.

The *Grecian* Captaines betrayed.

Tiſaphernes having deceived *Clearchus*, and the other Captains of the *Greeks* by falſifying his word and promiſe given to them, he ſent them bound to the King, who caſt them into Priſon: and though *Paraſatis* was an earneſt ſuitor to the King her Son for them, yet at the perſwaſion of his Wife *Statyra*, he put them all to Death, but *Menon*.

Statira poiſoned.

Paryſatis had for a long time born implacable and inveterate hatered againſt *Statyra*, for that ſhe had more love and reſpect from the King than her ſelf, ſo that ſhe determined that either her ſelf or her Daughter in Law muſt die. Now *Statyra* had a maid called *Gingis*, or *Gigis* who was very gracious with her, and whom *Paryſatis* made uſe of in poiſoning *Statira*. There is a little Bird in *Perſia* called *Rhindaces* that hath no excrements at all, but all her guts are ſtuffed full with fat: One of theſe Birds, as ſhe ſat at Table with *Statyra*, ſhe (or one of her maids) took and cut in two with a knife that was poiſoned on the one ſide, and ſo gave that halfe which was towards that poiſoned ſide to her Daughter, and did eat the other her ſelf, ſhortly after which, the Queen died in extream torments: And the King preſently ſuſpect his Mother for it, knowing her cruell and implacable diſpoſition, and he cauſed her Servants and Carvers to be examined and racked about it: But *Paryſatis* kept *Gingis* a long time in her own Chamber, and though the King required her, yet would ſhe not

give

give her up to juſtice, till at laſt *Gingis* her ſelf deſiring to ſteal to her own lodging in the night, ſhe was apprehended and puniſhed as a Poiſoner. As for his Mother, the King neither did nor ſaid any hurt to her: But when ſhe deſired to retire her ſelf to *Babylon*, the King gave it her, but withall, ſwore to her, that while ſhe lived, he would not come thither.

Artaxerxes his Gratitude.

Artaxerxes for his good ſervice in this War, gave to *Tiſſaphernes* all the Governments which his Brother *Cyrus* had held beſides what he had before: he heaped alſo many other large gifts and favours upon him; and above all gave him his own Daughter to Wife, and ever after uſed him as his moſt confident Friend and Servant.

The *Grecians* valour.

Now *Artaxerxes* having done the utmoſt he could to overcome thoſe *Grecians* whom his Brother *Cyrus* had brought into the heart of his Dominions, yet could he never prevaile againſt them: For though they had loſt *Cyrus* who intertained them, and all their Captaines that led them; yet did they chooſe other Captaines, whereof *Xenophon* was one, and made their retreat in ſpite of all the Power of *Perſia*: whereupon all the other *Grecians* waxed bold, and diſpiſed thoſe Barbarous People: and the *Lacedemonians* thought it a great ſhame to them if they did not deliver the *Grecians* that dwelt in *Aſia* from the ſlavery, and bondage of the *Perſians*: For which end they ſent thither their King *Ageſilaus*, who paſſing into *Aſia* with his Ships, began preſently to make hot War againſt the *Perſians*, and in the firſt conflict he overthrew *Tiſſaphernes*, and cauſed moſt of the Cities of the *Greeks* in thoſe parts to rebell againſt him.

Artaxerxes his Policy.

Artaxerxes being informed hereof, conſidered ſeriouſly how he might prevent this miſchiefe, and at laſt reſolved upon this as his only courſe. He ſent into *Greece* one *Hermocrates*, a *Rhodian*, with a very great ſumme of Gold and Silver, which he was bountifully to beſtow amongſt the Nobility, and chiefe Rulers of the Cities of *Greece*, to provoke them to riſe up againſt the *Lacedemonians*. This *Hermocrates* ſo wiſely mannaged his buſineſs,

that he made the chiefeſt Cities of *Greece* to rebell againſt the *Lacedemonians*; ſo that all *Peloponneſus* being in Armes, the *Ephori* at *Lacedæmon* were inforced to ſend for *Ageſilaus* home again. *Ageſilaus* being ſorry that he left *Aſia*, ſaid unto his Friends: that the King of *Perſia* had driven him out of his Dominions with thirty thouſand Archers: and this he ſaid, becauſe the *Perſian* coine was ſtamped on the Reverſe with an Archer, having a Bow in his hand.

Artaxerxes alſo drave out the *Lacedemonians* from all their juriſdiction by Sea, by the help of *Conon* the *Athenian* Admiral, whom *Pharnabazus* (one of his Leiutenants) had procured to take his part. This *Conon* having been overthrown in a Battell at a place called the *Goats River*, kept ever after in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, as being the meeteſt place to ſtay in, till the Wars of *Greece* were ended. He knowing that himſelf lacked power, and that *Artaxerxes* wanted a man of Judgement to be imployed, he wrote Letters to him, wherein he adviſed him what to do. Theſe Letters were delivered to *Artaxerxes* by *Cteſias*, who was preſently ſent to aſſiſt *Conon*. And it fell out that after *Artaxerxes* had, through the conduct *Conon* and *Pharnebazus*, won the Battell by Sea near to the Iſle of *Gnidus*, and thereby had driven the *Lacedemonians* from their Lordſhip of the Sea, all *Greece* had him in marvellous great eſtimation, ſo that he gave to the *Grecians* ſuch conditions as he pleaſed, whereupon that famous Peace, called *Antalcidas Peace*, was concluded. This *Antalcidas* was a Citizen of *Sparta*, who favouring the affairs of *Artaxerxes*, procured by this Treaty of Peace, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould leave to *Artaxerxes* all the *Grecian* Cities in *Aſia* and all the Iſles belonging thereto, and to cauſe them to pay him Tribute, at his pleaſure.

Peace betwixt him and the *Grecians*.

This Peace being concluded with the *Grecians*, King *Artaxerxes* though he extreamely hated the *Lacedemonians*, yet he loved *Antalcidas* very well, and intertained him honourably, when he came to him into *Perſia*. One day the

the King took a Garland of Flowers, and wet it in the most precious and sweetest Oile of perfume that was prepared for the Feast and sent it to *Antalcidas*. Indeed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curiosity of the *Persians*. Shortly after the *Lacedemonians* lost the Battell at *Leuctres*, and therewith the Principality which they had kept so long over all *Greece*. When *Sparta* flourished most, and was chiefe of all the other *Grecian* Cities, so long did *Artaxerxes* continue to make much of *Antalcidas*, and called him his *Friend*: But when the *Lacedemonians* had lost the Battell at *Leuctres*, having received so great a blow, and wanting money, they sent *Agisilaus* into *Ægypt*, and *Antalcidas* into *Persia* to King *Artaxerxes*, to pray him to aid and assist the *Lacedemonians*: But he made so small account of him, and disdained him so much, denying his request, that he returned to *Sparta* with shame and dishonour: And there also, seeing that his enemies did mock him, and fearing that the *Ephori* would commit him to Prison, he killed himself with Famine.

About the same time the *Thebans*, having under *Epaminondas* won the Battell at *Leuctres*, sent *Ismenias*, and *Pelopidas* into *Persia* to King *Artaxerxes*, where *Pelopidas* did nothing unworthy himself: But *Ismenias*, being commanded to kneel to the King, let fall his Ring at his feet and stooped to take it up, whereby some thought that he did it to kneel to the King. At another time *Artaxerxes*, liking well a secret advertisement sent him from *Timagoras*, the *Athenian*, he gave him ten thousand *Darieks* by his Secretary *Belluris*: and because he had a sickly Body and was forced to drink Cows Milk to restore him; the King therefore sent him eighty milch Kine, that he might have fresh Milk every day. He sent him also a Bed with all things belonging thereto, and Grooms of his Chamber to make his Bed, saying, *That the Grecians knew not how to make it*. He also sent him men to carry him upon their Armes to the Sea side, because he was sick: and whilest he was at Court, he

he intertained him very honourably, and bountifully. But the *Athenians* afterward condemned *Timagoras* to die, becauſe he had taken Bribes of the King of *Perſia*.

Juſtice.

But *Artaxerxes*, though he had in many other things vexed the *Grecians*, yet he did one thing that pleaſed them exceeding well when he did put *Tiſſaphernes* to Death, who was the greateſt enemy they had. *Paryſatis* the Kings Mother did help to bring this to paſſe, aggravating the acauſations which were brought in againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, out of the hatred which ſhe did beare him for her Son *Cyrus* his ſake: For the King did not keep his anger long againſt her, but ſent for her from *Babylon*, knowing that ſhe had an excellent witt, and was fit to Govern a Kingdom: Beſides, there was nothing now to hinder their comming together, his Wife being dead. And now *Paryſatis* applyed her ſelf to feed the Kings humour in every thing, ſeeming to miſlike nothing that he did: By this meanes ſhe grew into ſo great credit with him, that he denied nothing that ſhe asked. She perceiving that the King was extreamly in love with one of his own Daughters called *Atoſſa*, which hitherto he had diſſembled, chiefly for fear of her, *Paryſatis* having found out this, began to make more of his Daughter than ſhe did before, and in her Fathers preſence, ſometimes ſhe praiſed her beauty, another time her grace and good carriage, ſaying, *That ſhe was like a Queen, and Noble Princeſs*, ſo that at length ſhe perſwaded him to marry her openly (though before he had her Maidenhead) not paſſing for the Laws and opinions of the *Grecians*, conſidering that he was to eſtabliſh Laws to the *Perſians*, to determine of right, and wrong, good and bad. Hereupon he married *Atoſſa*, and loved her very intirely, inſomuch as though ſhe had a grievous diſeaſe that ran all over her Body, yet he loved her not the leſſe for it, and prayed continually for her to the Goddeſſe *Juno*, and fell on his knees before her Image, and ſent to her ſo many

Malice.

Unnaturall wickedneſſe.

ny offerings, that all the way from the Court Gates to *Juno*'s Temple (which was sixteen Furlongs off) was full of Gold, Silver, rich Purple, Silks, and Horses which were sent thither.

He Wars against *Ægypt*.

About this time *Artaxerxes* made War against *Ægypt* by *Pharnabazus*, and *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*; but they did no good, because they fell out betwixt themselves; wherefore himself went in Person against the *Caducians* with three hundred thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. Their Country was very rude which he invaded, alwayes dark and cloudy: the earth brought forth nothing that was sowed by man, and the Inhabitants lived upon Peares, and Apples, and such like fruit, yet the men were strong and lusty. When he was entred far into this Country, his Army fell into great straits for want of Victuals; for his Souldiers found nothing that was fit to eat, neither could they come by Victuals from any other place, because of the naughty, and craggy wayes, so that they were forced to live upon their own Beasts, and that was sold very deere; for an Asses head was sold for sixty Silver Drams. Yea, the Famine was so great that the King himself wanted food, and now there were but few Horses left. Now *Tiribazus*, though he was at this time out of favour with the King, yet he invented this Stratagem whereby he saved the King and all his men.

And against the *Caducians*.

A Famine in his Army.

In this Country there were two Kings with their Armies in the Field, and each of them Camped apart, from the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had imparted his Project to the King, himself went to one of these Kings, and at the same time sent his Son to the other, and told either of them that the other had sent Ambassadours unto King *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, unwitting to his Campanion: and therefore he counselled them if they were wise, one of them to seek to prevent the other with all the speed that possible he could. Both the one and the other Kings belived these words, either of them mistrusting

A stratagem.

ſtruſting the other; So that ſpeedily the one ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Artaxerxes* with *Tiribazus*, and the other alſo his Ambaſſadours which his Son. But *Tiribazus* tarrying ſomewhat long in the Journey, *Artaxerxes* began ſomewhat to ſuſpect him: His enemies alſo accuſed him in his abſence, and the King grew angry, and was ſorry that he had truſted him ſo far. But at length he returned, and his Son alſo, and either of them brought with him the Ambaſſadours of the *Caduſians*, and ſo Peace was concluded with them both. Then was *Tiribazus* highly in favour again, and ſo departed with the King.

Artaxerxes at this time made it evident, that cowardlineſſe doth not alwayes proceed from Pomp and curioſity, which ſome think to effeminate mens hearts, but rather from a baſe and abject mind that commonly follows evil, and the worſt counſel. For neither the Jewels of Gold, nor Kingly Robe, nor other ſumptuous Ornaments which the King ever wore about him, valewed at twelve thouſand Talents, did hinder him at that time to travell, and to take as much paines as any man in all his Army. For he himſelf marched on foot the foremoſt man, carrying his knapſack in a ſcarfe upon his Shoulders, and his Target on his Arme, with which he travelled over high ſtony Mountaines, ſo that his Souldiers ſeeing the Kings courage, and the paines that he took, they marched ſo nimbly as if they had wings, about two hundred Furlongs a day. At length the King by hard travell, came to one of his own Houſes, where were ſtately Arbours, and Parks, with goodly Trees curiouſly planted, but all the Country beſides was naked and barren, having no other Trees neere, and the weather was very cold: the King therefore ſuffered his Souldiers to hew down the goodly Pines, and Cypreſſe Trees in his Parks, and to embolden them, he himſelf took an Axe in his hand, and began to hew the goodlieſt Tree of them all: The Souldiers ſeeing that, fell every man

His hard travell.

His pitty to his Souldiers.

to

to work, so that in a short time they had wood enough, and the Parks were filled with fires, by which the Souldiers sat all night.

In this expedition *Artaxerxes* lost many valiant men and most of his Horses, wherefore thinking that his men would mock him for his miscarriage, he grew distrustfull of all, and suspected the chiefest Nobles about him, so that in a rage he put many of them to death, and yet was not satisfied therewith. *For there is nothing more cruel, nor a greater bloudsucker than a cowardly Tyrant: as on the contrary, there is nothing more courteous and lesse suspitious than a valiant, and couragious man.* His cruelty.

After this King *Artaxerxes* being growne very old, heard that there were great contentions between his Sons, which of them should inherit the Kingdom after his Death, and that the same was diffused amongst his Kindred, and Nobles. The wisest of them desired, that as he himself came to the Kingdom, as his Fathers eldest Son, so that he also should leave it to his eldest Son called *Darius*. But the younger, who was called *Ochus*, being valiant, and of a stirring nature, had some in the Court that took his part, and himself hoped to obtain the Crown by the meanes of his Sister *Atossa*, whom he much loved, and promised to marry her, and to make her Queen if he came to the Kingdom after his fathers Death. Now *Artaxerxes*, because he would put *Ochus* out of all hope to succeed him, lest his expectation might put him to go about to practice that which *Cyrus* did, and by this means his Realm should fall into factions and Civil Wars, he proclaimed his Son *Darius* (who was now fifty years old) King after his Death, and gave him leave from henceforth to weare the point of his Hat upright, as the *Persian* Kings used to do. *Darius* Proclaimed King.

Moreover the custome in *Persia* was, that when any came to be proclaimed heire apparent to the Crown, that he should request a gift of him that Proclaimed him

his ſucceſſor, which the other grants whatſoever it be if it be poſſible. *Darius* then asked his Father for his Concubine *Aſpaſia*, who was firſt Concubine to *Cyrus*, but now the King kept her for his own uſe. She was borne in *Jonia* of free Parents, and was brought up virtuouſly, and amongſt other beauties, ſhe was brought one night to *Cyrus* as he was at Supper, thoſe others without making nice of it, ſat down by him, and were glad when *Cyrus* began to play and be merry with them, anſwering him pleaſantly again: But *Aſpaſia* ſtood on her feet by the Table and ſpake never a word, and though *Cyrus* called her, yet would ſhe not come at him: And when one of the Grooms would have forced her to him, *The firſt* (ſaid ſhe) *that ſhall lay hands on me ſhall repent it*; whereupon all that were preſent ſaid ſhe was a fooliſh thing, and meanly brought up, and knew not what belonged to Courtſhip: But *Cyrus* being glad of it, paſſed it over with laughter, and ſaid to him that brought them to him: *Doſt thou not ſee that of all thoſe that thou haſt brought me, there is not an honeſt Woman but ſhe?* After this *Cyrus* made much of, and loved her very well, and called her *Aſpaſia the wiſe*. She was taken in the Camp of *Cyrus* amongſt his ſpoiles after his overthrow; and now *Darius* begged her of his Father, who was very angry in his mind for it. For the *Perſians* of all other things were very jealous of their Women, and he was to be punniſhed with Death that durſt but ſpeak to, or touch any Concubine of the Kings, though but in ſport: yea, if they come neer them, or neer their Coaches as they went abroad.

He begs his Fathers Concubine.

Darius begs *Aſpaſia*.

The Kings Daughter *Atoſſa* whom he had married againſt the Law was yet living, and beſides her he had three hundred and ſixty Beautifull Concubines, and yet when *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia* of him, the King anſwered, that ſhe was a free woman born, and if ſhe would, he was content that he ſhould have her, but if ſhe was unwilling,

willing, he would not by any means have him to force her. So *Aſpaſia* was called, and ſhe was asked with which of them ſhe would chooſe to be, She anſwered, with *Darius*: This was contrary to the expectation of *Artaxerxes*, who both by cuſtome, and Law was forced to let him have her. But ſhortly after he took her from him again, ſaying, that he would place her in a Nunnery of *Diana*, in the Country of *Ecbatane*, there to ſerve the Goddeſſe, and to live chaſt all her Days. *Darius* took this very impatiently, either for that he was deeply in love with her, or becauſe he thought that his Father mocked him

She chooſes him before his Father.

Teribazus perceiving it, he laboured to aggravate *Darius* his anger, and he every day buzzed it in his ears, that it was in vain for him to weat his hat upright, if his affairs alſo went not right forward, and that he deceived himſelf much, if he did not know that his Brother (by means of the women he kept) ſecretly aſpired to the Crown: and that his Father being ſo inconſtant as he was, he muſt not expect to ſucceed him in the Kingdom. For (ſaid he) *he that for a* Grecian *woman hath broken and violated the holieſt Law that was in* Perſia, *thou muſt not think that he will perform promiſe with thee*: He perſwaded him alſo that it was not a like repulſe to *Ochus* to be denied that which he looked for, as it was for him to be turned out of all that ever he had gotten. For (ſaid he) *if it pleaſe* Ochus *to live as a private man, he might do it ſafely, and no man will trouble him; but for you who are already Proclaimed King, you muſt of neceſſity make your ſelf King or elſe you cannot live.*

Now beſides theſe perſwaſions, the largeneſs of the Empire, and the fear of *Darius* ſtood in of his Brother *Ochus* much prevailed with him, inſomuch that he flatly conſpired againſt his Father *Artaxerxes* together with *Teribazus*, and both of them drew many Conſpirators to joyn with them. But one of the Kings Eunuches ſmelling it out, ran preſently and told the King all, and how they had determined ſuddenly to aſſaile him and to kill him in

Darius conſpires againſt *Artaxerxes*.

his Bed in the night. *Artaxerxes* having received this intelligence, thought it not ſafe to be careleſs in a matter of ſo great importance as was his Life, & yet ỳ it would ſavour of too great lightneſs ſo ſuddenly to believe the Eunuch without better proof of the matter: He therefore comanded the Eunuch to keep company ſtill with the Conſpirators, and to follow them whitherſoever they went, and in the mean time he cauſed the wall behind his Bed to be beaten down, making a door in the place, and Tapeſtry Hangings to be put up before it.

Artaxerxes deceives them.

When the time was come as the Eunuch had adverti-ſed the King that the Conſpirators intended to execute their deſign, *Artaxerxes* being laid on his Bed roſe not up till he had ſeen every Traitor in the face that came to kill him. But when he ſaw them coming towards him with their ſwords drawn, he ſuddenly ſlipt under the Hangings into the inner Chamber, and ſhut the door after him Crying *Murther, Murther.* The Traytors hereupon fled the ſame way that they came, failing of their purpoſe, and bad *Tiribazus* ſave himſelf, becauſe he was known: So they diſperſed themſelves and fled. But *Tiribazus* was taken, and after he had ſlain many of the Kings Guard fighting valiantly, yet at laſt one with a Dart afarre off, ſlew him.

Tiribazus ſlain.

Darius alſo was taken, and togecher with his Sons, was brought Priſoner before the King. The King referred him to be judged by his Peers: and withall, he commanded his Secretaries to ſet down all the Tryall in writing, together with the opinion and ſentence of every one of the Judges, and to bring it to him. In concluſion they all caſt him and condemned him to die. Then the Officers laid hold on him, and led him into a Chamber of the Priſon, where the Hang-man came with a Razor in his hand with which he uſed to cut mens throats who were ſo condemned: But when he came into the Chamber, he ſaw it was *Darius*, whereupon his heart ſo failed, that he durſt not lay hands on him, but went out again: The Judges that were without, bad him go in and do it, unleſs he would

Darius condemned.

would have his own throat cut: Then went he in again, and took *Darius* by the hair, and made him hold down his Head, and ſo cut his neck with the Raſor. And executed.

Artaxerxes being enformed hereof, went and worſhipped the Sun. and then turning to his Lords that were about him, he ſaid unto them: *My Lords, God be with you, and be merry at home in your Houſes, and tell them that were not here, that the great God* Oromazes *hath taken revenge upon thoſe that practiſed Treaſon againſt me.* Now *Darius* being dead, *Ochus* ſtood in good hope to be next heir to the Crown, and the rather through the means and aſſiſtance of his Siſter *Atoſſa*, : But of his legitimate Bretheren he moſt feared *Ariaſpes*, who was only left of all that were legitimate, and of his Baſtard Brethren, he feared *Arſames*: Not for that *Ariaſpes* was elder than he, but becauſe (he being of a ſoft and plaine name) the *Perſians* deſired that he might be their King. And for *Arſames*, he was wiſe, and valiant, and *Ochus* ſaw that his Father loved him deerly. *Ochus* his feares.

Now *Ochus* being ſubtle and malicious, firſt ſhewed cruelty upon *Arſames*, and then his Malice upon *Ariaſpes* his Legitimate Brother. For knowing him to be ſimple and plaine, he dayly ſent ſome of the Kings Eunuches to him, who carried him threatening meſſages as from the King, telling him, that he determined to put him to a cruel and ſhameſull death. Theſe things being daily buzzed into his ears, as great ſecrets, did ſo terrifie poor *Ariaſpes*, as that being put in deſpaire of his life, he prepared a Poiſon, and drank it to prevent a worſe Death. King *Artaxerxes* being informed of his Death, took it very heavily, and began to ſuſpect the cauſe that made him thus to deſtroy himſelf, yet, being grown very old he neglected to ſearch it out. But the Death of *Ariaſpes* made him to love *Arſames* the better, making it to appeare that he had a better opinion of him than he had His craft. *Ariſapes* kills himſelf.

of

of *Ochus*, and therefore made him privy to all his affaires.

Ochus seeing this, could no longer deferre his revenge, and he therefore suborned *Harpaces*, the Son of *Tiribazus*, to murther his Brother *Arsames*, which accordingly he accomplished. Now *Artaxerxes* being almost spent with age, when he heard that his deerly beloved Son *Arsames* was Murthered, was not able to bear it any longer, but took it so to heart that he died of grief having lived fourscore and fourteen years, and raigned threescore and two.

Arsames murthered.

When he was dead the *Persians* found that he had been a good and a gracious Prince, and one that loved his People and subjects, especially when they came to have tryall of his successor *Ochus*, that passed all men living in cruelty. For when his Father was dead he dealt so with the Chiliarchs, and Eunuches that were about him, that his death was concealed for ten moneths together, in which time he dispatched away Letters signed with the Kings Seal, into all parts of the Empire, commanding them to receive *Ochus* for their King: And when all men had acckowledged him, and sworn fealty to him, he then made known his Fathers Death, and commanded a publick mourning to be made for him after the *Persian* manner, and assumed his Fathers name, *Artaxerxes*: And then filled, and soulled his Court with the bloud of his Kindred and Nobles, without respect of age or sex: amongst whom he caused his own Sister whose Daughter he had married, to be buried alive with her heels upward: He also caused an Unkle of his, with above a hundred of his Children and Grand-children descended out of his loines, to be put into a court, and there shot to Death with Arrowes.

Artaxerxes dies.

Ochus his cruely.

This *Artaxerxes* following herein the example of *Cambyses*, caused certaine unjust Judges, to be flead alive, and their skins to be hung up over the Judgement seats, that they which sat therein, seeing what hung over their

An excellent example.

their heads, might be the more careſull to do Juſtice to his People. He alſo it was, who intending to make War upon *Ægypt*, that he might have the more aſſiſtance therein from the *Grecians*, he ſent his Ambaſſadours into *Greece*, to induce them to make a generall Peace amongſt themſelves, upon theſe tearmes, that every City ſhould from thenceforth live according to their own Laws, and ſhould have no Garriſons amongſt them, This motion all the Cities of *Greece* imbraced, ſave only the *Thebans*, as you may ſee in the Liſe of *Epaminondas*.

FINIS.

Courteous Reader, be pleased to take notice that these Books following, are Printed for, and sold by *William Miller*, at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door.

HIckes Revelation Revealed, *Folio.*

Clarkes Martyrology Compleat, with the Persecutions of *England* to the end of Queen *Maries* Reign, *Folio.*

— Lives of ten Eminent Divines, some being as follow; Bishop *Usher*, Dr *Gouge*, Dr *Harris*, Mr *Gataker*, Mr *Whittaker*, &c. and some other famous Christians.

— Life of *Christ*, 4°

— Life of *Herod* the Great, 4°

—Life of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Cyrus* the Great; the one, the first founder of the *Babylonian* Empire, the other, the first founder of the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, 4°

— Life of *Alexander* the Great, the first founder of the *Grecian* Empire, As also of *Charles* the Great, commonly called *Charlemagne*, the first founder of the *French* Empire, 4°

—The Life and Death of *Hannibal* the Great Captain of the *Carthaginians*, who maintained Wars against the power of *Rome* for eighteen years together in *Italy*. As also the Life and Death of *Epaminondas* the Great Captain of the *Thebans*, who was famous both for his Vertues and Valour. 4°

—A Prospect of *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, together with an account of the qualities of the Inhabitants, the Commodities of the Countries, the Chiefest Cities, Towns, and Strong holds, Rivers, and Mountains, with an Historycal Narration of the Wars amongst themselves, and with the *Turks*, continued to this year 1664. As also a Brief Description of *Bohemia*, *Austria*, *Bavaria*, *Steirmark*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Moravia*, and other Adjacent Countries, contained in a Map joyned therewith, by which Map you may know which Places are in the Power of the *Turk*, and which Christians have, 4°

Cradock's KNOWLEDGE and PRACTICE; Or, a Plain Discourse of the Chief Things necessary to be KNOWN, BELIEVED, and PRACTISED in Order to SALVATION, 4°

Ford, of Baptism, 8°

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Dr *Tuckney's* Good Day well Improved, 12°

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— Balm of Gilead, 12°

Clamor Sanguinis, 12°

Aristippus or *Balsac's* Master piece, 12°

King *Charles's* Works, 24°

THE LIFE & DEATH OF Nebuchadnezzar THE GREAT,

The first founder of the *Babylonian* Empire; Represented by the Golden Head of that Image; *Dan.* 2. 32. and by the Lion with Eagles Wings; *Dan.* 7. 4.

As also of

CYRUS the GRAET,

The first founder of the Empire of the *Medes*, and *Persians*; Represented by the Breast, and Arms of Silver in that Image; *Dan.* 2. 32. And by a Bear; *Dan.* 7. 5. And by a Ram with two Horns; *Dan.* 8. 3, 20. He was the deliverer of Gods *Israel* out of *Babylon*, the seventy years of their Captivity being Expired.

By both of these, much light is given to many of the Propheſies of *Isay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*.

By *Sa. Clarke*, sometime Minister in St *Bennet Fink*, London.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Miller* at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Churchyard, near the little North Door. 1665.

Licensed to be Printed,

Roger L'Estrange.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF Nebuchadnezzar THE GREAT,

The first Emperor of the

CHALDEANS.

Who was represented by the Golden Head of that Image, *Dan.* 2. 32. and by the Lion with Eagles Wings, *Dan.* 7. 4.

Whereby much light is given to many of the Propheſies of *Iſay*, *Jeremy*, *Eſekiel*, and *Daniel*.

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THE LIFE, & DEATH OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR THE GREAT,

First Emperor of the

CHALDEANS.

Nebuchadonazar, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, was the Son of *Nebuchadonazar*, or *Nabopolaſer* of *Babylon*, who was made General of the Army by *Saraco*, King of *Aſſyria*, and *Chaldea*, after whoſe death *Nabopolaſer* took into his hands the Kingdom of *Chaldaa*, which he held by the ſpace of one and twenty years; At the ſame time *Aſtyages* was made Governour of *Media* by *Cyaxares* his Father; and the better to ſtrengthen themſelves, they entred into Affinity, by *Aſtyages* his giving his Daughter *Amytis* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Son of *Nabopolaſer*, and thereupon joyning their Forces together, they took *Ninive*, together with *Saraco*, the King thereof, placing a Vice-Roy in his ſtead.

His Parentage.

Ninive taken.

Nebuchadnezzar made King.

Shortly after, the Governour of *Cœlosyria*, and *Pœnicia*, revolting from *Nabopolaser*, he sent against him his Son *Nebuchadnezzar* (having first associated him with himself in the Kingdom of *Babylon*) with a great Army, which was in the latter end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, King of *Juda*; as appears *Dan.* 1. 1. compared with *Jer.* 25. 1.

Prophesies of him.

Nebuchadnezzar was no sooner thus associated with his Father in the Kingdom, but the things which he was to act, were presently revealed to the Prophet *Jeremy*; the first whereof was the overthrow of the *Egyptians*; First at the River *Euphrates*; then in their own Country, *Jer.* 46. The first of these came to pass presently, *Pharao Neco's* Forces, which he left at *Carchemish*, being cut off by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, *Jer.* 46. 2. The second was not till after the taking of *Tyre*, in the seventeenth year of the Captivity of *Jechonia*. Ezek. 29. 17, 18, 19.

His first Action. He Conquers *Jehoiakim*.

In the third year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nebuchadnezzar* the second, his Father being yet alive, entred *Judæa* with a great Army, who, besieging, and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehoiakim* his Vassal, in despight of *Pharaoh Necho*, who had made him King, and took with him to *Babylon*, for Pledges, *Daniel*, who was yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. He took also part of the Treasures belonging to the Temple; but stayed not to search thorowly for all. For *Necho* hasted with his Army to the relief of *Jehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Judæa*. But this great *Babylonian* had no mind to hazard himself and his Army against the *Egyptian*, *Judæa* being so ill affected towards him, and himself far from all succour, or sure place of retreat. If he had (as may be supposed) any great strength of *Scythian* Horsemen, it was wisely done of him to fall back out of that rough Mountanous, and hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. And besides these reasons, the Death of his Father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home, and take possession of his own Kingdom, be-

His Fathers death.

before he proceeded in the second care, of adding more unto it.

And this he did at reasonable good leasure. For the *Egyptian* was not provided to follow him so far, and to bid him Battel, until the new year came in, which was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, the first of *Nebuchadnezzar* and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian*, lying upon the Banks of *Euphrates* (his own Territories bounding it on the North side) attended the coming of *Necho*: there, after a cruel Battel fought betwixt them, *Necho* was slain, and his Army forced to save it self by a violent retreat, wherein it suffered great loss. He Conquers *Pharaoh Necho*.

This Victory was so well pursued by *Nebuchadnezzar* that he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territories towards the North. The *Egyptians* being thus beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehoiakim* held himself quiet, as being in heart a Friend to the *Egyptians*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldeans* the year before, and *Nebuchadnezzar* was contented with such profit as he could there readily make: he had forborn to lay any Tribute upon the *Jews*. He Conquers *Syria*.

But this cool reservedness of *Jehoiakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. Whereupon the *Egyptian* King *Psamnis*, who succeeded *Necho*, began to think of restoring *Jehoahaz* (who had been taken prisoner by his Father, and carried into *Egypt*) and of setting him up, as a Domestical enemy against his ungrateful Brother. But to anticipate all such accidents, the *Judean* had put in practice the usual remedy, which his Fore-fathers used: For he had made his own Son *Jechonia*, King with him long before; in the second year of his own Raign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumor of *Jehoahaz* his return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove a vain attempt, saying, *He shall not return thither, But he shall die in the place whither they have led him Captive, and shall see this Land no more.* Jer. 22. 11, 12. 2 Chron. 36. 9.

The

The weak estate of the *Egyptians*.

The *Egyptians*, having lost all their Mercenary Forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had more Gold than sharp Steel remaining, which is of small force without the others help. Besides, the Valour of *Necho* was not in *Psamnis Apries*, who, raigning after *Psamnis*, did indeed once adventure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a Battel. Wherefore this declining Nation, fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men that mean to do nothing, use, boasting of their former glorious acts against *Josias*, and *Jehoahaz*. And truly in such a time and case, it was easie for *Jehoiakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand the sincerity of his affections towards them, which appeared in time following.

Nebuchadnezzar lays a Tribute upon *Jehoiakim*.

But *Nebuchadnezzar* went more roundly to work: For he sent a peremptory message to *Jehoiakim*, requiring him not to stand upon any nice points, but presently to acknowledge himself his Subject, and to pay him Tribute; Adding thereunto such terrible threatnings, as made the poor *Judean* lay aside all thoughts of adhearing unto *Pharaoh*; and to yield to do, as the more powerful would have him.

The Captivity foretold. Jer. 25. 15, &c. Jer. 27.

Thus he continued in Obedience to *Nebuchadnezzar* three years; During which time the Prophet *Jeremia*, cryed out against the impiety of the *Jews*, puting them in mind that he had now for three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance; But because they had stopped their ears against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now foretold that their Captivity was at hand, and that they should bear the yoak of Bondage for seventy years. The same calamity he threatned to all the Neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* Cup the Wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken; and that after the seventy years should be expired, the *Babylonians* themselves should tast of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes* and *Persians*, by

by which means the *Jews* should be permitted to return into their own Country, and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehoiakim*, at which time, *Baruch* the Scribe, wrote all his Prophesies from his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the People, and afterwards to the Princes, who presented them to the King: But fearing the Kings fury, they had first set *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him, and *Baruch*, to hide themselves, *Jeremiah* 36. 19, &c.

Jer. 25. 12, &c. And their return. *Jeremy* imprisoned.

Jehoiakim having heard part of it read to him, and perceiving the ill news contained therein, he made no more ado, but cut the Book in pieces, and cast it into the fire. All which, *Jeremy* caused to be new written, with this addition, *that the dead Body of* Jehoiakim, *should be cast out, being exposed in the Day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should be none of his seed to sit upon the Throne of* David.

Jehoiakim burns the Roule.

Time thus runing on, *Jehoiakim* thought himself secure from all danger, as being Tributary to the *Babylonian*, and yet withall, well thought on by the *Egyptian*: About which time the mighty City of *Tyre*, opposed it self against *Nebuchadnezzar*: and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparations that could be made against her. Now for as much as the tearm of seventy years was prescribed for the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jerusalem*, and other places, and Countries, its apparent that they that refer the winning of this City to the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, have good ground and warrant for it. For the Siege thereof began in the seventh year of his Raign, and lasted thirteen years.

Tyre rebelleth against *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Here it will not be amiss to insert a brief note concerning the beginning of this great Princes Rule; The third year of *Jehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulasser*, who being freed from other cares, and businesses, took notice of such as had revolted from him to *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince, his Son, with an Army into *Syria* to reclaim

them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried to *Babylon*, who therefore makes mention of it, *Dan.* 1. 1. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expreſs words, *Jer.* 25. 1. And from this we muſt reckon all his time, and actions which follow to be ſpoken of. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*, and then began his great Empire, there being none left that durſt offend, or oppoſe him. The ſecond from this year it was wherein *Daniel* ſaw that viſion of the Image conſiſting of ſundry mettals, which prefigured the ſucceſſion of great Kingdoms, that ſhould Rule the World before the coming of Chriſt. But to return to the Siege of *Tyre*, which began in the ſeventh year of his Raign.

Tyre beſieged.

The Stately City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Iſland, that was divided from the Continent by a deep, and broad Channel of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet of Ships, neither were they Seamen: the *Tyrians* excelled all other Nations in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to uſe them: and every Wind, from one part or other, brought in all needfull proviſions to the City: Wherefore neither force, nor Famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheleſs, the Judgements of God (denounced againſt it by *Iſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Eſekiel*) had threatened the deſtruction; and the obſtinate reſolution of *Nebuchadnezzar* had fully determined to accompliſh it.

Iſay 23. Jer. 25. Eſek. 26.

The difficulty of the work.

This haughty King, impatient of reſiſtance, undertook a vaſt piece of Work, which was, to fill up that part of the Sea which divided the Iſland from the continent. The City of old *Tyre*, that ſtood oppoſite to the New, upon the firm Land, and the Mountain of *Libanus* near adjoyning, that was loaden with ſtately Cedars, and abundance of other Trees, furniſhed him with materials to effect it. Thirteen years were ſpent in this difficult, and hopeleſs undertaking, which need not ſeem ſtrange, if we conſider, that *Alexander*, working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nebuchadnezzars* Peer, and being withall, aſſiſted

assisted with a strong Fleet, was yet seven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* labouted to cover a Shelve, with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were, consume the work of *Nebuchadnezzar*; who laid his foundation in the bottom of the deep; Striving, as it were, to fill the empty Belly of this greedy Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the throat of it. All may know that God could easily have accomplished his own threatnings against this place (though it had not pleased him to use, either a Miracle, or such of his more immediate Engins, as are Earthquakes, &c.) by making at least, the Seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oft-times, in chastising the Pride of man, to use the hand of man, even the hand of man, striving, as it may seem, against all resistance of nature, and providence. So that by this excessive labour of the *Chaldeans*, that Scripture was fulfilled, that *every Head should be made bald, and every Shoulder should be made bare*, Ezek. 29. 18. Yet would not *Nebuchadnezzar* give over till he was master of the Town.

When he was entred upon this desperate undertaking, whether it were by some losses received, or some Mutany in his Army, or some glorious rumour of the *Egyptians* strength, his evil-willers took courage to rebell against him; and amongst them, *Jeboiakim*, renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary which soon after fell out. For *Nebuchadnezzar* gave him no leasure to do much hurt: But with part of his Army, he marched strait into *Judea*; where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were in a dream) that *Nebuchadnezzar* entred *Jerusalem*, laid hands on *Jeboiakim*, whom at first he bound, intending to send him to *Babylon*, but his mind changing, he caused him to be slain in that place, and gave him the Burial of an Asse, to be devoured by Beasts, and ravinous Birds, according to the former Propheſie; Leaving in his place his Son, *Jeboia-*

Jeboiakim rebels, and is taken, and slain. Jer. 22. 18, 19. & 36. 30.

Jeconias made King: and imprisoned. Jer. 29. 2. 2 Kin. 28. 8, 16. 2 Chron. 26. 10. Jer. 24. 1. & 29. 1, 2. Esek. 17. 12.

kim, or *Jeconias*; whom yet after three moneths, and ten days, he deposed, and sent him Prisoner to *Babylon*, together with *Esekiel*, *Mordecay*, and *Josedech*, the High Priest.

The Mother of *Jeconias*, together with his Servants, Eunuches, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers in the Land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the Counsel of the Prophet *Jeremy*, made no resistance, but submitted himself to the Kings will, wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was most profitable for himself, though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evill that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded in Scripture which was good: But it seems that he was at least a partaker in his Fathers sins, if not a provoker, which was ỹ cause, that though he submitted himself to Gods will, yet did he not preserve his estate: For so it is said, *That he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his stead, *Nebuchadnezzar* set up *Mattania*, his Uncle, making him King of *Judea*, and called him *Zedechias*. For like as *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, had formerly displaced *Jehoahaz*, after he had slain his Father *Josias*, and set up *Jehoiachim*, the Son by another Mother: So *Nebuchadnezzar* slew *Jehoiakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and, carrying his Son *Jeconias* Prisoner to *Babylon*, he gave the Kingdom to this *Zedechias*, who was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Necho* took with him into *Egypt*, and from *Zedechias* he required an Oath for his loyalty, and faithfull subjection, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witness in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of *Chaldea*, 2 *Chron.* 36. 13. *Esek.* 17. 13, 14, 18.

Zedekiah is made King. Jer. 37. 1. 2 King. 24. 17.

Jer. 24. 2.

In the first year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw, and expounded the vision of the ripe, and rotten Figs, the one signifying those that were already carried away Captives, the other signifying those *Jews* that yet remained, and were afterwards destroyed, *Jer.* 29. 17.

In

In the fourth year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a Book all the evil which ſhould fall upon *Babylon*, which Book, or Roul he gave to *Seraiah*, when he went with King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to viſit *Nebuchadnezzar*, willing him firſt to read it to the Captive *Jews*, and then to binde a ſtone to it, and caſt it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing theſe words; *Thus ſhall* Babel *be drowned, and ſhall not riſe from the evil which I will bring upon her.* This journey of *Zedechias* to *Babylon* is probably thought to be in way of a viſit, and to carry ſome preſents to *Nebuchadnezzar*; But yet its likely he had ſome ſuit to make, which his Lordly Maſter refuſed to grant, and ſent him away diſcontented. For at his return, all the bordering Princes ſent Meſſengers to him, inciting him (as it ſeems) to thoſe unquiet courſes from which the Prophet *Jeremy* dehorted both him, and them. About which time the Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds, and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he ſent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by thoſe Meſſengers which came to viſit *Zedechias*, making them know, that if they, and the King of *Juda* continued in ſubjection, to *Babylon*, they ſhould then poſſeſs, and enjoy their own Countries; If not, they ſhould aſſuredly periſh by the Sword, by Famine and by Peſtilence.

Babylons deſtruction foretold.

Sundry Prophecies of *Jeremy*. Jer.51.59.

Jer.27.8.

He alſo foretold them that thoſe Veſſels which yet remained in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould be carried after the other to *Babylon*, yet at length ſhould be reſtored again.

The ſame year *Ananias*, the falſe Prophet, took off the Woodden yoke which *Jeremy* did wear, as a ſign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner after two years, God would break the ſtrength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all Nations; and that he would reſtore *Jeconias* and all the *Jews*, with the Veſſels, and Riches of the Temple, and put an end to all theſe troubles. But *Jeremy* inſtead of his Woodden Yoke, wore a Coller of Iron; and in ſign that *Ananias* had given a falſe, and deceitfull hope to the People, he foretold the Death of this falſe Prophet, which accordingly came to paſs in the ſeventh Moneth. After

Ananias a falſe Prophet. Jer. 28.

Jer.28.15.

Zedechias rebels. Esek. 17. 15, 17.

After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long between Faith, and Passion, in the eigth year of his Raign, he practiced more seriously against *Nebuchadnezzar* with his Neighbours, the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others who were promised great aides by the *Egyptians*, in confidence of whose assistance he resolved to shake off the *Babylonian* Yoke; whereof when *Nebuchadnezzar* was informed, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, towards *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perswaded *Zedekias* to render the City, and himself to him: But *Zedechias*, being confident of help from *Egypt*, and being perswaded by his Princes, and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the Kingdom of *Judah* should be extirpated untill the coming of *Shilo*, according to *Jacobs* Prophesie, *Gen.* 49. 10. he dispised the counsell of *Jeremy*, and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nebuchadnezzar*: That he should not perish by the Sword, but being carried to *Babel*, should there die a naturall Death.

Jerusalem besieged.

Jer. 32. & 34.

Jer. 44. *Egypt* a broken staff. Jer. 37. 3, 10.

The following year, *Jerusalem* was surrounded, and more strictly besieged by *Nebuchadnezzars* Army; whereupon the King of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh Hophra*, entred into *Judea* with his Army, to succour *Zedekias*, of whose revolt he had been the principall Authour. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithfull counsel, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them that they should return back again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these bragging Patrones abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza*, in their way homewards, returned into *Egypt* as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor People in *Jerusalem* to their destinied miseries, *Jer.* 34. 11, 22.

Lev. 25. 39, 40, &c.

In the mean while the *Jews*, who in the time of their extremity, had released their *Hebrew* Bondmen, and Bondwomen, according to the Law, in the year of *Jubile*, and made

made them free, thereby to encourage them to fight, did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* Army, repent of what they had done, and thinking that all danger had been past, they held them by force to their former slavery. But the *Caldeans* being returned to the Siege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the State of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedekias*, to render himself to the *Babylonians*, assuring him of his own Life, and of the safety of the City if he would do so. But his obstinate heart led him on to that wretched end, which, his neglect of God, and his Infidelity, and Perjury had provided for him. Jer. 34. Jer. 39.

Three and twenty Moneths the *Chaldean* Army lay before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding straitly besieged; For they built Forts against it round about, 2 *King.* 25. 1. or, they surrounded the City with Woodden Towers, so as the Besieged could neither Sally out, nor receive into the City any supplies of men or Victuals. *Josephus* saith, that they overtopped the Walls with their high Towers which they erected upon Mounts, from which, with their Engines they did so beat upon the Walls, that the defendants were forced to forsake their stations. And though the Besieged also raised Counter-Buildings, like unto these, yet the Great *Nebuchadnezzar*, who Commanded all the Regions thereabouts, & had the Woods, and Rivers at his command, found out means to disappoint & overthrow all the Citizens endeavours, and to beat down their Towers as fast as they raised them. For his own works were guarded by the Walls of *Jerusalem*, whereas theirs within lay open to his Batteries. Besides, both Famine, and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Caldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves as Lords of the Town, in the middle Gate, 2 *King.* 26. 2, 3, 4. *Jer.* 39. 2, 3. & 52. 5, &c. Jer. 39. Jer. 39. 1. & 52. 4. *Jerusalem* taken.

Zedechias, beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no other means to escape the present danger, lost both his Courage, and his Hope at once, and shifted himself, together *Zedechias* flyes and is taken.

gether with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principall Servants, out of the City, by a way under-ground, leaving his amazed, and now headless Subjects to the mercilesse Swords of their enraged enemies. Thus he, who when the Prophet *Jeremy* perswaded him to render himself, dispised both the Counsel of God, and the Army and force of *Nebuchadnezzar*, used now the remedy which one calls, *A wofull, shamefull, and unfortunate shift.*

By this secret subterranean Vault, *Zedechias* stole away, & by the help of the dark night, recovered the plains, or desarts of *Jericho*. But by reason of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him those whom he loved best) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended him, yet certain it is, that they, on whose fidelity he most relied, no sooner beheld the *Caldeans* to draw neer, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted for themselves in the Desarts, as they could. For *whom God had forsaken, no man regarded.* And thus *Zedechias* was taken by the Ministers of Gods vengeance, and being made a Prisoner, together with his Children, and Princes, he was carried to *Riblah*, in the Tribe of *Nephthalim*, where *Nebuchadnezzar* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which places he had at one time to do.

And carried to *Babylon*. Jer. 34. 3, &c. 2 King. 25 4,7. Jer. 39. 4,7 & 52. 7,11.

Now when *Nebuchadnezzar* had laid before *Zedechias* the many Graces and Favours which he had conferred upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury wherewith he had requited him, he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to ỹ end ỹ so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that ever he should behold in this world, he caused his eyes to be put out, and so carried him like a Slave to *Babylon*, where he consumed the rest of his life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein was that marvellous Propheſie of *Ezekiel* fulfilled: *I will bring him to* Babylon, *and he shall not see it*, Ezek. 12. 13.

Thus in the eleventh, and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the *Chaldeans* entred

Jerusa-

Jeruſalem by force, where ſparing neither Sex nor Age, they put all to the Sword that they found therein.

In the year next following, *Nebuzaradan*, the Generall of the *Babyloniſh* Army, burnt the Kings Pallace, and the whole City of *Jeruſalem*, and after the fire had laſted from the ſeventh to the tenth Day, he alſo burnt the Temple of God to the ground, the richeſt and moſt Magnificent place that ever the Sun ſaw, when it had ſtood four hundred thirty, and one years.

2 King. 25. 8. Jer. 52. 13. with 39. 8. The Temple, and City burnt

After this upon a ſecond ſearch, *Nebuzaradan* (not yet ſatiated with blood) commanded ſeventy and two others to be ſlain, which had hidden themſelves from the firſt ſury, to wit, the chief, and the ſecond Prieſt, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of war, five of his houſhold Servants, and ſome others, carrying away to *Babylon* the ableſt of the People through all *Judea*, and leaving the pooreſt labouring people, with ſome that followed the party of *Nebuchadnezzar*, to till the Ground, over whom he placed *Gedaliah*, the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Joſias* had formerly imployed in the Reformation of Religion. This *Gedaliah*, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it ſeemeth, in the beginning of the War, and by *Jeremies* deſire to live with him, its probable that had embraced the ſame advice, which the Prophet gave to *Zedechias*, which was, to ſubmit himſelf to the *Babylonian* King, who being ordained of God for them, as an inſtrument of his Juſtice, was, therefore irreſiſtable.

2 King. 25. 18. Jer. 39. 8, 9. & 52. 14, 23. 2 Chron. 36. 18, &c. Poor People left under *Gedaliah*. Jer. 39. 10. Jer. 40. 16

The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choiſe to live where he pleaſed, made choiſe to go to *Gedaliah*, to whom he was commended by *Nebuzaradan*, and he, not onely intertained him kindly, but comforted him, and all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promiſing them favour, and liberty, ſo long as they remained obedient Subjects to *Nebuchadnezzar* by whom he was eſtabliſhed Provinciall Governour over his own Nation.

Jeremy goes to them. Jer. 40. 6.

But ere the year was exſpired, a Prince of the late Kings Family (who during the Siege of *Jeruſalem* had ſheltered himſelf from the ſtorm, with *Baalis*, King of the *Ammonites*)

monites) being attended by ten other choſen men, whilſt *Gedaliah* feaſted them in *Mitſpah*, the City of his reſidence, they trayterouſly ſlew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done, they eſcaped, and in their way, encountring with eighty perſons, repairing toward *Gedaliah* with preſents, they ſlew moſt of them, and onely ſpared ſome, who promiſed to diſcover to them ſome Treaſures that were hidden in the Fields during the War. They took with them alſo a Daughter of *Zedechias* committed to the care of *Gedaliah* by *Nebuchadnezzar*: This treachery of *Iſmael* had been formerly diſcovered to *Gedaliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Captains of the few remaining *Jews*, but he would not believe it.

Gedaliah ſlain. Jer. 41. 2. 2 King. 25. 25.

Judea being now without a Governour (for *Iſmael* durſt not take it upon him, but fled as faſt as he could to the *Ammonites*) the reſidue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, reſolved to fly into *Egypt*, and beſought *Jeremy* to ask counſell of God for them, who returned anſwer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them, and ſhew them mercy; but if they ſought to ſave themſelves in *Egypt*, they ſhould then undoubtedly periſh. Notwithſtanding which advice, the *Jews* held their determination, and deſpiſed the Oracle of God; and conſtraining *Jeremy*, and *Baruch* to accompany them, they went into *Egypt*, and by the permiſſion of *Pharao*, they dwelt in *Taphnes*; where, when *Jeremy* often reproved them for their Idolatry, foretelling the deſtruction of themſelves, and the *Egyptians*, he was, by theſe his own hard-hearted and ingratefull Country-men, ſtoned to Death, and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried neer the Sepulchre of their Kings, *Jer.* 42. & 43.

Jeremy's counſel rejected. Jer. 43.

He is carried into *Egypt*, and ſtoned.

The nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzars* Raign it was, when deſtroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jeruſalem*, he exceedingly enriched himſelf with the ſpoils of it, and the Temple, and by that dreadfull Example terrified all thoſe that ſhould dare to reſiſt him. From that time

time forward, he, to his three and twentieth year, laboured in the Conqueſt of thoſe adjoyning Countries, which God had expoſed unto his Sword, and commanded to wear his Yoke, namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Egyptians*, though ſome of theſe were already become his followers, and ſerved under him when *Jeruſalem* was taken, and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whoſe City was built upon an Iſland, and therefore ſecure from the invaſion of any Land-Army, and whoſe Fleet was ſo ſtrong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour City, nor with the obſtinate reſolution of this mighty King imploying all his wit, and power to work their ſubverſion.

Nebuchadnezzar Conquers divers Nations.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleaſed then any way diſcouraged with the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, it appeareth by the Words which *Eſekiel* condemneth, as the common voyce of *Tyrus*, Eſek. 26. 2. *Aha! the Gate of the People is broken, it is turned unto me; For ſeeing ſhe is deſolate, I ſhall be repleniſhed.* Yet at length, that great work before mentioned, began to appear above Water, and ſo to threaten them with inevitable miſchief.

Nebuchadnezzar ſtill follows his work hard, notwithſtanding all diſcouragments, and in the thirteenth year of the Siege, and the nineteenth of his Raign, he had brought it to ſuch perfection, that now the Citizens deſpaired of holding out againſt him; whereupon all the chiefeſt of them imbarked themſelves, their Families, and Treaſures in their Fleet, and eſcaped to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, but the poorer ſort were left to the fury of the enemy; who being enraged for being put to ſo much pains, ſlew with the Sword, not only ſuch people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her *Daughters in the Field*) but the like execution was done in the ſtreets, into which with exceſſive labour, the *Chaldeans* made way for his Horſes, and Chariots. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar made his Army ſerve a great ſervice, againſt* Tyrus, *wherein every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army*, Eſek. 29. 18. but was fain to reſt contented with the

Tyre is taken.

Honour of having deſtroyed that City, which in all mens Judgements had been held invincible.

The deſtruction of theſe two Great, and powerfull Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldeans* dreadfull in the ears of all the Nations round about, *Nebuchadnezzar* uſed this advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by his victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leſs pains. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the mark which he chiefly aimed at. A Country ſo abounding in Riches and pleaſures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himſelf ſtrong enough, to pick occaſion of quarrell againſt it. Beſides, it was ſo far an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that, had it been far poorer, yet it muſt have been ſubdued, or the Conqueſt of *Syria* could not have been ſecured.

Yet was it needfull, that before he entred upon this buſineſs, the Countries adjacent ſhould be reduced into ſuch tearms, that either they ſhould wholly ſtand at his devotion, or at leaſt, be able not to work him any diſpleaſure. And herein the Decree of God concurred (as in all proſperous enterpriſes) with reaſon of State. For the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damaſcus*, *Kedar*, *Hazor*, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their ſins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* Yoke, were ſuch, as regarding onely their own gain, had, ſome of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldean* Army, to feed upon the carcaſſes that fell by the cruelty thereof. Others taking advantage of their neighbours miſeries, occupied the Countries, which, by his Victories, belonged to *Nebuchadnezzar*, all of them thinking, that when the *Babylonian* had ſatisfied his fury, he would be forced to forſake thoſe deſolated Countries, and leave the poſſeſſion of them to thoſe who could firſt ſeize upon them. Particularly, the *Edomites*, and *Philiſtines*, had ſhewed much malice againſt the *Jews* when their City was taken, *Eſek.* 25. 12, 15. Whether they had done any good ſervice to the *Chaldeans*, it appears not; if they did any, its like to have been in reference to their own advantage, wherein yet they were deceived.

The *Jews* enemies threatned

ceived. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce onely at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entred upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession of it, as if, not the *Chaldeans*, but they had subdued *Israel*, *Esek.* 25. 3. *Jer.* 49. 1. Neither can it be imagined what other design *Baalis*, King of the *Ammonites* had, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the Blood of *Judah*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had made Governour over those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry Captive into the *Ammonites* Country, the People that abode in *Mizpah*, than a desire of entangling *Nebuchadnezzar* with so many labours at once, as should force him to retire into his own Country, and abandon those wasted Lands, to himself, and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such, or the like Policy, the *Moabites* also did exercise, whose Pride, and Wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing aright, *Jer.* 40. 14. & 41. 2. & 10. & 28, 27, &c.

All these Nations had the Art of ravening, which is familiar to such as either live in, or that border upon Desarts; and now the time ministred occasion to them to shew the uttermost cunning of their Thievish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* made void all their devices by sharp, and sudden War upon them, overwhelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night, according to the Propheſies of *Isay*, *Jeremy*, and *Esekiel*, who all foretold, with little difference of Words, the greatness, and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. It appears not with which of them he first began; but it seems that *Moab* was the last that felt his heavy hand: For so many interpret that Propheſie of *Isay*, threatning *Moab* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the destruction of *Jerusalem*: the next year after it, being spent in the *Egyptian* expedition. This is evident that all the principal Towns in these Countries were burnt; and the people either slain, or made captives, few excepted, who saved themselves by flight, and had not the courage to return to their habitations too hastily, much less

They are destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar.*

Isa. 16. 14.

leſs to attempt any thing againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*: but lived as miſerable out-laws, untill the end of the ſeventy years which God had appointed for the deſolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Judæa*.

Egypt attempted by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

When by a long courſe of Victory *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought into Subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians* in ſuch wiſe, as that no enemy to himſelf, or Friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might either impede his proceedings, or take advantage of any misfortune that might befall him; then did he forthwith apply himſelf to the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, upon which thoſe other Nations had formerly been dependants. Of this expedition, and the Victorious iſſue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Iſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Eſekiel* have written ſo plainly, that its altogether needleſs to ſeek after any other authority to confirm the ſame. Long before it was propheſied by *Iſay*, that the King of *Aſſyria*, or *Babylon*, ſhould lead away the *Egyptians* Priſoners, and the *Ethiopians* Captives, young, and old, naked and bareſoot, even with their buttocks uncovered to the ſhame of *Egypt*, *Iſa.* 20. 4.

But *Eſekiel*, and *Jeremy*, as their propheſies were neerer to the time of execution, ſo they handled this Argument more plainly, and preciſely. For *Eſekiel* tells us cleerly, that *Egypt* ſhould be given to *Nebuchadnezzar* as wages for his great ſervice which he had done againſt *Tyre*, Eſek. 29. 18, 19, 20. He recounteth alſo in particular all the chief Citys in *Egypt*, ſaying, that theſe by name ſhould be deſtroyed, and go into Captivity: yea, and that *Pharaoh*, and all his Army ſhould be ſlain by the Sword, *Eſek.* 30. 4, 10, *&c.* *Chap.* 32. 2, *&c.* And the Prophet *Jeremy*, ſaith thus, *Behold I will viſit the common people of* Noe, *and* Pharaoh, *and* Egypt, *with their Gods and their Kings, even* Pharaoh *and all that truſt in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of thoſe that ſeek their lives, and into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babel, *and into the hands of his Servants*, Jer. 46. 25, 26. *Joſephus* accordingly ſaith, that *Nebuchadnezzar* in the three and twentieth year of his Raign,

Raign, and in the fifteenth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did Conquer *Egypt*, and kill the King thereof, appointing a Vice-Roy to Govern it. And it is evident that his Victories which followed his Conquest of *Syria*, were such as did more enlarge his Dominions, than all his former Wars had done. For *Ezekiel* in his 30th Chapter reckoneth up (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut*, and *Lud*, with other Nations that may seem to have reached as far as into *Mauritania*, which were conquered by him, and added to his Empire. And truly it is worth observation how *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt* was infatuated by God, who thought himself most safe in his own Country by reason of the well-defenced situation thereof, and therefore very unwisely suffered his enemies to make a cleer way to his own doors by the Conquest of all his Friends, and Allyes in *Syria*. For as the labour of this business did more harden then weary the *Chaldean* Army, so the confidence, and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficulty of the passages which the enemy was to make through the *Arabian* Desarts, and the great advantage which the River *Nilus* afforded, did little avail them, when the War came on; Yea, it did much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution. It *being usually seen, that the hearts of men fail, when those helps deceive them, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own Virtue, and Valour.*

Egypt conquered.

Carnall confidences.

Untill this time, the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the Rule and Government of the *Pharaohs* for above the space of one thousand, four hundred, and eighty years. But from this time forward, it remained forty years without a King under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness: Yet so, that it was never dreadfull unto others as it had been, God having said of that people; *At the end of forty years I will gather the* Egyptians *from the People whither they were scattered; and I will bring again the Captivity of* Egypt, *and will cause them to return into the land of* Pathros, *into the land of their habitation, and they shall be yet a base Kingdom. It shall be the baseſt of the Kingdoms, neither shall it exalt it*

Egypt never recovered its strength again.

it ſelf any more above the Nations; For I will diminiſh them that they ſhall no more rule over the Nations, and it ſhall be no more the confidence of the Houſe of Iſrael, Eſek. 29. 13, 14, 15, 16. For whereas it had been ſaid of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Son of the wiſe, the Son of ancient Kings*, Iſa. 19. 11. and whereas they had Vaunted, *the River is mine, and I have made it*, Eſek. 29. 9. *The Princes of* Egypt, *now became fools, the River failed them, the King himſelf was now taken and ſlain, and that ancient Linage was quite extinguiſhed.*

Ninive deſtroyed. See before

Of any Wars made by *Nebuchadnezzar* after ſuch time as he returned from the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, we read not, except that againſt *Ninive*, the deſtruction whereof was foretold by the Prophet. *Ninive* indeed had been taken long before by *Merodoch*, and together with the reſt of *Aſſyria*, made ſubject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, as *Jehoiachim*, and *Zedechias*, Tributary Kings of *Judah*, had done, was made partaker alſo of the ſame ruine. That the deſtruction of *Ninive* followed the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, is clear by the compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City that was to fall, and the City of *Noe* in *Egypt* which was fallen already; *Nahum* 3. 8, &c. *Art thou better than populous* Noe, *that was ſituate amongſt the Rivers, that had the waters round about it; whoſe Rampire was the Sea, and her wall was from the Sea.* Ethiopia, *and* Egypt *were her ſtrength, and it was infinite*: Put, *and* Lubin *were her helpers. Yet was ſhe carried away, ſhe went into Captivity; Her young children alſo were daſhed in pieces at the top of all the ſtreets, and they caſt lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains? Thou alſo ſhalt be drunken; thou ſhalt be hid; thou alſo ſhalt ſeek ſtrength becauſe of the enemy*, &c.

Babylon beautified

This Great Monarch, having thus ſpent his younger days in inlarging his Dominions, he betook himſelf to reſt, that he might reap the fruit of his former labours; and the firſt thing that he applyed himſelf to, was to beautifie his Imperiall City of *Babylon*, adding a new City to the Old, which he compaſſed about with three Walls,

Walls, and made in them ſtately Gates. And neer the former Pallace he built a New one, more ſtately than it, wherein he raiſed ſtone-works, like unto Mountains, which he planted with all manner of Trees. He made alſo *Penſile* Gardens (one of the Worlds wonders) born upon Arches, fourſquare, each ſquare being four hundred Foot long, filled above with Earth, whereon grew all ſorts of Trees, and Plants. The Arches were built one above another in a convenient heigth, ſtill increaſing as they aſcended. The higheſt, which did bear the Walls on the top, were fifty Cubits high, ſo that they equalized the higheſt Mountains. He made alſo *Aquæducts* for the watering of this Garden, which ſeemed to hang in the air. This moſt ſumptuous frame, which outlaſted all the remainder of the *Aſſyrian*, and all the *Perſian* Empire, is ſaid to have been reared and finiſhed in fifteen Days. He erected alſo an Image of Gold in the Plain of *Dura*, ſixty Cubits high, and ſix broad, commanding all his Servants, and Subjects to fall down and Worſhip it, *Dan.* 3. 1, &c.

Penſile Gardens.

Nebuchadnezzars Golden Image.

But of all this, and other his Magnificence, we find little elſe recorded, ſave that which indeed is moſt profitable for us to conſider, to wit, his overvalewing of his own greatneſs, which abaſed him to a condition inferior to the pooreſt of men. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many great, and glorious Victories, and much happineſs in his own life; but with a rare diſcovery of things that were to come after him; yea, and had manifeſted the certainty of his Dreams, by the miraculous reducing of it into his Memory, and given him the interpretation thereof by the Prophet *Daniel*: He notwithſtanding, became ſo forgetfull of God whoſe wonderfull power he had ſeen, and acknowledged, that he cauſed that Golden Image to be ſet up, and Worſhipped, appointing a cruell Death for them that ſhould dare to diſobey him, which was utterly unlawfull, and repugnant to the Law of him that is King of Kings; And thus he who ſo lately had Worſhipped *Daniel*, the ſervant of God, as if he had been God himſelf; now

Dan. 2. 31, &c.

His Pride.

commanded a Statue to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God: From this impiety it pleased God to recall, and reclaim him, by the wonderful and miraculous delivery of those three blessed Saints, out of the fiery Furnace, who being thrown bound into the midst of it, for refusing to commit that abominable Idolatry, were preserved from all hurt of the fire, loosened from their Bonds, accompanied by an Angel, and at last called out by the King, and restored to their former honour.

A Miracle. Dan.3.26, &c.

Dan.3.29. He makes a Decree to Gods Honour.

Nebuchadnezzar being amazed at the Miracle, made a Decree tending to the honour of God, whom by the erection of his Image, he had dishonoured. Yet was not this devotion so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeal: Therefore was he forewarned of God in a Dream, of a terrible Judgement which hung over his Head, which *Daniel* expounding, withall counselled him *to break off his sin by righteousness, and his iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, that there might be a lengthening of his tranquillity*, Dan. 4. 27. whence it seems, that injustice, and cruelty were his faults, for which he was thus threatened: But neither did the Dream, nor advice of *Daniel* so prevail. For probably he believed it not, but looked upon it as an idle Dream; for that it seemed altogether unlikely that so great a Monarch should be driven from amongst men, yea, compelled to dwell with the Beasts of ŷ Field, and made to eat Grass as ŷ Oxen, this was altogether incredible in mans Judgement, and therefore giving so little heed to it, its no marvell that he had forgotten it by the years end.

His dream interpreted.

He dwels with the Beasts.

One whole year was given to this haughty Prince wherein to repent, which respiting of the execution may seem to have bred in him forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelve Moneths as he was walking in his Royall Pallace in *Babel*, he was so overjoyed, and transported with a vain contemplation of his own seeming happiness, that without all fear of Gods heavy Judgement pronounced against him, he uttered these proud words: *Is not this great* Babylon *that I have built for the house of the King-*

Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the Honour of my Majesty?

But his proud speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from Heaven told him, that his *Kingdom was departed from him, &c.* And the same hour the thing was fulfilled upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *he was driven from men, and did eat grass as Oxen, and his Body was wet with the dew of Heaven, till his hair was grown like Eagles Feathers, and his nails like Birds Claws*, Dan. 4. 33, &c.

His Bodily shape not changed.

This his punishment was singular, and unexpected. For he ran amongst beasts in the fields, and woods, where for seven years he lived, not only as a salvage man, but as a salvage Beast: for a Beast he thought himself to be, & therefore fed himself in the same manner, and with the same food that Beasts do. Not that he was changed in his externall shape from a man to a Beast. For as St *Jerome* well expounds it, when he saith, *vers.* 34. that his *understanding was restored unto him*, he shewed that he had not lost his Humane shape, but his understanding, being stricken with a Frenzy, or deep Melancholly, which made him think himself a Beast.

He is restored to his Kingdom. And gives Glory to God.

Seven years being expired, *Nebuchadnezzar* was restored both to his understanding, & to his Kingdom: and (saith he) *I blessed the most High, and I praised, & honoured him that liveth for ever, whose Dominion is an everlasting Dominion, and his Kingdom is from Generation to Generation; And all the Inhabitants of the Earth are reputed as nothing, and he doth according to his Will in the Army of Heaven, and amongst the Inhabitants of the Earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What dost thou? At the same time my reason returned unto me; and for the Glory of my Kingdom, mine honour, and brightness returned unto me, and my Counsellers, and my Lords sought unto me, and I was established in my Kingdom, and excellent Majesty was added unto me. Now therefore I* Nebuchadnezzar *praise, and extoll, and honour the King of Heaven, all whose works are truth, and his way is Judgement, and those that walk in Pride he is able to abase*, Dan. 4. 34, 35, 36, 37.

How long he lived after this is uncertain, but all agree

that he raigned about twenty moneths copartner with his Father in the Kingdom, and about three and forty years by himself alone.

Gods Juſtice. Whilſt *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* raged in *Judea*, God prepared a worm, which in due time, ſhould eat out this ſpreading Tree; by reaſon of the cry of his poor People which entred into his ears: According to that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 137. 8, 9. *O Daughter of* Babylon, *who art to be deſtroyed: Happy ſhall he be that rewardeth thee, as thou haſt ſerved us. Happy ſhall he be that taketh and daſheth thy little ones againſt the ſtones.* For in this very year was *Cyrus*, the *Perſo-Median* born; whoſe Father was a *Perſian*, and his Mother a *Mede*; of whom this very *Nebuchadnezzar* at the hour of his Death, uttered this Propheſie. *There ſhall come a* Perſian *Mule, who ſhall make uſe of your Devils, as his fellow-Souldiers, to bring you into Bondage.* He calls *Cyrus* a *Mule*, becauſe he was to be born of a Father and Mother of two divers Nations.

A Propheſie.

FINIS.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF CYRUS the Great,

THE FIRST FOUNDER of the EMPIRE OF THE MEDES, & PERSIANS;

Represented by the Breast, and Arms of Silver, in that Image, *Dan.* 2. 32. and by a Bear, *Dan.* 7. 5. and by a Ram with two Horns, *Dan.* 8. 3, 20.

And the deliverer of the *Israelites* out of *Babylon*, the seventy years of their Captivity being Expired.

Whereby much light is given to many of the Prophesies of *Isay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*.

By *Sa. Clarke*, sometime Minister in St *Bennet Fink*, London.

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THE LIFE, & DEATH OF CYRUS the Great,

The first Founder of the PERSIAN EMPIRE.

CYRUS was the Son of *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, by *Mandanes* the daughter of *Astyages*, King of *Media*; He was so named by the Prophet *Isay* almost two hundred years before he was born, *Isay* 45. 1, 4. *Thus saith the Lord unto* Cyrus *his annointed*, &c. His Parentage.

Cyrus his first Education was under his Father *Cambyses*, with whom he lived till he was twelve years old, and somewhat more; at which time, he was sent for, together with his Mother *Mandanes*, by his Gandfather *Astyages*, into *Media*. His Education.

In *Media* he served *Astyages*, first as one of his Halberdiers, and then as one of his Armour-bearers till he was

was called home into *Persia* by his Father *Cambyses*, when as yet he had one year to spend at School; and when he had spent seventeen years at School amongst Boys, he spent ten years more amongst youths.

His first Action in War.

When *Cyrus* was now almost sixteen years old, *Evilmerodach* the King of *Assyria*, being about to marry a wife called *Nicotris*, made an in-rode, with a great Army of Horse and Foot, into the borders of *Media*, there to take his pleasure in hunting, and harrassing of the Country: against whom, *Astyages*, and *Cyaxares* his Son, and *Cyrus* his Grand child, who then first began to bear Arms, being but about fifteen or sixteen years old, marched out, met with him, and in a great Battel, overthrew him, and drave him out his borders. Indeed the Death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Father of *Evilmerodach*, gave courage to those that had found him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder tearms with the *Babylonians*, than in his flourishing estate, they durst have used.

But *Evilmerodach*, being too proud to digest this loss which he had received by the *Medes*, and their Allies, the *Persians* under *Cyrus*, he drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the People of the lesser *Asia*, with great gifts and strong perswasions, hoping by their assistance to overwhelm his enemies with a strong invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out by a lingring War.

Evilmerodach is slain.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way to the fulfilling divers *Prophesies* which were many years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Isay*, and *Jeremy*. For the *Babylonians* and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Persians* under their thick showers of Arrows, and Darts, were encountered with an Army of stout and well trained men, weightily Armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in a great Battel, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slain. After which that great Empire that was raised and upheld by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was grievously shaken and enfeebled under his unprosperous Son, and left to be sustained by his Grand-

Grand-child *Belshazzar*: a man more like to have overthrown it when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it when it was in a way of falling.

Xenophon relates the matter thus, When the *Babylonian* had enlarged his Empire with many Victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his Subjection, there would not then be left any Nation adjoyning, able to make head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the Field sixty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, to which the Forces of *Persia* being joyned, made an exceeding great Army. The strength of *Media*.

Considering therefore the strength of such a neighbour, he invited *Crasus*, King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and Treasure, and with him other Lords of *Asia* the less, to his assistance, alleadging that those Eastern Nations, were very powerfull, and so firmly conjoyned by League, and many Alliances, that it would not be easie, no nor possible for any one Nation to resist them.

With these suggestions, backed with rich Presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred Thousand Foot, and sixty thousand Horse: Of which ten thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot were brought by *Crasus*, who had great cause of enmity against the *Medes*, for that they had made great Wars against his Father *Allyattes*. Whereupon *Cyrus* was by his Father *Cambyses*, and the Council of the Kingdom, made Genetall of the *Persian* Army, and sent away into *Media* with thirty Thousand Souldiers, and one Thousand Commanders, all of equall Authority under him; and when he came thither, he was also made by his Uncle *Cyaxares*, who had sent for him, Generall of the *Median* Forces, and the management of the War against the *Babylonian* was wholly comitted to him; With this Army he marched against *Evilmerodach*, and his associates, and in a very bloody Battell, overthrew them. In which defeat, *Evilmerodach*, King of *Babylon*, being slain, so many of his Subjects revolted, that *Babylon* it self could no longer be secu- *Cyrus* made Generall of the Army. He overthrows the *Babylonians*.

red, but by the help of Mercenaries, waged with great ſums of money out of *Aſia* the leſs, *Egypt*, and other Countries, which new leavied Forces, were alſo defeated, and ſcattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, poſſeſſed himſelf of a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*. Thoſe *Perſians* which followed *Cyrus*, and were by him levied, are reckoned to be thirty thouſand Foot, of which one thouſand were Armed Gentlemen; the reſt of the common ſort were Archers, and ſuch as uſed the Dart, or Sling.

Cyrus his great victories.

Craſus, notwithſtanding the men loſt, and the Treaſure ſpent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, yet did he Conquer *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Jonia*, Provinces poſſeſſed by the *Greeks* in *Aſia* the leſs, adjoyning to his Kingdom of *Lydia*. He gave Laws alſo to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Myſians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. He alſo enforced the *Epheſians* to acknowledge him for their Lord; He alſo obtained a ſignall Victory againſt the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*; All which he performed in fourteen years.

Craſus his Victories.

And being now confident by reaſon of his good ſucceſſes, and withall, envious at *Cyrus* his Fame, and proſperity; doubting alſo that his great Victories might in the end grow perilous to himſelf, he conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he preſented with marvellous rich Gifts, what ſucceſs he might hope for in his undertakings againſt *Cyrus*; from whom he received this ambiguous anſwer, Cræſus Halym *penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim*: *Craſus* paſſing over the River *Halys*, ſhall diſſolve a great Dominion: For the Devil being doubtfull of his ſucceſs, gave him this Riddle, which might be conſtrued either way, to the ruine of *Perſia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

The Devils ſubtilty.

Hereupon *Craſus* (interpreting it as he moſt deſired) reſolved to ſtop the courſe of *Cyrus* his progreſs, and therefore deſpiſed all the Arguments uſed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who deſired him to conſider afore-hand, that he provoked a Nation inhabiting a barren, & Mountanous Region; a People not covered with the ſoft ſilk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beaſts; not fed with meat

Good Counſel neglected.

meat to their Fansies, but content with what they found; Drinkers of Water, and not of Wine; and in a word, a Nation Warlike, Patient, Valiant, and Porsperous, over whom if he became Victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but Fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them he should be beaten, and subdued, so great would his loss appear of all things, which the world makes account of, that the same could neither be hastily recounted, nor easily conceived.

Crœsus marches against Cyrus.

Notwithstanding this solid, and seasonable Counsel, *Crœsus* having prepared a powerfull Army, advanced with the same toward *Media:* but in his passage he was retarded at *Pterium*, a City in *Cappadocia* of great strength; which whilst he attempted both by power and policy to take, and Conquer, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. Neither of these Champions were inferior to other, either in strength, or opinion. For out of doubt, *Crœsus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in Riches, and ability, so was he not inferior unto any in Territories and Fame, that then lived. *But Kingdoms and Commonwealths have their increase, and Periods from Divine Ordinance.* This time was the Winter of *Crœsus* his prosperity, the leaves of his flourishing estate being ready to fall; and that of *Cyrus* but in the first Spring and Flower; *the God of all Power, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of Glory to the other.*

A great Battel.

When these two Armies were in view each of other, after divers skirmishes had passed between them, the *Persians*, and *Lydians* began to joyn together, and to encounter each other in grose Bodies; and as either of them began to retreat, fresh supplies were sent in from both their Kings. And as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the Day, so when the dark vail of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Crœsus* doubting what success the rising Sun might bring with it, quitted the Field to *Cyrus*, and withall speed possible, retreated towards his own Country, and taking the next way thither, he recovered *Sardis*, the first City of *Lydia*, and his Regal Seat, with-

Crœsus retreats.

without any purſuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him; where, being arrived, and nothing ſuſpecting *Cyrus* his approach, or any other War for that Winter, he diſmiſed his Army, and ſent the Troops of his ſundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-aſſemble at the end of five Moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intent of renewing the War at the time appointed.

Cyrus purſues him.

The morning being come, *Cyrus* finding that the *Lydians* were departed, put his Army in order to purſue after them, yet not ſo haſtily, and at their heels, as to be diſcovered. But getting good intelligence of *Cræſus* his proceedings, he ſo ordered the matter, that he preſented not himſelf before *Sardis*, till ſuch time as *Cræſus* had diſpoſed of his Army, and ſent them to their Winter Quarters. His coming being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he had opportunity enough to ſurround *Sardis* with his Army, wherein *Cræſus* had no other Companies than the Citizens, and his ordinary Guards, inſomuch as after fourteen days Siege, *Cyrus* took the City by Storm, and put all to the Sword that made reſiſtance.

And beſieges him in *Sardis*.

Sardis taken.

Cræſus now having neither Arms to Fight, nor Wings to fly, in this common calamity, he thruſt himſelf into the heap, and multitude of his miſerable Subjects, and had undergone the ſame lot with the reſt of the vanquiſhed perſons, had not a Son of his, who had been dumb all his Life before (by the extremity of Paſſion and Fear) cryed out to a common Souldier, who was with a drawn Sword purſuing his Father, that he ſhould not kill *Cræſus*. Hereupon he was taken and impriſoned, and deſpoiled of all things, but onely the expectation of Death.

Cræſus preſerved

Shortly after he was bound with Fetters, and Placed upon a large and high pile of Wood, to be burnt to aſhes thereon. To which, when Fire was ſet, and kindled, *Cræſus* remembring the diſcourſe which long before he had with *Solon*, the *Athenian* Lawgiver, he thrice cryed out, *O Solon, Solon, Solon*, and being demanded what he meant by the invocation of *Solon*, he at firſt uſed ſilence:

He ſhould have been Burnt, but is ſaved.

But

But being urged again, he told them that now he found that true, which wise *Solon* had long since told him; *That many men in the race and course of their lives might well be accounted Fortunate, but no man could discern himself to be happy indeed till his end.*

Of this his answer, *Cyrus* being speedily informed, and thereby being put in mind of the mutability of Fortune, and of his own mortality, he commanded his Ministers of Justice, speedily to withdraw the Fire, and to save *Crœsus*, and bring him to his presence; which being done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, who it was that had perswaded him? or what reason had instigated him to invade his Territories, and to make him, of a Friend, an Enemy. To which *Crœsus* thus answered: *It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny* (*the* Grecian *Gods with all, flattering my Ambition*) *that were the inventers, and conductors of* Crœsus *War against* Cyrus.

Cyrus makes him his friend.

Cyrus being much affected wth this answer of *Crœsus*, and bewailing his estate, though he was victorious over him, did not only spare his life, but intertained him ever after as a King, and his companion; Thus *Herodotus* relates it. But *Xenophon* saith, that *Cyrus* did entertain *Crœsus* friendly at the first sight, and makes no mention of any such cruell intent of burning him alive; and this may seem the more probable, because *Crœsus* was his Grandmothers Brother, and its very likely that neerness of Alliance might withhold *Cyrus* (if he had been vicious, which he was not) from so cruell a purpose as to have burnt him alive.

Cyrus invades *Scythia.*

When *Cyrus* afterwards passed with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crœsus* to be a companion, and counseller to his Son *Cambyses*, whom he made Governour over his Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the Reign of *Cyrus*, and did afterwards accompany *Cambyses* in his Expedition into *Egypt*, where he hardly escaped his Tyrannous hands. At this time the Races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the World came to an end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and

and *Lydians*, in *Balthaſar*, *Xiaxares*, or *Darius Medus*, and *Creſus*.

After this *Lydian* War enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large, and mighty, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon the Earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, is uncertain, onely it ſeems that ten whole years did paſs between his taking of thoſe two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which time was not wholly ſpent in providing for the *Aſſyrian* War, but much of it in ſetling the Eſtates which he had already purchaſed; *Cteſias* alſo tells us, that during this time *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, he took *Amorges* their King Priſoner; But being in a ſecond Battel overthrown by *Sparetha*, the Wife of *Amorges*, himſelf was taken Priſoner, and ſo one King was releaſed for the other. *Gobrias* about this time (a Nobleman, whoſe onely Son, the King of *Babylon*, in his Fathers life time, had in a hunting match, villainouſly ſlain) together with his Friends, revolted to *Cyrus*.

His danger.

Its very probable alſo, that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which ſprang up in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoon after *Cyrus* his departure with his Victorious Army, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed. For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſs, many Nations which were formerly Conquered by *Creſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; Againſt whom he imployed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former Obedience; and then the reſt of the *Greeks* that inhabited *Aſia* the leſs, as the *Jonians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who, very reſolutely (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves; But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it ſelf, its not to be queſtioned but *Cyrus* imployed all his Forces, having taken order beforehand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that Siege, or to fruſtrate that work upon which he did ſet all his reſt.

And

And great reason there was, that he should improve all his Policy and strength unto the taking of that City, which, besides the Fame and reputation that it held, as being the Head of an Empire, which depended thereupon, was so strongly fortified with a trebble Wall of great heigth, and surrounded with the waters of *Euphrates*, that were unfordable, and so plentifully Victualled for many years, that the Inhabitants were not only free from fear, and doubt of their estate, but through their Confidence, they derided, and despised all the Projects and power of their Besiegers.

The strength of *Babylon.*

For not long before, *Nicotris*, the Mother of *Belshazzar*, a witty, and active Woman, foreseeing the storm that was ready to fall upon *Babylon* from the *Medes*, to hinder their passing the River by Boats into *Babylon*, She turned the River *Euphrates*, which before ran with a strait, and swift course, drawing it through many winding Channels, which she had cut for that purpose, whereby she made it to run more slowly than formerly it did: and then she raised a huge Dam upon each side of the River; and up the River from the City-ward, she digged a vast Pond, which was every way three or four hundred Furlongs wide, into which she turned the River, thereby leaving the old Channel of the River dry; which done, she fell to work, and fenced the Banks within the City with Brick-walls, and raised the Water-Gates, answerable in every point to the rest of the Walls, which were made on the farther side of the Channel, round about the City. She built also a stately, and Magnificent Bridge of Stone in the midst of the City, which joyned to the Kings Houses, that stood on each side the River: and having finished all her Works, and Fortifications, she turned the River out of the Pond into its right Channell again.

Babylon fortified by *Nicotris.*

And now came *Cyrus* to invade the Country of *Babylon*, and appeared before the Walls of the City, and there challenged the King to a Duell, or single Combat, but he refused it. At this time *Gadatas*, a Noble man of *Babylon*, whom

Cyrus invades *Babylon.*

whom *Belſhazzar* had gelt, upon a jealouſie that he had of him with his Wife, fell over to *Cyrus*, in revenge whereof the *Babylonians* ſallied out, and fell upon his Lands; but *Cyrus* ſet upon them, and routed them; At which time the *Caduſii*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed ro bring up the rear of his Army, unknown to *Cyrus*, ſet upon a Country lying neer to the City; but the King of *Babylon* falling out upon them, cut them all off. Yet *Cyrus* quickly revenged the Death of his men; and then came to an agreement with *Belſhazzar*, to hold truce with the Ploughmen on both ſides, and the War to go on between the Souldiers onely. After which, paſſing beyond the City, he took in three of their Forts, and ſo returned into the confines of *Aſſyria*, and *Media*; and thither, upon his invitation, came his uncle *Cyaxares*, and was by him honourably received, and intertained in a Pavilion, that had been the King of *Aßyrias*: and Winter now approaching, they entred into conſultation to provide things neceſſary to maintain the Siege.

Cyrus beſieges it.

The only hope of *Cyrus* with his *Medes*, and *Perſians* (who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a City ſo well, and ſtrongly fortified, and manned) was in cuting off all ſupplies of victuals, and others neceſſaries; Whereof, though the Town was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be imagined, that amongſt ſuch a World of People as dwelt within thoſe Walls, one great want or other would ſoon appear amongſt them, and vanquiſh the reſolution of that unwarlike multitude. Yet in expecting that ſucceſs of this courſe, the Beſiegers were likely to endure much hardſhip, and travel, and that all in vain, if they did not keep ſtrict watch, and ſure guards upon all the Avenues, and Quarters of it.

Which that he might the better do, he cauſed preſently a vaſt trench, both for breadth and depth to be caſt round about the Walls of the City, caſting the earth ever towards his own Army, and made ſtore of Bulworks all along upon it, for his Guards to be upon: and then, dividing

ding his whole Army into twelve parts, he ordered that each of them should Watch his Moneth, by turn.

And yet this was a very hard work, considering the vast circuit of those Walls which they were to gird in, having neither men enough, nor yet sufficiently assured to their Commander; the consideration whereof Ministred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good Pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their City to keep them in, who, having been their Ancient Friends, and Allies, were more like to joyn with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were but yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling Yoke of servitude. *The Babylonians vain Hopes.*

Whilst the Besieged were thus pleasing themselves with this fooliſh fansie, and vain mirth (the ordinary forerunners of sudden calamity) *Cyrus*, who by God that set him on work, was made strong, valiant, constant, and inventive, devised, and by the labour of his men, digged so many Channels as were capable of receiving the Waters of *Euphrates*, and so to draw the same from the Walls of *Babylon*, that thereby he might make his approaches the more facile, and assured, which, when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he waited for a fit time wherein to put in execution, what he had designed. For he had left in each of the Trenches towards the River, certain Banks, or Heads uncut till he saw his opportunity. *Cyrus's* stratagem.

Now *Belshazzar* finding neither any want or weakness within the City, nor any possibility for his enemies without, to approach the Walls by reason of the great River that surrounded them, he prepared an exceeding sumptuous Feast, Publick Plays, and other Pastimes, and thereto invited a Thousand of his Princes, or Nobles, besides his Wives, Courtezans, and others of that Trade. This he did, either to let the Besiegers know that his Provisions were sufficient, not onely for all needfull uses, but even for superfluity, and excess; Or *Belshazzars* Feast.

because he hoped that his enemies by this time were discouraged, and even broken under their manifold disasters: Or else he made this Feast in Honour of *Bel*, his most adored Idol: or lastly, because it was his Birth, or Coronation Day: Or for many, or most of these respects.

His Blasphemy.

Yea, he was not contented to use, and shew such Magnificence as no Prince else could Equall, but he lifted up himself against the God of Heaven, *Dan.* 5. 23. For he, his Princes, his Wives, and his Concubines, made Carousing Cups of the Golden, and Silver Vessels which his Grandfather *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the Temple which was at *Jerusalem*; and in contempt of the Lord of Heaven, he praised his own Puppets made of Gold, and Silver, and Brass, and Iron, and Wood, and Stone; Whilst *Belshazzar* was thus trumphing, and had his brains well filled with vapours, he beheld a hand, which by Divine power wrote upon the Wall that was opposite to him, certain Words which he understood not, wherewith, so great a fear, and amazement seized upon him, that the joynts of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another; Which Passion when he had in some measure recovered, he cryed aloud to bring in the Astrologers, the *Chaldeans*, and the Southsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of Honour in his Kingdom, to him that could read, and expound the writing: But it exceeded their Art, and Skill.

The Writing on the Wall.

The Kings distraction

The Queen comforts him.

In this disturbance, and astonishment, the Queen, hearing what had passed, came in, and observing what distraction the King was in, after Reverence done, She used this Speech; *O King live for ever; Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed; there is a man in thy Kingdom in whom is the Spirit of the holy Gods, and in the Days of thy Father light, and understanding, and Wisdom like the Wisdom of the Gods was found in him, whom the King* Nebuchadnezzar *thy Father, the King I say, thy Father made Master of the Magi-*

cians,

cians, the Astrologers, the Chaldeans, *and the Southsayers; For as much as an Excellent Spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, in interpreting Dreams, and shewing of hard Sentences, and dissolving of doubts were found in the same* Daniel, *whom the King named* Belteshazzar. *Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will shew the Interpretation.*

This Queen was either the Grandmother, or the Mother of *Belshazzar*; For it appears that She was not any of the Kings Wives, because She was absent from the Feast, and in regard of her age, past-banquetting, and dancing; Yet upon the report of the Miracle, She came in to comfort, and cheer up the King; and whereas *Daniel* was forgotten, and neglected by others, of younger years, and latter times, this old Queen remembred well, what *Daniel* had done in the days of *Nebuchadnezzar*; Grandfather to this *Belshazzar*, and kept in mind, both his Religion, and Divine gifts.

Daniel brought in.

When *Daniel* was brought into the Kings presence, he said unto him: *Art thou that* Daniel, *which art of the Children of the Captivity of* Judah; *whom the King my Father brought out of* Jewry? *I have heard of thee that the Spirit of the Gods is in thee, and that light, and understanding, and excellent Wisdom is found in thee; and now the Wise men and the Astrologers have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, but they could not do it: And I have heard of thee that thou canst make Interpretations, and dissolve doubts: Now if thou canst read the Writing, and make known to me the Interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with Scarlet, and have a chain of Gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third Ruler in the Kingdom.*

The Kings Speech to him.

Daniels answer.

But *Daniel* made answer in a far differing stile from that which he had used to his Grandfather; For the evill which he had foretold to *Nebuchadnezzar* he wished that it might befal his enemies: But to this King (whose contempt of God, and vicious life he hated,) he answered in these Words; *Let thy gifts be to thy self, and give thy rewards*

to another: Yet I will read the writing to the King, and make known to him the Interpretation: which yet before he did, he ſhewed him the cauſe of Gods judgements againſt him, and the reaſon of this terrible ſentence, whereof the King and all his Wiſe men were utterly Ignorant, the ſubſtance whereof is this, That *Belſhazzar* forgetting Gods goodneſs to his Father, whom all Nations feared, and obeyed, and yet for his Pride, and neglect of thoſe benefits, as he had deprived him of his Eſtate, and underſtanding; ſo upon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power, he reſtored him to both again; *And thou his Son* (ſaid he) *O* Belſhazzar, *haſt not humbled thy heart, though thou kneweſt all this, But haſt lifted up thy ſelf againſt the Lord of Heaven, and they have brought the Veſſels of his Houſe before thee, and thou and thy Lords, thy Wives and thy Concubines have drunk Wine in them, and thou haſt praiſed the gods of Silver, and Gold, &c. and the God in whoſe hand thy breath is, and whoſe are all thy ways, haſt thou not Glorified: Then was the part of the hand ſent from him, and this writing was written,* Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharſin, *Whereof this is the Interpretation:* Mene, *God hath numbred thy Kingdom, and finiſhed it:* Tekel, *Thou art weighed in the ballances, and art found wanting:* Peres, *Thy Kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes, *and* Perſians.

He reads, and Interprets the writing.

The very evening or Night of this Day, wherein *Belſhazzar* thus Feaſted, and wherein theſe things were done, *Cyrus*, either by his Eſpeials, or being inſpired by God himſelf, whoſe Enſign he followed in theſe Wars, finding the time, and opportunity fit for him, even whilſt the Kings Head, and the Heads of his Nobility, were no leſs diſtempered with the vapours of Wine, than their hearts were with the fear of Gods Judgements, he cauſed all the Banks, and Heads of his Trenches, to be opened, and cut down with all ſpeed, and diligence, whereby that great River *Euphrates* was quickly drawn dry, and himſelf with his Army paſſing through the Channell which was now

Cyrus drains *Euphrates*,

now dry, without any opposition, they easily made their entrance into the City, finding none to disturb them; *Invadunt urbem somno, Vinoq; sepultam:* All the Town lay buried in Wine and Sleep; and such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the Sword unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filled the Streets with an uncertain tumult. *Babylon taken.*

Such of the *Assyrian* Lords as had formerly revolted from *Belshazzar* to *Cyrus*, did now conduct a Selected company to the Kings Pallace, which being easily forced by them, they rushed strait into the Chamber where the King and his Princes were Banquetting, and there slew both him and them without mercy, who strove in vain to keep those lives, which God had newly threatened to take away. Now was that Propheſie fulfilled, *Jer.* 51. 30, 31, 32. *The mighty men of* Babylon *have forborn to fight; they have remained in their Holds; their might hath failed; they became as women; they have burnt their dwelling places; Her barrs are broken. One Post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the King of* Babylon *that his City is taken at one end. And that the passages are stopped* (*viz.* of the River *Euphrates*) *and the Reeds they have burnt with fire, and the men of War are affrighted*; The Prophet *Isay* also, two hundred years before this subversion of *Babylon*, in his forty seventh Chapter, and elsewhere, describeth this destruction so feelingly, and lively, as if he had been present, both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change, and calamity of this great Empire; Yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewaillings of every surviving Soul, thereunto subject; which Propheſie he begins with these words; *Come down and sit in the dust, O Virgin daughter of* Babylon, *sit on the Ground; there is no Throne, O daughter of the* Chaldeans: *For thou shalt no more be called tender, and delicate*, &c. And though it cannot be doubted *Belshazzar slain.* *Propheſies fulfilled.*

doubted that God used *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Chaldeans* as his Instruments to punish the Idolatry, and wickedness of the *Jews*, yet did he not forget that in the Execution of Gods Judgements, they had used much rigour, and extremity; as we see *Isay* 47.6. *I was wroth with my People; I have polluted mine Inheritance, and given them into thine hand; Thou didst shew them no mercy; Upon the Ancient hast thou very heavily laid the Yoke*; and again, *I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from* Babel *the Name, and the remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew:* Meaning Evilmerodach, *and* Belshazzar. And again, *Isay* 13. 15, &c. *Every one that is found shall be thrust thorow; and every one that is joyned to them shall be slain with the Sword; their Children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their Houses shall be spoiled, and their Wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the* Medes *against them, which shall not regard Silver, and as for Gold, they shall not delight in it; their Bowes also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pitty on the fruit of the Womb; their eye shall not spare children. And* Babylon, *the Glory of Kingdoms, and beauty of the* Chaldees *excellency, shall be as when God overthrew* Sodom, *and* Gomorrah, *&c.* Read also Chapter fourteenth. No Historian that was either present at this Victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, could better describe, and leave the same to posterity after it was acted, than *Isay* hath done in many parts of his Prophesie, which were written two hundred years before any of these things were attempted.

The greatness of *Babylon*.

The Greatness, and Magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authours recorded, might seem altogether Fabulous; For it is reported for truth, that one part of the City knew not that the other was taken three days after; which is not impossible if we consider the vast Circumference of it. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that it was in compass three hundred, and sixty Furlongs, which make forty five Miles. The Walls were so thick that

six

six Chariots might pass in front thereon, and they were three hundred sixty and five Foot high, and were adorned, and beautified with one hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* gives a greater circuit, adding twenty five Furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning it at three hundred eighty five Furlongs, which makes forty eight Miles and one Furlong. *Herodotus* finds the compass yet to be greater, namely four hundred and eighty Furlongs in circuit; the thickness of the Wall he measures at fifty Cubits, and the heigth at two hundred of the same Regall Cubits. For entrance, it had a hundred Gates of Brass, with Posts, and Hooks to hang them on of the same Mettall; and therefore did the Prophet *Isay* rightly intitle *Babylon, The Princess, and Glory of Kingdoms*, Isay 47. 5. & 13. 19.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave, dividing, not onely her goodly Houses, and her whole Territory, with all the Riches therein contained, amongst his Souldiers; but also bestowed the Inhabitants themselves as Bondslaves, upon those that had taken possession of their goods. *Babylons* miserable Captivity.

Cyrus having obtained this great, and Signall Victory, the glory of which was a reward for his service done for him who was the Authour of it, and of all goodness, and thereby translated the Empire of the *Chaldeans* to himself, according to the Prophesies which went afore of him; in this first year of his Empire, he made a Decree that the Captive *Jews* should return again into their own Country of *Judea*, and that they should build again the House of God in *Jerusalem*, having now endured, and finished the seventy years Captivity foretold by the Prophet *Jeremy*. The tenour of which Decree was thus, *Cyrus* releases the *Jews*.

Thus saith Cyrus *King of* Persia; *The Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and hath charged me to build him an House at* Jerusalem *which is* His Decree for it.

in

in Judah, *Who is there among you of all his People? Let his God be with him, and let him go up to* Jeruſalem *which is in* Judah, *and build the Houſe of the Lord God of* Iſrael (*He is God*) *which is at* Jeruſalem: *And whoſoever remaineth in any place where he ſojourneth, let the men of his place help him with Silver, and with Gold, and with goods, and with Beaſts, beſides the free-will Offering for the Houſe of God that is in* Jeruſalem, *Ezra* 1. 2, 3, 4. He alſo brought forth and reſtored the Veſſels of the Houſe of the Lord which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought forth out of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and had put them into the Houſe of his gods; Theſe were brought forth and numbred unto *Sheſhbazzar* the Prince of *Judah*; and this is the number of them; Thirty Chargers of Gold, a thouſand Chargers of Silver, nine and twenty Knives, thirty Baſins of Gold, Silver Baſins of a ſecond ſort four hundred and ten, and of other veſſels a thouſand; All the veſſels of Gold and Silver were five thouſand and four hundred.

Or *Zorobabel.* He reſtores the veſſels of the Temple.

The number of *Jews* that then returned out of *Chaldea*, under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Joſhua* the Son of *Joſedech*, the High Prieſt, were about fifty thouſand: And as ſoon as they arrived at *Jeruſalem*, they built an Altar to the living God, and ſacrificed thereon according to their Law, and afterwards bethought themſelves how to prepare materials for the building of the Temple.

The *Jews* come to *Jeruſalem.*

Cyrus having ſet all things in order at *Babylon*, returned, through *Media*, into *Perſia*, to his Father *Cambyſes*, and his Mother *Mandanes*, who were yet living; and from thence returning again into *Media*, he married the only Daughter and Heir of *Cyaxares*, and for Dowry, had the whole Kingdom of *Media* given him with her; And when the Marriage was finiſhed, he preſently went his way, and took her with him; and coming to *Babylon*, from thence he ſent Governours into all his Dominions; Into *Arabia* he ſent *Megabyzus*; into *Phrygia* the greater, *Artacaman*; into *Lydia*, and *Jonia*, *Chryſantas*; into *Caria*, *Aduſius*; into

His Marriage.

His Governours.

Phrygia

Phrygia Helleſpontiaca, or the leſs, *Pharnuchas*; But into *Cilicia*, & *Cyprus*, & *Paphlagonia*, he ſent no *Perſians* to Govern them, becauſe they voluntarily, and of their own accord took his part againſt the King of *Babylon*; yet he cauſed even them alſo to pay him Tribute.

His great Army, & Victories.

Cyrus having ſpent one whole year with his Wife in *Babylon*, gathered thither his whole Army, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty Thouſand Horſe, and two Thouſand Iron Chariots, and ſix hundred Thouſand Footmen, and having furniſhed himſelf with all neceſſary proviſions, he undertook that journey wherein he ſubdued all the Nations inhabiting from *Syria* to the *Red Sea*.

Cyrus his Civil Government.

The time that *Cyrus* enjoyed in reſt and pleaſure after theſe great Victories, and the attainment of his Empire, is generally agreed upon by all Chronologers to have laſted only ſeven years; In which time he made ſuch Laws and Conſtitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wiſe Kings that are deſirous to eſtabliſh a Royal power to themſelves and their Poſterity, which are recorded by *Xenophon*.

His laſt Wars.

The laſt War, and the end of this Great King *Cyrus* is diverſly written by Hiſtorians: *Herodotus*, and *Juſtine* ſay: That after theſe Conqueſts, *Cyrus* invaded the *Maſſagets*, a very Warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, Governed by *Tomyris*, their Queen: and that in an encounter between the *Perſians*, and theſe Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* loſt her Army, together with her Son *Spargapiſes* that was the Generall of it. In revenge whereof this Queen making new levies of men of War, and proſecuting the War againſt *Cyrus*, in a ſecond ſore Battel, the *Perſians* were beaten, and *Cyrus* was taken priſoner; and that *Tomyris* cut off his Head from his Body, and threw it into a Bowle of blood, uſing theſe words, *Thou that haſt all thy time thirſted for blood, now drink thy fill, and ſatiate thy ſelf with it.* This War which *Herodotus* calls *Tomyriqus*, laſted about ſix years.

But more probably this *Scythian* War was that which is mentioned before, which *Cyrus* made against the *Scythians* after the Conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Cteſias*, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, and makes the end of it otherwiſe, as you may ſee before.

The ſame *Cteſias* alſo recordeth, that the laſt War which *Cyrus* made was againſt *Amarheus*, King of the *Derbitians*, another Nation of the *Scythians*, whom, though he overcame in Battel, yet there he received a wound whereof he died three days after.

His Death.

Strabo alſo affirmeth, that he was buried in his own City of *Paſagardes*, which himſelf had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in *Strabo*'s time; which he ſaith was this;

His Epitaph.

O, vir, quicunq; es, & undecunq; advenis, neq; enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego ſum Cyrus, *qui* Perſis *Imperium conſtitui; puſillum hoc Terræ, quo meum tegitur Corpus, mihi ne invideas.* O thou man, whoſoever thou art, and whenſoever thou comeſt, for I was not ignorant that thou ſhouldſt come: I am *Cyrus* that founded the *Perſian* Empire: Do not envy unto me this little Earth with which my Body is covered.

When *Alexander* the Great returned from his *Indian* Conqueſts, he viſited *Paſagardes*, and cauſed this Tomb of *Cyrus* to be opened, either upon hope of great Treaſure, ſuppoſed to have been buried with him, or upon a deſire to honour his dead Body with certain Ceremonies; when the Sepulchre was opened, there was found nothing in it, ſave an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his Body lay, *Alexander* cauſed to be covered with his own Garment, and a Crown of Gold to be ſet upon it.

Alexander opens his Sepulchre And honours his Tomb.

Cyrus finding in himſelf that he could not long enjoy the World, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyſes*, and *Smerdis*, and after a long Oration, wherein he aſſured himſelf, and taught others, about the immortality of the Soul, and of the

Cyrus his laſt words.

puniſh-

punishments and rewards following the ill, and good deservings of every man in this life; He exhorted his Sons, by the strongest Arguments he had, to a perpetual Concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which makes it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, whilst he Governed *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophesie of *Isay*, wherein he was expressly named, and by God preordained for the delivery of his People out of Captivity; which act of delivering the *Jews*, and of restoring of the holy Temple, and the City of *Jerusalem*, was in true consideration the Noblest-work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an Instrument of Gods Power, used for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which yet was not to continue long: But herein he had the favour to be an Instrument of Gods goodness, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon earth, which must last for ever.

His Issue.

Cyrus had Issue two Sons, *Cambyses*, and *Smerdis*, and three Daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artistona*. At his Death he bequeathed his Empire to his Eldest Son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis*, his younger Son, to be *Satrapa*, or Leiutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*. He reigned about one and thirty years, and died aged.

The *Greek* Historians wholly ascribe the Conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus*, because that he commanded the Army in Chief; yet the Scriptures attribute it to *Darius*, King of the *Medes*, whose General *Cyrus* was: For when *Babylon* was taken, and *Belshazzar* slain, 'tis said, *Dan.* 5. 31. that *Darius* the *Median* took the Kingdom, being about sixty two years old. It was *Darius* also that placed Officers over the severall Provinces thereof, as we read, *Dan.* 6. 1, 2. *It pleased* Darius *to set over the Kingdom a hundred and twenty Princes, which should be over the whole Kingdom, and over them three Presidents, of whom* Daniel *was the first*, &c. And this

was it Prophesied by *Isay* long before; *Behold! I will stir up the* Medes *against them*, &c. and by the Prophet Jeremy; *The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the* Medes: *for his device is against* Babylon, *&c. Jer.* 51. 11. And again, *verse* 28. *Prepare against her the Nations, with the Kings of the* Medes, *the Captains thereof, and all the Rulers thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.*

But certain it is that the Honour of that great Victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the Instrument preordained, and forenamed by God himself: not onely for this Action; but also for the delivery of his Church: Yet *Daniel* makes it plain, that himself; not onely lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first year of *Cyrus*, which was not long after, which also was the year of *Daniels* Death.

As for the age of *Cyrus* we are beholding to *Tully* for it; who in his first Book *de Divinatione*, Cites it out of one *Dionysius*, a *Persian* Writer, in this manner. *The Sun* (saith *Dionysius*) *appeared unto* Cyrus *in his sleep, standing at his feet, which, when* Cyrus *thrice endeavoured to take in his hands, the Sun still turned aside, and went away: and the* Magi, *who were the most learned men amongst the* Persians, *said that by his thrice offering to take hold of the Sun, was portended to him that he should reign thirty years; which came to passe accordingly: For he lived to the Age of seventy years, and began not to raign till he was forty.*

His Age.

In the first year of *Belshazzar*, *Daniel* had the Vision shewed him of the four Beasts, signifying the four Monarchies; and of God delivering over all power, and Soveraignty to the Son of man, *Dan.* 7.

Some usefull Observations.

In the third year of *Belshazzar*, the Vision of the Ram, and Goat, foreshewing the destruction of the *Persian* Monarchy by *Alexander* the Great, and the great misery which *Antiochus* should bring upon the People of God was shewed to *Daniel*, living then at

Susa,

Susa, in the Province of *Elam*, upon the bank of the River *Ulai*, which environed the Castle of *Susa*, and parted the Provinces of *Susa*, and *Elemais*, *Dan.* 8. whence we may collect, that at that time the Province of *Susa* was not in the hands of the *Medes* and *Persians*, but of the *Babylonians*, under whom *Daniel* then lived.

Darius the *Mede*, son of *Cyaxares*, or *Ahasuerus* the Son of *Astyages*, took upon him the Kingdom, which was delivered over to him by *Cyrus*, the Conquerer, *Dan.* 5. 31. & 9. 1. The Angel, in this first year of his Raign, is said to have confirmed, and strengthened him in his Kingdom, *Dan.* 11. 1. After which he raigned two years.

Towards the end of the first year of *Darius* the *Mede*, the seventy years of the *Babylonish* Captivity expired, which began under *Jehoiakim*, in the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time God promised that they should return into their own Country, *Jer.* 29. 10. *Thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at* Babylon, *I will visit you, and perform my good Word towards you, in causing you to return to this place.* Upon consideration of which very time, now so neer approaching, it was, that *Daniel* powred out that most fervent Prayer for the Remission of his own sins, and of his Peoples; and for that promised deliverance out of their Captivity: Whereupon the Angel *Gabriel* brought him an answer, not onely concerning this, but also for the spirituall deliverance of the Church to be wrought at last by the Death of the *Messias*, uttering that most famous, and memorable Prophesie of the seventy Weeks, *Dan.* 9. 12, &c.

The *Samaritans*, by the means of some Courtiers about *Cyrus*, whom they had bribed for that purpose, disturbed the *Jews* in their building of the Temple, *Ezra* 4. 5. Whence proceeded that three weeks mourning of the Prophet *Daniel*, which Fast he began about the third Day of the first Moneth, in the third year of *Cyrus*,

Dan.

Dan. 10. 1. 4. After which, upon the four and twentieth Day of the first Moneth, that vision of the Kings of *Persia*; of *Alexander* the Great, and his Successours, and their Kingdoms, was shewed and revealed unto *Daniel*, as he stood upon the bank of *Hiddikel*, or *Tygris*; All which is contained in the three last Chapters of *Daniel*; which (as may be collected out of the close thereof) was the last Vision that ever he had, and that but a little before his Death.

FINIS.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF Nebuchadnezzar THE GREAT,

The first founder of the *Babylonian* Empire; Represented by the Golden Head of that Image; *Dan.* 2. 32. and by the Lion with Eagles Wings; *Dan.* 7. 4.

As also of

CYRUS the GREAT,

The first founder of the Empire of the *Medes*, and *Persians*; Represented by the Breast, and Arms of Silver in that Image; *Dan.* 2. 32. And by a Bear; *Dan.* 7. 5. And by a Ram with two Horns; *Dan.* 8. 3, 20. He was the deliverer of Gods *Israel* out of *Babylon*, the seventy years of their Captivity being Expired.

By both of these, much light is given to many of the Prophesies of *Isay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*.

By *Sa. Clarke*, sometime Minister in St *Bennet Fink*, London.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Miller* at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Churchyard, near the little North Door. 1665.

Licensed to be Printed,

Roger L'Estrange.

(3)

THE LIFE & DEATH OF Julius Cæsar,

The first Founder of the

ROMAN EMPIRE.

AS ALSO

The LIFE and DEATH OF

Augustus Cæsar

In whose Raign our Blessed

LORD, and SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIT

was borne.

By *Sa. Clarke* sometime Pastor in St. *Bennet Finck* London.

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THE LIFE & DEATH OF Julius Cæsar The first Founder of the ROMAN EMPIRE.

Julius Cæsar by the Fathers side was of a very Noble and ancient Family, and by the Mothers side he descended from the Kings of *Rome*, who were extracted from the *Trojan Æneas*. When he was a young man, *Sylla* having gotten the Lordship of *Rome*, would have had him put away his Wife *Cornelia*, who was the Daughter of *Cinna*, the Dictator, but he could not prevaile with him, either by promises or threats to do it, whereupon he took away her joynter from him.

Cæsars Parentage.

Sylla being very busie in puting to Death many of his enemies, yet passed by *Cæsar* whom he contemned for his youth.

His danger by *Sylla*.

youth. And *Cæsar* was not contented to retire himself in safety in those stormy times, but came and made suite to the People for the Priesthood which was then void, when he had scant any haire on his face: but by *Syllas* means he suffered a repulse, who was so irritated hereby, that he determined to have killed him; and when some of *Syllas* Friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a man to Death, he answered, *That they did not consider that there were many* Marius's *in that one Boy.*

His flight. *Cæsar* being informed of his danger, secretly fled from *Rome*, and hid himself a long time amongst the *Sabines*, wandering from one place to another, yet at length he fell into the hands of a party of *Syllas* Souldiers who sought for him, but he bribed their Captain with two Talents, and so escaped. Then went he unto the Sea side, and taking Ship, he passed into *Bythinia* unto King *Nicomedes*. And after a while, he took Sea again,

He is taken by Pirates. and fell into the hands of some Pirates, who at that time kept all the Sea-coast, with a great Fleet. They asking him twenty Talents for his Ransom, *Cæsar* laughed them to scorne, as not knowing what a man they had taken, and of himself promised them fifty Talents, and sent some of his men to get him this money, so that he was almost left alone amongst these Theeves, which were the cruellest Butchers in the world, having onely one of his Friends and two Slaves with him.

His boldnesse. Thus he continued thirty eight dayes amongst them, not as a Prisoner, but rather waited upon as a Prince by them: For he boldly exercised himself amongst them in their sports: He would make Orations and call them together to hear them, and if they seemed not to understand or regard them, he would call them Blockheads and Beasts, and laughing, would threaten to hang them, and they took all in good part, thinking that it proceeded from his Boyish simplicity.

When

When his Ransome was come, he paid it them and so was dismissed; and presently arming and manning some Ships out of the Haven of *Miletum*, he followed these Theeves, and finding them yet at Anchor, he took most of them, and got a great Booty, and carryed there persons to the City of *Pergamus*, and there imprisoned them, whilst himself went to *Junus*, the Governour of *Asia*, to whom the execution of these Pirates did belong. But he desiring to get the money, because there was good store of it, said, that he would consider of these Prisoners at better leasure. *Cæsar* hereupon returned back to *Pergamus*, and there hung up all these Theeves openly upon the Crosse, as he often had threatened that he would doe, when they thought that he was but in jest.

He is delivered.

He crucifies the Pirates.

When *Sylla*'s power began to decay, *Cæsars* Friends wrote to him to returne to *Rome*: But he first went to *Rhodes* to study there for a time, under the Tuition of *Apollonius*, an honest man and excellent *Retborician*, whose Schollar also *Cicero* had been. *Cæsar* had an excellent gift to speak well naturally, which was much holpen by his Studies, so that he was very eloquent, and might have been second to none, but that he applied himself rather to follow the Wars, and to mannage great matters than to pleading of causes.

His studies.

When he was returned again to *Rome*, he immediately wan the good will of the People by his Eloquence, and courteous speaking to every man, being more ceremonious in his deportment than could be expected from one of his years. Besides, he ever kept a good Table, and fared well, and was very liberall, which much encreased his estimation with the people. And his enemies, presuming that when he could not hold out that charge and expence, the favour of the People would quickly decay, they suffered him to go on, till by degrees he was grown very great, and powerfull. So that though some of them foresaw that his power would at last turne to the destruction

His return to *Rome*.

He grows popular.

And is feared.

deſtruction of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, yet now they knew not how to provent it. Indeed *Cicero* was the firſt man, who miſtruſting his dealings, found out his ſubtilty and malice, which he cuningly cloaked under a ſhew of curteſie, and familiarity: Yet (ſaid he) *When I conſider how finely he combeth his fair buſh of haire, and how ſmooth it lyeth, and that I ſee him ſcratch his Head with one finger, my mind gives me then, that ſuch a man ſhould not be ſo wicked as to deſigne the ruine of the common-wealth.*

The firſt time that he made prooſe of the good will of the People was, when he ſtood in competition with *Pompey* to be choſen a Collonel of a thouſand Foot Souldiers, and carryed it againſt him; but a more manifeſt proof of it was at the Deathof his Aunt *Julia*, the Wifeof *Marius* the elder. For then he ſolemnly made an Oration in her commendations in the Market place, and at her Buriall, did boldly ſhew forth the Images of *Marius*, which was the firſt that time they were ſeen after *Syllas* Victory over him, at which time *Marius* and all his partakers had been proclaimed Traytors and enemies to the Commonwealth. And whereas ſome cryed out upon *Cæſar* for doing it, the Poeple on the other ſide applaudded and thanked him him for it. And whereas there was an ancient cuſtome that the *Romans* uſed to make Funerall Orations in commendation of old Ladys, but not of young Women, *Cæſar* was the firſt that praiſed his own Wife in an Oration at her funerall, which much engaged the People to him, ſeeing him of ſo kind, and loving a nature.

His preferment.

Shortly after he was made Treaſure under *Antiſtius Vetus*, the *Prator*, for which he ever after honoured him, ſo that when he himſelfe came to be *Prætor*, he made his Son Treaſurer under him, and when he came out of that Office, he married his third Wife, whom was *Pompeia*, and married his Daughter *Cornelia* which he had by his firſt Wife, to *Pompey* the Great. He further ingratiated, himſelf with the People by diſburſing a great

great summe of his own money in mending the *Appian* way, when he was made Overseer thereof: as also for that, when he was chosen an *Ædile*, he shewed the People the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of Sword Players, and exceeded all others in the sumptuousnesse of his Feasts and sports which he made for the delight of the People, which made them daily to give him new Offices by way of requitall.

Not long after the High Priest *Metellus* dyed, and *Isauricus* and *Catulus*, two of the chiefest men, and of the greatest authority in *Rome*, contended for the place: *Cæsar* also presented himself to the People and sued for it, and *Catulus* fearing the event, sent a great summe of money to *Cæsar*, to procure him to leave off his suite: *Cæsar* sent him word, that he would disburse a greater summe than that to maintaine the suit against him: and when the Day of Election came, his Mother bringing him to the Doore, *Cæsar* weeping kissed her and said, *Mother, This day thou shalt see thy Son chief Bishop of* Rome, *or banished from* Rome; and accordingly he carred it by the suffrages of the People, insomuch as the Senate and Noble men were all affraid of him, judging that from henceforth he would make the People do what he pleased.

His ambition. He is made High Priest.

Afterwards *Cæsar* going into the Senate to cleere himself of some accusations that were brought against him, the Senate keeping him somewhat longer than ordinary, the People come to the door and called for him, bidding them let him out. Whereupon *Cato* fearing an insurraction of the Poor and needy persons, who put all their hopes in *Cæsar*, moved, that a frank distribution of Corne for a moneth should be made amongst them, which indeed put the Commonwealth to the charge of fifty five hundred Myriades, but it quenched the present danger, and did happly scatter the best part of *Cæsars* strength, and that at such time when he was made *Prætor*, and had thereby opportunity of doing much

His Moderation.

much mischief. Yet all the time of that Office, he never attempted to make any alteration in the Commonwealth.

He puts away his wife.

About this time *Clodius* was suspected of too much familiarity whith *Pompeia* wherefore *Cæsar* put her away. The Government of *Spain* being falne unto *Cæsar* as he was *Prætor*, his Creditors came with great importunity calling for their debts: But he being unable to satisfy them, went to *Crassus*, the richest man in *Rome*; who stood in need of *Cæsars* boldnels and courage to withstand *Pompeys* greatnels, who became his surety to his greediest Creditors, for eight hundred and thirty Talents, whereupon he was suffered to depart to his Province.

His ambition.

As he passed over the *Alps* he came to a little poor Village, where his friends that did accompany him, asked him merrily if there were any contending for Offices in that Town, and whether there were any strife amongst the Noble-men for honour? *Cæsar* answered, *I cannot tell: but for my part, I had rather be the chiefest man here, than the second person in Rome.* Another time in *Spain* reading the History of *Alexander* he was sorrowfull a good while after, and at last burst out into weeping. His Friends marvelling at it, asked him what was the cause of his sorrow? He answered, *Do you not think that I have good cause to be sorry, when* Alexander (*being yet older than my self*) *had conquered so many Nations and Countries, whereas hitherto I have done nothing worthy of my self.*

His victories in *Spain*.

When he first came into *Spain* he followed his business close, and in a short time had joined ten new Ensigns of Foot Souldiers, unto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching against the *Gallicians*, and *Lusitanians*, he conquered all before him as far as to the *Atlantick* Ocean, subduing those People which before knew not the *Romans* for their Lords; and then did as wisely take order for the establishing of Peace. For he reconciled the Cities together, made them Friends: But especially he pacified all suits of Law betwixt Debtors

Debtors and Creditors which arose by usury: Ordaining that the Creditors should take yearly two parts of the revenew of their Debtors, till such time as they had paid themselves, and that the Debtors should have the other third part to live upon. By this he won great estimation to himself, and returned from his Government very wealthy, his Souldiers also were full of rich spoiles. His Prudence.

The *Romans* had a custome, that such as desired the honour of Triumph, should stay without the City, whereas they that sued for the Consulship must of necessity be there in Person. *Cæsar* coming home just at that time when Consuls were to be chosen, he sent to request the Senate that he might be permitted to sue for the Consulship by his friends: Against this *Cato* at first did vehemently invey, alleadging that it was contrary to an express Law. But when he perceived that many of the Senators (being *Cæsar*'s friends) favoured his request, he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them: whereupon *Cæsar* resolved rather to give over his suit, for the Triumph, than to lose the Consulship: So he came into the City, and outwitted all but *Cato*. His device was this, *Pompey* and *Crassus* were the two greatest Persons in *Rome*, and at jarr between themselves: *Cæsar* affecting to make himself greater than either of them, sought to make them friends, and thereby to get the power of them both: For indeed, they both affected his friendship, that by his help they might supplant one another. And in the end, by his endeavours, a peace was concluded betwixt them: yet being still jealous one of another, and fearing to lose *Cæsar*, they both sought to gratifie him, and by this means he made himself equall to either of them: and that power which they two had formerly usurped, was now divided between three, and in the end *Cæsar* hereby got the sole command. His subtility.

This League being made betwixt them, *Cæsar* demanded the Consulship, being brought into the Assembly for the Election betwixt these two Noble Persons

He is chosen Consul.

and was there chosen Consul, together with *Calphurnius Bibulus*, without the contradiction of any: And when he was entered into his Office, he began to put forth Laws meeter for a Seditious Tribune than for a Consul, because by them he preferred the division of Lands, and distributing Corne to every Citizen *Gratis*, and all to please the People; And when the Senators opposed it, he took the advantage, Protesting that the Senate by their austerity drave him against his will to cleave to the People, and thereupon he asked *Crassus* and *Pompey* in the open Assembly, if they gave their consents to his Laws? They answered, yea. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatned to oppose him with the Sword: *Crassus* said he would, and *Pompey* did the like, adding, that he would come with his Sword and Target both against such; which gave great offence to the Senate, but the common People much rejoyced.

He marries his Daughter to *Pompey*

Cæsar to oblige *Pompey* more to him, gave him his Daughter *Julia* in marriage, who was made sure before to *Servilius Cæpio*, promising him in her stead *Pompey* Daughter, who also was made sure unto *Faustus*, the Son of *Sylla*. And shortly after *Cæsar* himself married *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*, whom he caused to succeed him in the Consulship. *Cato* then cryed out, and called the Gods to witnesse, that it was a shamefull thing that they should make such havock in the Commonwealth by such horrible Bawdy matches, hereby dividing amongst themselves the Government of Provinces, and great Armies. And *Bibulus* perceiving that he did but contend in vaine, *Cæsar* being too potent for him, and that his Life was in danger for opposing these Laws, he kept his House all the rest of his Consulship.

Pompey having married *Julia*, he filled the Market-place with Souldiers, and by open force authorised the Lawes which *Cæsar* had made in favour of the People: He procured also that *Cæsar* had both the *Gauls*, and

all

all *Illyria*, with four Legions, granted him for five years: and when *Cato* stood up to speak against it, *Cæsar* had his Officers to lay hold on him, and carry him to Prison, thinking that he would have appealed to the Tribunes, but *Cato* said no more, but went his way. And *Cæsar* seeing that not only the Nobility, but the Commons also were offended at it, out of respect to *Cato's* virtues, he secretly prayed one of the Tribunes that he would take *Cato* from his Officers, which was done accordingly. Many of the Senators refused to be present in the Senate under him, but left the City, because they could not endure his doings: whereupon one *Considius*, an old man told him, that the Senators durst not meet because of his Souldiers. Why then (said *Cæsar*) dost not thou also keep home out of the same fear? Because (said he) *My age takes away my fear from me, seeing having so short a time to live, I care not to prolong it further.*

He is sent into *Gaul.*

Cæsar preferred *Clodius*, a base fellow, to be Tribune, who sought the Office for no other end but to destroy *Cicero*, who had discovered his Villanies, and *Cæsar* would not go to his Province till he had set them two together by the ears, and driven *Cicero* out of *Italy*. Yet did he deserve the name of as brave a Generall as any that went before him, if we consider the hard Countries where he made Wars: His gaining of so many Countries which he adjoyned to the Empire of *Rome*: The multitude and power of the enemies whom he overcame: The rudeness and Valour of the men with whom he had to doe, whose manners yet he mollified, and civilized: His courtesy, and clemency to those whom he overcame: His great bounty and liberality to those that served under him: As also if we consider the number of Battels that he fought, and the multitude of enemies that were slaine by him. For in less then ten years, he took by assault above eight hundred Townes: He conquered three hundred Nations: and having at several times above thirty hundred thousand

He betrays *Cicero.*

His Valour and great successe.

His Souldiers Valour.

Souldiers againſt him, he ſlew a Million of them, and took as many more Priſoners. He was ſo intirely beloved of his Souldiers, that to doe him ſervice, and to advance his honour, they were invincible: As appeares by the example of *Acilius*, who in a Sea-fight before the City of *Marſeiles*, boarding one of the enemies Ships, had his right hand cut off, and yet he ran upon his enemies, thruſting them in their faces with his Target on his left hand, and ſo prevailed that he took their Ship.

One *Caſſius Scava* alſo in a fight before the City of *Dyrrachium*, having an eye put out with an Arrow, his ſhoulder ſtriken through with a Dart, and his thigh with another, having received thirty Arrows upon his Shield, called to his enemies as if he would yeild to them: but when two of them came running to him, he cut off one of their armes by the ſhoulder, and wounded the other in the face, and made them give back till he was fetched off by ſome of his fellowes. In *Brittan* alſo when ſome of his Captaines were driven into a bog full of mire and dirt, the enemies fiercely aſſaulting them there, *Cæſar* viewing the Battel, he ſaw a private Souldier thruſt in amongſt the Captaines, where he fought ſo valiantly that at length he forced the Barbarous People to fly, and thereby ſaved the Captaines, who otherwiſe had periſhed there: And then this Souldier being the hindmoſt of all the Captaines, marched through the bog, ſometimes ſwiming, and ſometimes on foot, till he gat to the farther ſide, onely he loſt his Target. *Cæſar* wondring at his valour, ran and imbraced him: But the poor Souldier, hanging down his head, with teares in his eyes, fell at *Cæſars* feet, begging pardon for leaving his Target behind him. In *Africk* alſo, *Scipio* having taken one of *Cæſars* Ships, ſlew all that were in it, ſave *Petronius*, a Treaſurer, to whome he profered life: But *Petronius* anſwered him, that *Cæſars* Souldiers uſed to give others their lives, and not to have their lives given them, and thereupon ſlew himſelf with his own Sword.

Now

Now *Cæsar* bred this courage in them by rewarding them bountifully, and honouring them. He also gave them a good example by adventuring himself upon manifest dangers, and putting his Body to extreame paines when there was occasion, which filled them with admiration. As for his costitution he was lean, white, and soft skin'd, and often troubled with the Head-ach, and sometimes with the falling sickness, yet yeilded he not to his sickness, but rather took paines as a Medicine to cure it, travelling continually, living soberly and commonly lying abroad in the Fields. Most nights he slept in his Coach, and in the dayes travelled up and down to see Cities, Castles, and strong holds. He had alwayes a Secretary with him in his Coach, who writ as they went by the way, and a Souldier behind him that carryed his Sword. He made such speed when he had gotten his Office at *Rome*, that in eight dayes he came to the River of *Rhone*. He was an excellent Rider from his youth: for holding his hands behind him, he would run his Horse upon the spurre.

His Temperance.

His activity.

In his Wars in *Gaul*, or *France*, he used to exercise himself in inditing Letters by the way, wherein he was so nimble that he imployed two Secretaries, or more at one time. He made very little account of his Diet, Supping one night in *Millane* with his Friend *Valerius Leo*, there was served at Table some *Sperage* with perfumed oile instead of Sallet oile, he eat it, and found no fault, blaming his Friends who were offended at the mistake, saying, that if they liked it not they should have let it alone, and that it was not good manners hereby to shame their Friend. At another time in his journey he was forced by foul weather to shelter himself in a poor Cottage that had but one Cabbin, and that so narrow that one could scant lye in it, whereupon he said to his Friends, the greatest roomes, are fittest for the greatest men, and Beds for sick persons, and so caused *Oppius* that was sick to lie there, and himself with the rest of his Friends, lay without doors.

The

He overcomes the *Swissers*.

The first War that *Cæsar* made in *Gaul*, was against the *Helvetians*, or *Swissers*, and the *Tygurines*, who having set fire of their own Cities and Houses, came to invade that part of *Gaul* which was subject to the *Romans*. These were a very War-like and Valiant People, and in all they were three hundred thousand souls, whereof there were one hundred and ninety thousand fighting men: yet were they overthrown by *Labienus*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant at the River *Arax*. And when the *Helvetians* afterwards came suddenly to set upon *Cæsar*, he made hast to get into some place of strength, and there ordered his Battel against them, and when one brought him his charging Horse, he said, *when I have overcome mine enemies, then I will get upon him, to pursue them*, and so marching against them on foot, he fiercely charged them: The Battel continued long before he could make them fly: yet had he more ado to take their Camp, and to break the strength that they had made with their Carts. For not onely those that were fled into it, made head again, but their Wives and Children also fought stoutly for their lives, till they were all slain, and the Battel was scarce ended by midnght.

Presently after, above one hundred thousand of those that had escaped from this Battel, were forced by *Cæsar* to return into their own Country again, and to the Townes which they had burnt; and this he did lest the *Germans* should come over the *Rhine*, and settle themselves in that Country being void.

And the *Germans*.

The next War that *Cæsar* made was in defence of the *Gauls* against the *Germans*, though himself had before admitted *Ariovistus* their King to be received as a confederate of the *Romans*: Notwithstanding which, they were grown very unquiet Neighbours, watching but an opportunity to possess themselves of the rest of *Gaul*, *Cæsar* perceiving that some of his Captains much feared them, especially the young Gentlemen of Noble Families, who went along with him as to some Pastimes, he commanded all that were afraid to return home, and not

not endanger themselves against their wills. But for himself he said, he would set upon those Barbarous People, though he had left him but the tenth Legion onely. Upon this the tenth Legion sent their Officers to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and all the other Legions blamed their Captaines for their backwardness, and followed him cheerfully till they came within two hundred Furlongs of the enemies Camp.

Ariovistus his courage was well cooled when he saw *Cæsar* so near, whereas they thought that the *Romans* were afraid of them: His Army also was in a great amaze. But that which discouraged them most, was the Propheſies of some foolish women, who observing the terrible noise which the water in the River made, advised the *Germans* by no means to fight, and they being possessed with a superstitious fear, sought to avoid the fight: Yet *Cæsar* skirmished with them every day and sometimes followed them to their Forts, and little Hills where they lay, whereby he so provoked them that at last they came down with great fury to fight. In this Battell he overcame them, and pursued them very eagerly, making a great slaughter of them even to the River of *Rhine*, filling all the fields with dead Bodies, and spoiles. *Ariovistus* himself flying speedily got over the River, and escaped with some few of his men: At this Battell there were slain about eighty thousand *Germans*. And the *Gauls*.

After this Battel *Cæsar* left his Army to winter amongst the *Sequanes*, and himself thinking of the affairs of *Rome*, returned over the *Alps* to a place about the River *Po*: whilest he lay there he laboured to make Friends at *Rome*: and when many came to visit him there, he granted all their suits, and sent them back, some with liberal rewards, and others with large promises, whereby he engaged them to him. His policy.

During all the time of *Cæsar*'s great conquests in *Gaul*, *Pompey* did not consider how *Cæsar* conquered the *Gauls* with the *Roman* weapons, and wan the *Romans* with the

the Riches of the *Gauls*. At this time *Cæsar* being informed that the *Belgæ* who were the most warlike Nation of all the *Gauls*, were all up in Armes and had raised a very great Power, he presently made towards them with all possible, speed; and found them overrunning and plundering the neighbour Countries and confederates of the *Romans*, wherefore he gave them Battel, and overthrew their chiefest Army, and slew so many of them that the Lakes and Rivers were died with their bloud, and filled with their dead Bodies, that the *Romans* passed over on foot upon them: After this overthrow, such of them as dwelt neere the Sea yeilded themselves: and from thence he conducted his Army against the *Nervians*, the stoutest Souldiers of all the *Belgæ*. These dwelling in a Wooly Country, had conveyed their Wives, Children and Goods into a very great Forrest, remote from their enemies, and being above eighty thousand fighting men, they, watching their opportunity, set upon *Cæsar* when his Army was out of order, and little expecting them. At the first charge they brake the *Roman* Horsemen, and encompassing the seventh and twelfth Legions, they slew all the Captains, and had not *Cæsar* himself with his Shield on his Arme, run amongst them, making a lane as he went, and the tenth Legion, seeing him in that danger, followed him with all speed, there had not a *Roman* escaped alive that day. But looking upon *Cæsar's* valour, his men fought desperately, even beyond their abilities, and yet could they not make the *Nervi* fly but they fought it out bravely till most of them were slaine in the Field, five hundred onely of them escapeing. Yet was it a bloudy Battel to the *Romans*, for that of four hundred Gentlemen, and Counsellers of *Rome*, there were but three saved.

He overcomes the *Belgæ*.

A Battel.

The Senate of *Rome* made great, signes of joy for these Victories, by sacrifizing to the Gods, Playes, &c. and as *Cæsars* fame was encreased hereby, so he wan upon the Peoples love: And alwayes, when his affaires would permit

permit, he used to Winter by the River *Po*, to give direction about his affaires at *Rome*. And truly not only such as sued for Offices at *Rome*, obtained them by *Cæsars* money, and therefore imployed all their power to promote his interest, but the chiefest also of the Nobility, went to *Luke* unto him, insomuch as at one time there have been seen before his Gates, one hundred and twenty Sergeants carrying Rods and Axes before the Magistrates that have waited upon him, and two hundred Senators besides. Here they held a Councell, wherein it was agreed, that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should again be chosen Consuls for the year following: and that *Cæsar* should have more money delivered him to pay his Army, and that his Government should be prorogued for five years longer.

His Policy.

Then *Cæsar* returning into *Gaul* to his Army, found there a great War begun: For two Potent Nations of the *Germans*, having passed over the River of *Rhine* to conquer new lands, *Cæsar* fought with them, which himself thus discribeth: These Barbarous People (saith he) after they had sent Ambassadours to me to desire peace, contrary to the Law of Armes, came and set upon me as I travelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men overthrew five thousand of my Horsemen, who nothing at all expected their comming. And going on to describe their farther proceedings: he saith, that they again sent Ambassadours to him to mock him, whom he kept Prisoners, and then setting upon the enemies, who were about four hundred thousand Persons, he slew most of them, saving a few that flying gat back over the River of *Rhine* and so escaped. *Cæsar*, taking this occasion, and being ambitious to have the honour of being the first *Roman* that ever passed this River with an Army, he built a Bridg over it, though the River were very broad, and ran with a violent streame, and especially there where he built the Bridge: and the Barbarians casting great Trees into the River, they were carried down with such violence

He overcomes the *Germans*.

that by their great blowes they did ſore ſhake the Poſts of the Bridge, to prevent which, and to abate the fury of the ſtreame, *Cæſar* cauſed a Pile to be made a good way above the Bridge, which was forcibly rammed into the bottom of the River, ſo that in ten dayes ſpace he had finiſhed his Bridge of goodly Carpenters work: A very rare invention as could be poſſibly deviſed.

He paſſes over the *Rhine.*

Then paſſing his Army over this Bridge, he found none that durſt fight with him: For the *Suevians* who were the moſt Warlike People of the *Germans*, had retired themſelves and goods into great Valleys, Bogs, Woods, and Forreſts. *Cæſar* therefore having burnt up the enemies Country, and confirmed the League with the confederates of the *Romans*, he returned back into *Gaul*. About this time alſo he made a journey into *England*, being the firſt that ſailed the Weſterne Ocean with an Army, and that paſſed through the *Atlantick* Sea to make War in this great and famous Iſland, and was the firſt that enlarged the *Roman* Empire beyond the habitable Earth. For he twice paſſed the Seas out of *France* into *England*, where he fought many Battels with the *Britans*, in which he did more hurt to the enemies, than enrich his own men: therefore this War had not ſuch ſucceſſe as he expected, which made him onely to take pledges of the King and to impoſe a yearly Tribute upon him, and ſo returned back into *Gaul*.

And went into *England.*

Julias death.

He was no ſooner landed there, but he met with Letters which adverriſed from *Rome* of the death of his Daughter, the Wife of *Pompey*, for which they both of them were very ſorrowfull: and by this meanes the league betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar* was broken, to the great prejudice of the Commonwealth. *Cæſars* Army being very great, he ſent it into ſeverall Garriſons for their Winter Quarters, and returned into *Italy*, as he uſed to do. During which time all *Gaul* rebelled again, and had raiſed great Armies, who were led by one *Ambiorix.*

orix. These did first set upon the Garrisons of *Cotta*, and *Titurius*, whom they slew together with all their men. Then they went with sixty thousand men, and besieged the Garrison which *Quintus Cicero* had in charge, and had almost taken it by storme, *Ciceroes* Souldiers being all wounded, yet they shewed such valour that they did more than men in their own defence. This newes comming to *Cæsar*, who was far off, he returned with all possible speed, and levying seven thousand Souldiers, he hasted to relieve *Cicero* that was in great distresse. The *Gauls* that besieged him, hearing of *Cæsars* comming, arose, and went to meet him, making little account of his small number: *Cæsar* to entrap them, still drew back, making as though he fled from them, but still lodging in places of safety, and commanded his men that they should not stirre out to skirmish with them, but rather to raise the ramparts of his Camp, and to fortifie the Gates, as men afraid, that their enemies might the lesse esteeme them: But at length, he took the opportunity when the enemies came in a disordered manner to assault his Camp, and then sallying out, he routed, and slew a great number of them.

He beates the *French.*

This Act suppressed all the rebellions of the *Gauls* in those parts: Himself also went in the midst of Winter in those places where they did Rebel; for now he had a new supply out of *Italy* of three whole Legions to fill up the rooms of those that were slaine, of which *Pompey* lent him two, and the other Legion was raised about the River *Po*. Shortly after there brake out the greatest and most dangerous War that ever he had in *Gaul*, which had been long designed by the chiefest and most Warlike People in all that Country, who had a very great Army, leavying multitudes of men, and much Treasure to fortifie their strong holds: The Country where thy were was very hard to come into, especially then in the Winter when the Rivers were high, and the Woods and Forrests covered with Snow,

the meddowes drowned with floods, and the Snow so deep that no wayes could be discerned, all which might have discouraged *Cæsar* from setting upon them: the rather, because many Nations joyned in this conspiracy, of whom the chief were the *Vernians*, and the *Carnutes*, who had chosed *Vercingentorix* for their Captain. He divided his Army into divers places, under divers Captaines, and drawn into his assistance all the Nations as far as to the *Adriatick* Sea: So that if he had tarried a little longer till *Cæsar* had been ingaged in his Wars with *Pompey*, he had put all *Italy* into great fear and danger.

The *French* rebell.

But *Cæsar*, who knew his advantages, and how to take the best opportunities, as soon as he heard of this Rebellion, he hasted towards them, intending to let them know, that they had to do with an Army that was invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, seeing they had marched with such speed in so hard a Winter. This made them wonder when they saw him burning and destroying their Country, when they thought him far off. Such Towns and strong Forts as yeilded to him, he received to mercy. But the *Hedui*, who used to be stiled the Brethren of the *Romans*, taking Armes against him, much discouraged his men: wherefore *Cæsar* went through the Country of the *Lingones* to enter into *Burgundy*, who were confederates with the *Romans*. Thither the enemies followed him, endeavouring to compasse him in on every side. *Cæsar* tarried their comming, and then fighting with them a long time, he at last overcame them. Of those which fled, most of them together with their King got into the City of *Alexia*, which *Cæsar* presently besieged, though it seemed inexpugnable, both in regard of the hight of the Walls, and the many hands to defend them. During this siege *Cæsar* fell into a very great danger: For three hundred thousand of the best Souldiers amongst the *Gauls* came against him, besides those within the City, who were seventy thousand fighting men, so that finding himself to be shut in be-

Cæsar overcomes them.

tween

tween two such mighty Armies, he was faign to fortifie himself with two Walls: One against those within *Alexia*, and the other against those without. And truly the Battell which he wan at this place, gat him more honour than any other that ever he fought before. For in this extream danger he shewed more Valour and Wisdom, and courage than in any other. And this was wondefull, that they within the City neheard of their Friends that came to assist them, till *Cæsar* had overcome them: Yea, *Cæsars* own men that guarded the Wall against the City, knew nothing of the Battell till they heard the cries and lamentations of those in the City, when they saw the *Romans* bring into their Camp such a number of Shields glistering with Gold and Silver, such store of bloudy Corslets, and Armour, such a deal of Plate, and movables, and such a number of Tents, and Pavilions of the *Gauls* which the *Romans* had gotten of their spoiles. Thus the greatest part of this huge Army were slain: and as for those within the City, when they had done and received much hurt, they at last, yeilded, and *Vercingentorix*, went out of the City richly Armed, and his Horse furnished with brave, and glittering Caparisons, and rode about, *Cæsar* who sat in his Chair of State. Then allighting, he took off the Caparisons, and stript himself of his Armour, and prostrated himself on the Ground, and then went and sat down at *Cæsars* feet, speaking never a word. *Cæsar* after a while committed him to Prison to be led in his Triumph at *Rome*.

Now *Cæsar* had long since projected the distruction of *Pompey*, as *Pompey* had done the like for him. Nothing kept *Cæsar* from being the Greatest Person but *Pompey* the *Great*, and nothing kept *Pompey* from being supreame but *Cæsar*. Hitherto *Pompey* had set light by *Cæsar*, thinking that he could crush him when he pleased: But *Cæsar* went more cunningly to work: for to attaine his end, he procured to be sent into *Gaul*, where he exercised and hardened his Army, and by his valiant deeds purchased

Non vult Cæsar ve priorem, Pompeiusve pareni.

purchased fame and honour: so that now he lacked nothing but an occasion to put his design in practise, which *Pompey* partly gave him, and the iniquity of the times much furthered it. For such as sued for honours and Offices, bought the voices of the People shamefully, who therefore came to the Market-place, not to give their voices, but with Bowes, and Slings, and Swords: and the Assembly seldom brake up, but the Pulpit for Orations was besprinkled with the bloud of the slaine, so that many Wise men believed, that there was no other cure of these evils but by putting the supreame authority into one mans hand; and many wished that *Pompey* were the man: But he seemed to decline it, though cunningly under hand he laboured to be chosen *Dictator*.

Disorders at *Rome*.

Cato smelling his drift, perswaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, thereby to satisfy his ambition: This was done accordingly, and the time also for the Government of his Provinces was prorogued: they allowed him also a thousand Talents yearly out of the publick Treasury wherewith to pay his Souldiers. Hereupon *Cæsar* took occasion to send his men to *Rome*, to sue in his name for the Consulship, and for the prolonging of his Government. This was too indiscreetly opposed by *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, and many things were spoken to his disgrace. They took away also the freedom from the Collonies which *Cæsar* had lately granted them. And when *Marcellus* was Consul, he caused one of those Senators to be whipt, saying, that he gave him those marks, that he might be known to be no Citizen of *Rome*; and bad him go and tell *Cæsar* of it.

Pompey sole Consul.

Shortly after *Cæsar* opened his Treasures which he had got in *Gaul*, and gave it freely among the Magistrates of *Rome*. He set *Curio* the Tribune, cleer out of debt: He gave to the Consul *Paul* fifteen hundred Talents, wherewith he built a stately Theater. *Pompey* now beginning to fear, laboured to have a successour sent

sent to *Cæsar*, and withall sent for his two Legions, which *Cæsar* returned to him, bountifully rewarding every Souldier: and they which brought these Legions back, disgraced *Cæsar* all they could, and told *Pompey* that if *Cæsar*'s Souldiers did but once see him, they would all forsake *Cæsar* and cleave to him. This made *Pompey* more secure, that he neglected to prepare for War. *Pompey* deluded.

One of *Cæsar*'s Captaines coming to *Rome*, and moving the Senate to have his government prorogued, they delaying their answer, he laid his hand upon his Sword, and said, *Sith you will not grant it him, this shall give it him*. *Cæsar* seemed to be very reasonable in what he requested; For he said, that whilest they required him to lay down Armes for fear of a Tyranny, and yet permitted *Pompey* to keep his, they went about to establish a Tyranny.

Curio in the name of *Cæsar* moved before all the People, that both should be commanded to lay down Armes, which motion was entertained with great joy and claping of hands by the People, who threw nose-gayes, and flowers upon him for it. Then *Anthony* one of the Tribunes, brought a letter from *Cæsar*, and read it before the People in spite of the Consuls, wherein he desired that they would grant him *Gaul* on this side the *Alps*, and *Illyria* with two Legions onely, and then he would desire no more: But *Scipio* the Father in Law of *Pompey*, moved in the Senate, that if *Cæsar* did not dismis his Army by a day appointed, that then he should be proclaimed an enemy to *Rome*, *Marcellus* also added, that they must use force of Armes and not Arguments against a Thief; whereupon the Senate rose without determining any thing, and every one put on his mourning apparell as in the time of a common calamity. *Cicero* being newly come from his Government in *Cilicia*, took much pains to reconcile them together, and perswaded *Pompey* all he could, who told him that he would yield to whatsoever he desired, so he would let him alone with his Army: But *Lentulus* the Consul shamefully drave *Curio* and *Anthony* out of the Senate, who were in such danger Factions in *Rome*.

danger that they were faigne to fly out of *Rome* to *Cæsar*, disguised in a Carriers coat. This gave *Cæsar* great advantage, and much incensed his men, when they saw and heard how his Friends were abused.

Cæsar goes against *Pompey.*

Cæsar at this time had about him but five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, having left the rest of his Army on the other side of the *Alps*, to be brought after him by his Lieutenants: Judging it better suddenly to steal upon them at *Rome*, then to assail them with his whole Army, which would require time, & give his enemies opportunity to strengthen themselves against him. He therefore commanded his Captains to go before, and to take in the City of *Ariminum* (a great City on this side the *Alps*) with as little bloodshed as might be. Then committing the rest of those Souldiers which he had with him, to *Hortensius*, he spent a whole day in seeing the sword players exercise before him. At night he went unto his lodging, where having bathed himself a little, he came into the Hall, and made merry with those whom he had bidden to supper. Then rising from the Table, he prayed his Guests to be merry, and he would come again to them presently: howbeit he had secretly before directed his most trusty Friends to follow him: not all together, but some one way, & some another. Himself in the mean time took a Coach that he had hired, and pretending at first to go another way, he suddenly turned towards *Ariminum*.

But when he came to the River of *Rubicorn*, which divides the hither *Gaul* from *Italy*, he suddenly made a stop (for if he once passed that, there could be no hope of peace) considering with himself of what importance this passage was, and what miseries would ensue upon it. Some say that he spake thus to his Friends: *Doubtlesse if I forbear to pass over this River, it will be the beginning of my ruine; if I passe it, the ruine will be generall:* Then turning towards the River, he said, *It is yet in our power to turn back, but if we passe the River we must make our way with our Weapons.* Some say, that *Cæsar* standing thus

doubtfull

doubtfull, he was encouraged by the apparition of a man of a very great stature, piping upon a reed, whereupon many of the Souldiers and some Trumpetters went neer to hear him, and that he catching one of their Trumpets, leaped into the River, sounding to the Battel with a mighty blast, and so passed on to the farther side of the River: Whereupon *Cæsar*, with a furious resolution, cryed out, *Let us go whether the Gods, and the injurious dealing of our enemies, do call us. The Dice are cast. I have set up my Rest, Come what will of it*: After which he set spurs to his Horse, and passed the River his Army following him. He passes *Rubicon.*

Cæsar having passed the River and drawn his Army together, he made an Oration to them, shedding some tears, and tearing his Garment down the Breast, laying before them the equity of his cause, and craving their assistance. To whom, having with a generall applause and consent made answer; that they were ready to obey his will, he presently marched on and came the next day to *Ariminum*, upon which he seized. The like he did to all the Towns and Castles as he passed on, till he came to *Corfinium* which was held by *Domitius*, who in a factious tumult had been nominated for his successour in the Government of *Gaul*. This being taken, he pardoned the Souldiers, and Inhabitants, and used *Domitius* kindly, giving him leave to depart (who went straight to *Pompey*) by which clemency he purchased to himself much honour. These thirty Cohorts he kept with him.

Cæsars resolution being known at *Rome*, it troubled *Pompey*, amazed the Senate, and terrified the common People. *Pompey* now found himself deceived, who before could not believe that *Cæsar* would thrust himself into so great danger, or that he could be able to raise sufficient forces to resist him: but the success proved otherwise. For though *Pompey* had authority from the Consuls and Senate to leavy Souldiers, to call home his Legions, and to send Captains for the defence of those

Cities in *Italy* by which *Cæsar* ſhould paſſe, yet all this was not ſufficient to reſiſt his fury, and the power that he brought with him. The fame of *Cæsars* comming increaſing daily, *Pompey*, with the whole Senate left *Rome*, going to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brunduſium*, a Sea Town ſeated at the mouth of the Gulph of *Venice*, where he ordered the Conſuls to paſſe to *Dyrrachium*, (now *Durazzo*) a Sea Town of *Macedonia*, there to unite all their forces, being out of hope to reſiſt *Cæsar* in *Italy*, who had already taken *Corſinium*, where, having drawn *Domitius*'s thirty Cohorts to ſerve him, he marched on, and hearing that *Pompey* and the Conſuls were at *Brunduſium*, he haſted towards them with his Legions with all poſſible ſpeed. But *Pompey*, though he had fortified the Town ſufficiently for his defence, yet when *Cæsar* began to inveſt the Town, he imbarked himſelf and his men in the night time, and ſo paſſed over to *Dyrrachium*, to the Conſuls. Thus *Cæsar* injoyed *Italy* without oppoſition, yet was he doubtfull what to reſolve on: He would gladly have followed *Pompey* but wanted Shipping, and it being Winter, he knew that Ships could not be procured ſo ſoon as was requiſite: and conſidering withall, that it was not ſafe to leave an enemy behind him, which might cauſe an alteration in *France*, or *Italy*; he reſolved firſt to go into *Spain*, which held for *Pompey*, and where he had his beſt Legions under the command of *Petreius* and *Afranius*, ſaying to his Friends, *Let us go againſt an Army which wants a Captain, and afterwards we will go againſt a Captain that wants an Army.* For *Pompeys* Souldiers in *Spain* were very valiant, and had been long exerciſed in Armes, but their Commanders were neither Politick, nor expert in War. But on the contrary, *Pompey* was a moſt Wiſe and Valiant Captain, but his Souldiers were newly levied, and of ſmall experience.

Pompey flies and the Senate.

Cæsar purſues him.

He is Lord of all *Italy*. And went to *Rome*.

Cæsar returning from *Brunduſium*, in ſixty dayes ſpace became Lord of all *Italy*, and when he came to *Rome*, the People were in great fear, remembring the Miſeries they had

had suffered under *Sylla*: But *Cæsar* using his accustomed clemency, hurt no man, high nor low: He called the Senators together which remained there, comforting them with milde and good words; and laying the whole fault upon *Pompey*, he sought to justifie his own cause, declaring how much he desired Peace, with all, requsting that Abassadours might be sent to *Pompey* to procure the same: And causing himself presently to be chosen Consul, he opened the Treasury, though *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the People, opposed him, and the Treasure which he took from thence, which was very great, he distributed amongst his Souldiers.

Then was he desirous to go into *Spain*, first taking order for the Civill Government: and making choise of the Legions which should go with him, he left the rest in *Brundusium*, and *Otranto*, and other strong places upon the Sea Coast, to keep *Pompey* from landing if he should attempt to return into *Italy*. He also made *Hortensius*, and *Dolabella* his Captaines to provide Shipping to be brought into the Port of *Brundusium*, there to be in a readinesse against his return from *Spain*: *Quintus Valerius* he sent with a Legion into *Sardinia* against *Marcus Cotta* which held the same for *Pompey*. To *Sicily* he sent *Curius*, and *Marcus Cato*, with direction that having taken the same, he should passe over into *Africk*. *Lepidus* he sent to *Rome*, as Prefect thereof, and *Mark Anthony* he made Governour of all *Italy*: And resolving to leave *Licinius Crassus* in *France*, with his accustomed celerity he went on his journey, finding no resistance, neither in *Italy* nor *France*, till he came to *Marcelleis*, which held for *Pompey*. This City he besieged, and to avoid losse of time, left *Decius Brutus*, and *Caius Trebonius* with sufficient Forces, who endured much in the siege: himself hasted into *Spain*, where, being expected, *Afranius* and *Petreius* attended him with four *Roman* Legions, and the aid of their Friends, between whom, and *Cæsar* the War continued for

He went into *Spain*

ſome while, chiefly about the City of *Lerida*.

And conquered *Pompeys* men.

At firſt *Cæſar* was in great danger and much diſtreſſed chiefly for wans of Victuals, as alſo for that the Winter was come on, which troubled him with the ſwelling of Rivers, before and after which, there paſſed many great skirmiſhes between the two Armies. And *Cæſar*, watching his opportunities, at laſt brought his adverſaries to ſuch diſtreſſe that they periſhed with hunger, and were forced to come to a compoſition, which was, that the Legions ſhould have liberty to go whither they pleaſed: and ſo part of them took pay of *Cæſar*, the reſt departed, and *Petreius*, and *Afranius* went to *Pompey*.

And other places.

This War being ended, and the Spring come, *Cæſar*, that he might leave no enemy behind him, marched into the Province of *Betica* (now *Andaluzia*) with part of his forces, commanding the reſt to march whither he had appointed, and there to ſtay for him, becauſe *Marcus Varro* held that Province for *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar* with one good Legion: But he, not daring to oppoſe *Cæſar*, delivered up the Legion to him, together with that Country, and all was pacified there. From thence *Cæſar* went to *Cordova*, where he called a Parliament of all the States of that Province, in which he highly commended them, and thoſe of *Sivil* for taking his part, and ſo marching forward, he came to the Iſle of *Cadez*, where having gotten Ships in readineſſe, he left *Quintus Caſſius* with four Legians in that Province, and ſo embarking, he went to *Taragona*, commanding his Legions to march by Land thither, where having ſettled his affairs, he advanced with his Army towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marcellеis*, which now yeilded to him, having endured many calamities during the Seige: *Cæſar* reſpecting the antiquity and fame of this City, would not deſtroy it, nor the Inhabitants, but leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in it, he ordered his Legions to march for *Italy*, and himſelf, with a ſufficient guard, and ſome of his Friends took paſſage by Sea to *Rome*.

He takes *Marcelleis*.

Though

Though all things succeeded thus well with *Cæsar*, yet some of his Captaines had ill successe. For *Caius Antonius*, whom he left with *Dolabella* for to command his Navy, was overthrown and taken Prisoner in the Gulph of *Venice* by *Octavius*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*. In which overthrow this was very remarkable: *Anthony* was faign to put his men into long Boates for want of Ships, which were taken by a Strategem as in a toil, by the *Pompeians*, with Ropes under the Water. One of them which had in it a Thousand valiant young men, being thus ensnared, was assaulted by the enemies whole Army, against which they defended themselves bravely from morning till night, and in the end being oppressed with the multitude, by the perswasion of *Valteius*, their Collonel, they all slew one another, rather than they would fall into the enemies hand. *Dolabella* was likewise overthrowne neere to the Island of *Coreyra* (now *Corfu*:) and *Curius*, who went with his two Legions into *Africk*, though at first he had good successe, yet afterwards he was overthrown, and most of his men slaine by *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, *Pompeys* Friend.

His Captaines had ill successe.

Cæsar being come to *Rome* and made Dictator, new Consuls were chosen, whereof he being one layed aside his Dictatorship, and provided *Prætors* for the Provinces as himself pleased. He sent *Mracus Lepidus* into *Spain*: *Aulus Albinus* into *Sicily*: *Sextus Peduceius* into *Sardinia*; and *Decius Brutus* into *France*; and taking such further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in *December* towards *Brundusium*, whither he commanded all his Forces to march, there to take passage for *Macedonia*, where he knew that *Pompey* staid with his Army: who all that whole year that *Cæsar* spent in his journey to *Spain*, busied himself to provide a Navy wherein to return into *Italy*, and in gathering Treasure, and levying Souldiers, having made an exceeding great provision of all things. For there came unto him, Ships, money, and men from sundry Kingdomes

Pompey prepares for War.

domes and Provinces both of *Asia*, and *Greece*: as from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia Minor*, *Ægypt*, *Greece*, *Thessaly*, *Bœotia*, *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, the Isles of *Creet*, and *Rhodes*, and from many other Countries. There came also to his aid King *Deiotarus*, and *Ariharzanes*, of all which, together with those which he brought with him from *Italy*, he compounded a very great Army by Land, and a very great Fleet of Ships and Gallyes by Sea.

It being now the depth of Winter, *Pompey* presuming it improbable, if not impossible for *Cæsar* to passe the Seas to him; having also intelligence that *Cæsar* was in *Rome*, he disposed of his Army to their Winter Quarters in *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*; and himself retired farther from the Sea, commanding his Sea-Captaines (of whom *Marcus Bibulus* was chiefe) to guard the Sea coast. But *Cæsar* knowing that in the speedy execution consisted his greatest hopes of Victory, and that occasion once lost could hardly be recovered, he departed from *Rome*, and came to *Brundusium*, though all his Legions were not as yet come to him. There he embarked seven of his best Legions in such ships as were ready, sending a Command to the rest which were comming, to hasten to *Brundusium*, whither he would send for them with all possible speed. And so departing, he crossed the Seas with a prosperous gale of Wind, and the third day after arrived upon the coast of *Macedonia*, before *Pompey* had any intelligence of his embarking. There he safely landing his men in dispite of *Pompeys* Captaines, and commanded his Ships and Galleys presently to returne to *Brundusium* to fetch the rest of his Army. Presently after his first landing, he seized upon the Cities of *Appallonia*, and *Erico*, driving from thence *Lucius Torquatus*, and *Lucius Straberius*, who held them for *Pompey*.

Cæsar goes against him. Now *Brindez*.

Pompey hearing of *Cæsars* arrivall, sent for his Troops which were neerest hand with all speed possible, with whom

whom he marched towards *Dirrachium*, where his Victuals, ammunition, and other provisions for the War lay, lest *Cæsar* should go and surprise them, which indeed he attempted but in vaine, the situation of the place makeing it inexpugnable.

Skirmishes betwixt them.

Pompey being come, their Camps were lodged within a few furlongs each of other, where he passed many adventurous skirmishes, and also some Treaties of Peace, offered by *Cæsar*, but rejected by *Pompey*, so confident he was of his own power. In the interim *Cæsar* dayly expected the comming of the other Legions, who staying longer than he expected, he resolved in person, with three Confident servants, secretly to embarke himself in a Brigandine, and to passe that streight of the Sea and to fetch them, hoping to performe the same without the knowledge of any. And accordingly, passing down the River to the Sea, he found it so troublesome and tempestious that the Master of his Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) durst not adventure forth, but would have returned. Then *Cæsar* discovering his face, said, *Perge audaciè*: Cæsarem *enim fers, & fortunam* Cæsaris: Beare up bravely, and boldly against the Winds and Waves: for thou carriest *Cæsar*, and all his Fortunes. The Master herewith encouraged, strove all that possibly he could to proceed in his voyage: but the force of the Tempest was so great, and the Wind so contrary, that do what possibly they could, they were driven back again.

Cæsars rashness.

When *Cæsars* Army heard of these passages, they much wondred, grieved and were troubled at it: Commending him more for his Valour, than for his Wisedome: But within few days after *M. Anthony* arrived with four of those Legions which were left behind in *Italy*, presently returning the Ships back for the rest. *Anthony* after some adventures, joyned with *Cæsars* Army neer to *Dirrachium* where we lately left him. Frequent skirmishes still continued between the two Armies, and many were slain on both sides, and one day the skirmish was

Cæsar is beaten.

was so hot, supplies being sent from both sides, that it almost came to a just Battel, wherein *Cæsars* men were so beaten, that they fled before the enemies, and could not be made to stand by any intreaties, or menaces, till they were come into their Camp, which they had strongly fortified: yet many durst not trust to that, but fled out of it: But *Pompey* either because he imagined their flight to be faigned to draw him into an Ambush, or because he thought there needed no more to be done, and that *Cæsar* could no more resist him, he neglected to prosecute his Victory, causing a retrate to be sounded without assaulting *Cæsars* Camp, which, probably, he might have taken, and made an end of the War that day. Whereupon *Cæsar* said to his Friends: *Truly this day had ended the War, if our enemies had had a Captain that had known how to overcome.*

At this time *Cæsar* lost a great number of his men, amongst whom were four hundred *Roman* Knights, ten Tribunes (or Collonels) and thirty two Centurions (or Captaines) and his enemies took for from him thirty two Ensignes. Upon this Victory *Pompey* sent newes thereof to diverse parts of the World, holding himself for an absolute Conquerour. *Cæsar* much blamed some of his Captaines and Ensigne bearers for their cowardize, and his Army were so grieved and ashamed, that they much importuned him to lead them forth again to Battell: But he thought it not fit so soon to lead them forth against a Victorious Army. He therefore sent his sick and wounded men to the City of *Apolonia*, and departed by night with as great silence as could be from the place where he was, and marched towards *Thessaly*, intending there to refresh and encourage his Army, and to draw his enemies farther from the Sea coast, where their chiefe strength lay, and where their Camp was well fortified, and victualled, or at least he intended to attempt the overthrow of *Scipio*, who (as he heard) was comming to joyne with *Pompey*.

Cæsars policy.

Pompey finding *Cæsar* was departed, followed him for

some few dayes; and then taking Councel what to do, he resolved to leave a sufficient Navy to guard the Seas, and with the rest to returne into *Italy*, and to seize upon it, together with *France* and *Spain*, and afterwards to go against *Cæsar*: But the *Romane* Lords that were with him, and the importunity of his unskilfull Captains and Souldiers, forced him to alter his determination, and presently to pursue *Cæsar*, who made an *Alt* in the fields of *Pharsalia*, which are in *Thessaly*, making his retreat with so much prudence, and in so good order, that upon all occasions that were offered he ever had the better; till at length seeing his men full of resolution and courage, he resolved no longer to defer the Fight. Concerning which Battell: the ordering, and event of it: the flight of *Pompey* into *Egypt*, and how basely, and barbarously he was murthered there, see it before in the Life of *Pompey the Great*.

Pompeys good resolution.

Pompey beaten and slain.

Julius Cæsar having obtained this great and glorious victory, used therein his accustomed Clemency, not suffering any *Roman* either to be slain or hurt after the Battell was ended, but pardoned all those that were either taken in the Fight, or found in the Camp, amongst whom was *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. After which, being informed which way *Pompey* was fled, he pursued him with the lightest, and swiftest of his Army, and in the way subduing all the Cities, he at last came to the Sea side, where he gathered together all the Ships and Gallies that possibly he could, together with those whom *Cassius* had brought, he therein shipped as many of his men as they could contain, and passed into the *lesser Asia*, where, being advertised that *Pompey* had been in *Cyprus*, he presumed that he was gone into *Egypt*: wherefore he steered the same course, taking with him two Legions of old Souldiers onely. When he arrived at *Alexandria*, he understood that *Pompey* presuming upon the many benefits, and good entertainment which the Father of this King *Ptolomy* had received in his House, had sent to this *Ptolomy* to harbour, and assist him; which accordingly the King promised, & *Pompey* comming upon his

Cæsars clemency.

He pursues *Pompey*.

He comes into *Egypt*.

his safe conduct, in a small Boat, was by the false Kings commandement basely murthered, thinking thereby to win the favour of *Cæsar*. He understood likewise that *Cornelia* the Wife of *Pompey*, and his Son *Sextus Pompeyus* were fled from thence in the same ship wherein they came.

Cæsar being landed, and received into the City, they brought him for a present the Head of the *Great Pompey*; but he turned away and would not see it, and when they brought him *Pompeys* Ring with his Seal of Armes, he wept, considering the end and successe of the great adventures and properties of *Pompey*, who with such honour and fame had Triumphed three times, and been so many times Consul in *Rome*: and had obtained so many Victories abroad.

Vanity of vanities.

When *Cæsar* was landed in *Ægypt*, he found the Country imbroyled in Civill Wars: there being great discord between young King *Ptolomy*, and his Sister *Cleopatra*, about the division and Inheritance of that Kingdome, wherein *Julius Cæsar* (as being a *Roman* Consul) took upon him to be an Arbitrator. For which cause, or because their guilty consciences accused them for the treacherous murther of *Pompey*, *Fotinus* the Eunuch, who had contrived the said murther, and *Achillas*, who had been the actor of it, fearing that *Cæsar* inclined to favour *Cleopatra*, sent for the Kings Army that lay neere the City, consisting of twenty thousand good Souldiers, purposing to do by *Cæsar* as they had done by *Pompey*, so that within a few dayes, there began between *Cæsar* and his small Army, both in the City, and in the Harbour where the Ships and Galleys lay, the most cruel, and dangerous encounters that ever *Cæsar* met with: For he was often forced to fight in his own Person, both within the City (whereof the enemies held the Greater part) and also in the Harbour with his ships, and was sometimes in so great perill and danger, that he was forced to leap out of the Boat into the Water, and by swimming to get to one of the Gallies,

His Wars in *Egypt*.

at

at which time he held his Commentaries in one hand above Water, and carry his Robe in his teeth, and to swimme with the other hand. But when his other Forces were come to him from *Asia*, and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for so long these Wars lasted) became Victorious, as in all other his enterprises he had been, and the young King *Ptolomy* was slaine in fight. In this Warre *Cæsar* did such exploits, and behaved himself so gallantly, that for the same onely he well deserved the fame and name of a brave Captain.

His danger.

His Victory.

The Pride of the *Ægyptians* being thus tamed, *Cæsar* put to death the murtherers of *Pompey*, and stablished the faire *Cleopatra*, the Queen and Governesse of *Ægypt*, whom, during his stay there, he intertained for his Friend, and had a Son by her called *Cæsarion*. And when he had quitted and settled all things in *Ægypt*, he departed thence into *Asia*, and travelled through *Syria* (now *Soria*) being informed, that during his troubles in *Ægypt*, King *Pharnaces*, the Son of that mighty King *Methridates*, thought it a fit time, whilst the *Romans* were embroiled in Civil Wars, to recover what his Father had lost: For which end having overthrown *Domitius*, whom *Cæsar* had sent to govern those parts, and having taken by force of Armes the Provinces of *Bithynia*, and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence King *Ariobarzanes* (a Friend and Subject of *Rome*) and beginning to do the like in *Armenia the lesse*, which King *Deiotarus* had subjected to the *Romans*: *Cæsar* (I say) being informed hereof, went with his Army sooner than *Pharnaces* imagined, though he expected him, and had intelligence of his approach, so that in few dayes they came to a Battell, in which the King was soon overthrown, and put to flight, with great slaughter of his People, yet himself escaped.

He passes into *Asia*.

Overcomes *Pharnaces*.

Cæsar was very joyfull for his Victory, because his earnest desire to return to *Rome*, where he knew that many scandals were raised, and many insolencies were

committed for want of his presence: He knew also that *Pompeys* eldest Son had seized upon a great part of *Spain*, and had raised great forces of those which *Marcus Varro* had left there, and of his Fathers Troops. He also understood, that in *Africa* many principal *Romans*, who had escaped from the Battell of *Pharsalia*, were gethered together, where of *M. Cato* (surnamed *Uticensis*) was the chief, and *Scipio*, *Pompeys* Father in Law, and that these went thither with the greatest part of the Ships and Galleys which belonged to *Pompey*, and with the greatest power that they were able to leavy; and that joyning with *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, they had subdued all that Country, and had a great Army in a readinesse to oppose him, having chosen *Scipio* for their Generall, because that *Cato* would not take that office upon him, and for that the Name of *Scipio* had been so fortunate in *Africa*.

Cæsar having intelligence of all these things, within the space of a few dayes, with great celerity and diligence recovered all that *Pharnaces* had usurped, and chasing him out of *Portus* he regained all those Countries: and so leaving *Celius Minucius* for General, with two Legions to gaurd that Province, pacifying the controversies and contentions in the rest, and rewarding the Kings, and *Tetrarchs* which continued firme in their Leagues and amity with the *Romans*, without any longer abode, he departed out of *Asia*, and in a short space arrived in *Italy*, and so passed to *Rome*, within little more than a year after he went thence, which was a very short time for the performance of so great matters, and so long a journey.

He comes to *Rome*.

Presently after his comming to *Rome*, he caused himself to be chosen Consul the third time, and reforming (so much as the time and his leasure would permit) all disorders in *Rome*, being troubled and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africk*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessary, and from *Rome* took his way towards *Africk*, commanding his

his Army to follow him. First he went into *Italy*, from from whence taking Ship, he passed over into *Africk*, and though neither his Navy, nor his Army arrived with him, trusting to the valour of those that he had with him, and his own good Fortune, he landed with small Forces, neere to the City of *Adrumentum*, and from thence marched to an other City called *Leptis*, into which he was received, and after some conflicts that passed, his Legions being come to him, and certaine other Troops of Horse, and Companies of Foot, he began the War which continued four moneths. He first began with *Petreius* and *Lubienus*; and then with *Scipio* and King *Juba*, who brought to those Wars eight thousand men, the one half whereof were Horse.

He passes into *Africk*.

In this War were many encounters and Battels, in which *Cæsar* was in great danger: but at last (his good Fortune, still attending him) he overcame them in a great Battell, wherein there were slaine of the enemies ten thousand, and *Cæsar* remained Master of the Field, and in a short time after, subjected all the Country to him. *Scipio*, and all the chiefe Captaines, with him died sundry Deaths, and *Juba* escaping by flight from the Battell, finding no place of security, *Afranius* and he resolved to dye fighting one against the other, in which combate, King *Juba* being the stronger man, slew *Afranius*, and then commanded one of his slaves to kill him, and so he died desperately.

He overcomes *Scipio*.

Marcus Cato, who was in the City of *Utica*, hearing that *Cæsar* was marching thitherward, though he knew that he would not put him to death, but rather had a desire to pardon him and to do him honour; yet, resolving neither to receive life nor honour from his enemy, he slew himself: In whose death there passed many remarkable accidents recorded by Historians. *Florus* saith thus of it. *Cato* (saith he) hearing of the death of his Partners, he dallyed not at all, but joyfully hastened his

Cato kills himself.

his end: For after he had embraced his Son, and his Friends and bad them good night, and then rested a while upon his bed, having first perused *Plato*'s Book of the immortality of the Soul: then about the relieving of the first watch he got up, drew his sword, and therewith thrust himself through: after which the Phisicians applied plaisters to his wounds: which he indured whilst they were in the roome, but then he pulled them away, and the bloud following abundantly, he left his dying hand even in the wound. *Scipio*, who had been Generall in this War, escaped also from the Battell by flight, entered into some Gallies, which being met with by *Cæsar*'s Navy, that he might not fall into his enemies hand, after he had given himself some wounds, he threw himself into the Sea, and so was drowned.

Cæsar having obtained so great and absolute a Victory, spent some few dayes in settling and ordering the Provinces of *Africa*, making the Kingdome of *Juba* a Province, and then marched to *Utica*, where he imbarked *Juve* the third, and came to the Isle of *Sardinia*, and after some short stay there, he arrived at *Rome* the twenty fifth day of *July*. At his comming thither there were granted unto him four Triumphs: First for his conquests and Victories in *France*, in which were carried the Protractures of the Rivers of *Rodanus*, and the *Rhine* wraught in Gold. The second Triumph was for the Conquest of *Ægypt*, and of King *Ptolomy*, where were set the River of *Nilus*, and the *Pharus* burning. The third was for the Conquest of *Pontus*, and of King *Pharnaces*, wherein, in regard of his speedy Victory, was placed a writing with these words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: I came, I saw, I overcame. The fourth Triumph was for the Province of *Africa*, wherein King *Jubas* Son was led Captive: and in this Triumph were given Jewels, and Armes to *Octavius*, *Cæsar*'s Nephew, who succeeded him in the Empire. As for the Battell wherein he Conquered *Pompey*, he would not

He returns to *Rome*.

His Triumphs.

not Triumph, because it was against a Citizen of *Rome.*

These Triumphes being ended, he gave great rewards to his Souldiers, and intertained the People with Feasts, and bountifull gifts, and then caused himself to be chosen the fourth time, Consul. And so, to the end that there should be left no place wherein he would not be obeyed, he resolved to go for *Spain*, hearing that *Gneius Pompeius*, the Son of *Pompey*, was retired with the rest of the Army which had escaped out of *Africk*, to go to his Brother *Sextus Pompeius*, who was in possession of a great part of *Spain*, as we heard before, together with the famous Cities of *Sivil*, and *Cordova*, and many others of those parts: many *Spaniards* also comming to their aid.

Cæsar in this journey carryed with him his most valiant, and most experienced Souldiers, and made so good speed, that in few dayes space he arrived in *Spain*, in which journey his Nephew *Octavius* followed him. Entering into *Spain* he came to the Province of *Betica* (now *Andaluzia*) where were *Sextus Pompeius*, with his Brother *Gneius*, and such Legions and Souldiers as they had gotten together; and there began betwixt *Cæsar* and them a most cruel and bloudy Warre, the end whereof was, that neere to the City of *Munda*, *Cæsar*, and *Gneius Pompeius* (for *Sextus* was then at *Cordova*) joyned Battell, which was one of the most obstinate, and most cruel fights that ever was in the world. For *Cæsar* being a most excellent Captain, and the Souldiers which he brought with him most brave and valiant men, and fleshed with so many Victories, held it out with great resolution; and on the other side, the bravery and courage of young *Pompey* and his men was such, and they fought in such manner, as *Cæsars* Squadrons began to give ground, and were ready to forsake the Field, and at the very point to have been wholly overthrown: and the matter came to this issue, that *Cæsar* was about to have slain himself because he would not

He goes into *Spain*.

A cruel Battell.

not see himself overcome. Yet taking a Target from one of his Souldiers, he rushed into the midst of his enemies, saying with a loud voice, *If ye be not ashamed, leave me and deliver me into the hands of these Boyes; For this shall be the last day of my Life and of your Honour*: with which words, and his example, his Souldiers took heart in such manner, that recovering the ground which they had lost, the Battell became equall, which lasted almost a whole day without any signe of Victory to either party, sometimes seeming to incline to the one, sometimes to the other side; untill at the length *Cæsar* and his men did so great exploits, as that the evening being come, his enemies began to faint, and fly, and the Victory was apparently *Cæsars*. There died of the enemies above thirty thousand in this Battell, and *Cæsar* lost above a thousand men of account besides common Souldiers.

His Victory.

Cæsar esteemed so much of this Victory, and so gloried in the danger which he had escaped, that ever after he used to say, *That in all other Battels he had fought for honour and Victory, and onely that day he fought for his life.* Young *Pompey*, after he had performed all the offices of a Prudent Generall and Valiant Souldier, was forced to fly, and wandering through many places, was at last taken and slaine by some of *Cæsars* Friends, who carried his head to *Cæsar*. His other Brother *Sextus Pompeius*, fled from *Cordova*, and afterwards forsook *Spain*: *Cæsar* recovered *Sivil*, and *Cordova*, and all the rest of the Country; after which, ordering his affaires in *Spain* after his pleasure, he returned to *Rome*, and Triumphed for these Victories, which was his fifth and last Triumph.

He returns to *Rome*.

Cæsar now came to be the most mighty, the most redoubted, and the most highly esteemed man in the World, having conquered and subdued the greatest part thereof, in as little time, as it might seeme that another man might be able to travel through those Countries by reasonable journeys. He then made himself

His power.

perpetuall

perpetuall Dictator, and so without opposition, he finished the making of himself the Soveraigne Lord, and Monarch of the Empire of *Rome*, within lesse than five years after he first attempted the same. And this was the Originall and beginning of the *Roman* Emperours. For *Julius Cæsar* would not be called King (that Name being odious to the *Romans* above all things, ever since Kings were first driven from *Rome*) but contented himself to be called Perpetuall Dictator, and Emperour, which Title was usually given to the *Roman* Generals upon their obtaining any signall Victory. But after *Julius Cæsar*, all his successors took that title, glorying to be called Emperour, which hath evere since been held for the highest Title, and Dignity in the World.

Cæsar having now attained to that absolute power which he had so ambitiously saught after, he shewed in all his Deportment much clemency, and Magnanimity, honouring and rewarding his Friends, and easily forgiving, and very cheerfully pardoning all those that had been his Adversaries: Thus he pardoned *Brutus*, *Cassius*, *Cicero*, *Marcellus*, and many others; Yea, some of them he admitted to his company, and private familiarity, and to Offices and Dignities; and amongst the many virtues wherewith he was endued, his clemency and liberality were most glorious. But all this prevailed not with the *Romans* to quench their desires after the recoverie of their lost liberty, neither to asswage the hatred and malice conceived against him by his adversaries, as afterwards appeared.

His clemency, and Magnaminity.

And notwithstanding many were discontented, yet some for love, others for fear, and out of dissimulation, both Senate and People, yea all in generall gave him Names, preheminences and Titles of Honour, such as never had been given to any other man before him, neither ought to have been accepted by him; and many were the more offended, because they knew that he

Discontents arise.

affected and desired them. They gave him the name of Emperour, Father, Restorer, and Preserver of his Country. They made him perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for ten years: and perpetuall Censor of their manners. His Statue was erected and set up amongst the Kings of *Rome*: and a Chair, and Throne of Ivory was set up for him in the Temple, and in the Senate House, and an high Throne in the Theater, and in the place where the Senators did use to sit. His Pictures and Statues were set up in the Temples, and in all publick places. Some Titles they gave him, and he accepted of, which were peculiar to the Gods. The moneth formerly called *Quintile*, they called *Julius* after his name. They also built, and consecreated Temples to him, as they did to *Jupiter* and the other Gods, and gave him certaine Honours which they held proper for their Gods, and did him many other honours exceeding all measure.

Base flattery.

Julius Cæsar enjoying such honour and power, so that he had no equall, no second in the World with whom he might contend, it seemed that he would contend with himself, and attempt something wherein he might excell himself: For he was not contented with all the Victories which he had obtained, neither to have fought fifty severall Battels, in all which he was Victorious, save in that one at *Dirrachium* against *Pompey*; neither to have slaine in the Wars and Battels which he fought a Million, ninety, and odd thousands of men, besides those which were slaine in the Civil Wars. But being of a most haughty mind, he sought to do greater matters, if greater could be.

His great projects.

For first he resolved to passe into the East, there to conquer and subdue the fierce Nations of the *Parthians*, and to revenge the death of *Marcus Crassus*; and from thence to passe through *Hyrcania*, and other Countries till he should come to the *Caspian* Sea, and so through all the parts of *Scythia*, *Asiatica*, and passing the River *Tanais*, to returne through *Scythia* into *Europe*, and in his

his retreat to come into *Germany*, and other Countries bordering thereupon, conquering and subjecting all to the *Roman* Empire. For which end he presently caused to be levied in severall places ten thousand Horsemen, and sixteen Legions of chosen Footmen, and appointing the time wherein he intended to begin his journey, he commanded them to repaire to their Rendevous. He sought also not onely to subdue all Nations, but to correct and reforme even nature it self: For he purposed to have made an Island of *Peloponesus* (now called *Morea*) by cutting the neck of land betwen the *Egean* and the *Jonian* Seas. He purposed also to have altered the courses of the River *Tiber*, and *Anien*, and to have made there new channels, capable of bearing great Ships. He ordered the digging down and levelling many high Hils and Mountaines, in *Italy*, and to dry up, and drein great Lakes and Marishes therein. He corrected the computation of the year, reforming it according to the course of the Sun, and brought it into that order wherein it now is. He did the like about the course of the Moon, and her conjunctions and oppositions to the Sun: and this was attributed to him for Tyranny by those that hated him.

Many others things *Cæsar* did, which were very remarkable, in reforming the Laws, customes, and Offices. He reedified the ruined City of *Carthage*, in *Africk*, and sent thither Colonies, and *Roman* Citizens to Inhabit it: the like he did by *Corinth*. But all these works with his high conceits and undertakings, were prevented by his unexpected, and immature Death, which within a few Dayes after ensued. A few men, and those unarmed bereft him of his Life, whom no former forces could resist. For five moneths only he lived as Soveraign Lord in Peace; when those in whom he supposed greatest trust conspired his Death.

Some say that *Cæsar* was counselled to have a Guard about him alwayes; to which he answered, that he would have none: for that he had rather die once,

then live continually in feare. They which conspired his death were stirred up thereto, either out of hatred to his Person, or desire of Liberty, accounting him for a Tyrant: or out of suspition that he would have made himself a King, a thing in the highest degree hatefull to the *Romans*: and lastly because he begun to contemne others: His Pride. For he used to say, that the Commonwealth was but a voice and name without a Body, or Substance, and that *Sylla* was a Fool for resigning his perpetuall Dictatorship. All the whole Senate comming one Day to the Temple of *Venus* where he was, he sat still, and rose not up as formerly he used to do. His Friends also and Favourites began to report, that in the Books of the *Sybils* (which in *Rome* were had in great Veneration) it was written, that the *Parthians* could never be overcome but by a man that should have the Title of a King, and therefore he laboured that *Cæsar* should take upon him that Title before his *Parthian* War; and though he seemed to be displeased at it, yet they suspected the contrary, and their suspition was encreased, for that, whereas the Tribunes of the People had caused a man to be imprisoned who had set a Crown upon the Head of one of *Cæsars* Statues, he was so enceused against the Tribunes that did it, that he deposed them from their Office: And not long after, when *Mark Anthony* (who was his great favourite, and that year his fellow Consul) being at His dissimulation. some publick Games, came to *Cæsar*, and put a Crown upon his Head, though he threw it down, yet they all imagined that *Mark Anthony* would not have presumed to have done it without his good liking, and that he did it but to prove the People how they would like it; these and such like passages gave them occasion to desire and designe his Death.

They were also further encouraged hereunto, for that in sundry publick places, certain writings were set up which did intice and animate them to conspire against him: as upon the Statue of *Brutus*, who in ancient times did chase the Kings out of *Rome*, were written these words,

Would

Would to God thou were now living, Brutus. And upon the Image of *Marcus Brutus*, who then was *Prator*, and descended from the former *Brutus*, were these words: *Thou sleepest long* Brutus. *Truly thou art not* Brutus. And again: *Thou art dead* Brutus: *Would to God thou were living, Thou art unworthy of the succession from the* Brute. *Surely thou art not descended from the good* Brutus: and such like other writings were set upon these Statues.

So as for these, and such like reasons, there were seventy of the most eminent men in *Rome* that conspired to murther *Cæsar*: of which the principle were *Decius*, *Marcus Brutus*, *Caius Cassius*, *Gaius Casca*, *Attilius Cimber*, *Servius Galba*, *Quintus Ligarius*, *Marcus Spurius*, &c. who, after diverse consultations, concluded to kill him upon the Ides of *March*, which was the fifteenth day of that moneth, in the Temple where the Senators were to sit that day: Yet *Brutus* was held to be *Cæsars* Son, and had received great honours, and many favours from him. This conspiracy was kept so secret notwithstanding the great number of them, that there was not any one found that discovered the same. But there were so many signes, and Prodigies, and to himself there happened so many forewarnings, that (without knowing any cause) all men were of opinion that *Cæsars* Death was neere at hand. *Spurina* also, who was his Southsayer, forewarned him to look to himself till the Ides of *March* were past: for that his life was in great danger. And *Cæsars* own Wife intreated him upon her knees, that he would not that day go to the Senate: For shee had dreamed that he lay dead in her lap. These and such like warnings prevailed so far with him, that he was about to send to *Mark Anthony* to make his excuse, and to put off the Senate to another day. But what God hath determined must come to passe; and therefore *Brutus* being present, advised him by no meanes to discover any such fear, and so he resolved to go.

A conspiracy against him.

His death foretold.

Cæsar

Caſar made ſmall account of Death, and ſaid, *That as for himſelf he had won power and fame, and glory enough, and that at no time he could die with greater honour.* And ſome diſcourſing the night before he was ſlaine, what Death was beſt: *Even that* (quoth he) *which is ſudden, and leaſt prepenſed.* The fifteenth of *March* being come, he went from his Houſe in a Litter towards the Senate, and as he paſſed along the ſtreet, there was a Petition delivered to him, wherein was ſet down in writing all that was concluded in this conſpiracy, and he which gave it, prayed him to read it preſently, which he began to doe: but there came ſo many to ſpeake to him that he could make no farther progreſſe, and this Paper was found in his hand when he was dead. As he paſſed on, he met with *Spurina*, the Southſayer, and pleaſantly jeſting, he ſaid to him, *Doſt thou not know* Spurina, *that the Ides of* March *are come?* Yea (anſwered *Spurina*) and I know that they are not yet paſt.

When he came to the Temple where the Senators met, he alighted from his Litter and went in, and having firſt done Sacrifice (according to the cuſtome) which all that ſaw perſaged to be fatall, and infortunate, he ſat him down in his Chair, and *Brutus Albinus* entertaining *Mark Anthony* at the door with diſcourſe, one of the Conſpirators, whoſe name was *Celer*, came to *Caſar*, under a pretence to intreat him to releaſe a Brother of his from Baniſhment, and preſently all the reſt of the conſpirators drew neere to his Chair; which when *Ceſar* ſaw, thinking that they had all come for the ſame purpoſe, he ſaid unto them; *what force is this?* and at that inſtant, one of them whoſe name was *Caſca*, beginning, they all drew their poyniards, and Swords which they had privately under their Gowns, and began to wound him. The firſt blow he received *Caſca* gave him in the throat: At which *Caſar* ſaid aloude, *What doſt thou Traitor* Caſca? and wreſting the Poyniard out of his hand, he aroſe and ſtabbed

Caſar

Cæsar through the Arme, and being about to strike him again, he was prevented by the many wounds which the others gave him, wileſt with great force and courage he leaped from one ſide to the other to defend himſelf: But when he ſaw *Marcus Brutus* with his drawn Sword in his hand, wherewith he had already wounded him in the Thigh, he was much amazed, and ſaid in the *Greek* Tongue, *Why how now Son* Brutus? *And thou alſo?* And having ſo ſaid, ſeeing ſo many weapons bent againſt him, and that no body came to his reſcue, he remembred to keep the honour of his perſon, with his right hand he covered his Head with part of his Robe, and with his left hand, girt himſelf and ſetled his cloathes about him, and being ſo covered he fell down to the ground, having received three and twenty wounds; and it happened that his fall was at the foot of the ſeat on which *Pompeys* Statue ſtood. So in this manner died one of the moſt Mighty, Worthy, Valient, Wiſe, and moſt ſucceſsfull Princes, and Captaines that ever was in the World. For, his excellencies, abilities, invincible mind, incomparable courage, the Battels which he fought, and Victories which he obtained: The Provinces, Kings and Nations which he ſubdued; His Counſels, Policies, and Stratagems, and bold attempts: his Magnanimity, clemency, and bounty both to the conquered and Conquerors: the great deſignes which he had propoſed to himſelf a little before he was ſlaine, being all well weighed and conſidered, it will plainly appear, that in none of thoſe things afore-ſaid, nor in any other that may be ſaid of him, there hath been any Heathen King, or Captain that ever excelled him. And ſetting apart his ambition, and deſire of rule, he was onely noted, and blamed for being too much given to women.

He is ſlaine.

His character.

Cæsar was thus ſlaine in the fifty ſixth year of his age, a little more than four years after the Death of *Pompey*, in the ſeven hundred and tenth year after the building of *Rome*, and about fourty and two years before

fore the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*.

Cæsar left behind him neither Son nor Daughter legitimate at the time of his Death: For though he had been four severall times married, yet he had but one only Daughter, named *Julia*, that was married to *Pompey*, and dyed before him. Wherefore by his last Will, he adopted for his Son, and made his Heire in the *Dodrant*, that is, in nine parts of twelve of his goods, his Nephew *Octavius Cæsar*, after wards called *Octavianus Augustus*, who was the Son of *Atia*, his neece, and of *Octavius Prætor* of *Macedonia*, which *Octavius* at this time, was, by the commandment of his Uncle, in the City of *Apollonia*, in the Province of *Epirus*, where he applied himself to his studies, staying for him there, thence to go with him to the *Parthian* War, being now about seventeen years of age.

His Will.

Cæsar being thus slaine, the newes of it ran presently all over the City, and the tumult therein was so great, that no man knew what to doe or say. All Offices ceased, the Temples were all shut up, and every man was amazed. *Cæsars* Friends were affraid of those that slew him, and they as much feared his Friends, *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and the other Conspirators, and others that joyned with them, seeing the great tumult, durst not go to their Houses, nor prosecute their other designs, for fear of *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*, whereof the one was Consul, and the other Generall of the Horsemen, but presently from thence they went to seize upon the Capitol, crying by the way as they went, *Liberty*, *Liberty*, and imploring the favour, and assistance of the People. The rest of that day; and all the next night, *Mark Anthony*, and *Lepidus* (who took *Cæsars* part) were in Armes, and there passed sundry massages, and treaties between them and the Conspirators: At last it was agreed that the Senate should sit, whither *Brutus*, and *Cassius* came, *M. Antonies* Sons (by the perswasion of *Cicero*, a great lover of Liberty) remaining as Hostages for them.

In

In the Senate they Treated of Peace and concord, and that all that was past should be buried in perpetuall oblivion; whereunto, *Anthony* who was Consul, and the whole Senate agreed: and the Provinces being divided, there was a great liklihood of Peace. For the Senate approved, and commended the murther, and the People dissembled their thoughts: For on the one side the authority of *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, and the name of *Liberty*, seemed to give them some content: and on the other side, the hainousnesse of the fact, and the love they bare to *Cæsar*, did move, and excite them to hate the murtherers, and so all was quiet for the present. But *Mark Anthony* (who affected the Tyranny) took every oportunity to incense the People against them: and *Cæsars* Testament being opened, wherein (besides the adopting of his Nehpew *Octavius*, and making him his Heire) besides other bequests, he bequeathed to the People of *Rome*, certaine Gardens, and Lands neere to the River of *Tiber*, and to every Citizen of *Rome* a certaine summe of money to be devided amongst them, which being known, much encreased their love to *Cæsar*, and made his death more grievous to them.

Peace concluded.

Cæsars Funerall being agreed upon, his Body was burnt with great solemnity in the Field of *Mars*, and *Mark Anthony* made the Funerall Oration in his Praise, and took the Robe wherein *Cæsar* was slaine, being all bloudy, and shewed it to the People, using such speeches as provoaked them both to wrath, and commiseration, so as before the Funerall solemnity was fully finished, they all departed in great fury, taking Brands in their hands from the fire wherein *Cæsar* was burned, and went to burne the Houses of *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, and if they could have found them, and the rest of the Conspirators, they would certainly have slaine them; and in their fury they unadvisedly slew *Elius Cinna*, by mistaking him for *Cornelius Cinna*, who was one of the Conspirators.

A tumult.

This tumult put *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, and their confe-

derates, into such feare, that they all fled from *Rome* into severall parts: and though the Senate (having appeased the tumult) inflicted punishment upon some of the seditious, and had already committed some of them to Prison, yet *Brutus*, and *Cassius* durst not return to *Rome*, but after a while went into *Greece*, to Govern those Provinces which *Cæsar* in his Life time had allotted unto them, which were, *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, and *Syria* to *Cassius*. And truly this was very remarkable, that within the space of three years all the Conspirators dyed, and not one of them of a naturall death.

He favoured the *Jewes*.

Cæsar in his fifth and last Consulship made an Edict, that thanks should be returned to *Hyrcanus*, the High-Priest and Prince of the *Jewes*, and to the Nation of the *Jewes*, for their affection to himself and the People of *Rome*. And decreed also, that the said *Hyrcanus*, should have the City of *Jerusalem*, and repair the Walls of it which *Pompey* had beaten down, and should Govern it as he pleased himself. He also granted to the *Jewes*, that every second year there should an abatement be made out of their rents, and that they should be free from Impositions, and Tributes.

His Name of *Cæsar* was so honourable, that all his successors to this present day, have assumed it into their Title, and esteem it an honour to be called *Cæsars*.

FINIS.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS In whose Raign our LORD CHRIST was born.

OCtavius *Cæsar*, who was afterwards called *Octavianus Augustus*, was by the Fathers side descended of the Antient Family of the *Octavij*, which was of great account in *Rome* even from the time of *Tarquin* their King: By the Mothers side he was descended from the Regall Line: His Mother was *Accia* the Daughter of *Accius Balbus*, and *Julia*, the Sister of *Julius Cæsar*, which *Accia* was married to the Father of *Octavius*. He was born in the year of the Consulship of *Cicero*, and *Caius Antonius*. He was but four years

His Parentage.

years old when his Father dyed: and at twelve years old he made an Oration at the Funerall of his Grandmother *Julia*.

His first imployment.

When his Uncle *Julius Cæsar*, was Warring in *Spain* against the Sons of *Pompey*, *Octavius* (though he was but young) followed him thither through many and great dangers: and when that War was ended, *Julius Cæsar* intending to take him with him to the *Parthian* War, sent him before to the City of *Apollonia*, where he plyed his Book very diligently; and on a time having a minde to see *Theogenes*, a learned Astronomer, he calculated his Nativity, and promised him great matters, which made *Octavius* conceive great hopes of himself, and in memory thereof he caused certain Medals to be coined, and would often boast of what *Theogenes* had told him.

He comes into *Italy*.

Octavius in the sixth moneth after he went to *Apollonia*, having intelligence from his Mother of the Death of his Uncle *Julius Cæsar*, he hasted out of *Epirus* to *Brundusium*, where he was received by the Army that went to meet him as the adopted Son of *Cæsar*, and without any further delay he assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and took upon him to be his Heire, and that so much the rather, because he had brought with him good store of money, and great forces that were sent him by his Uncle: and so at *Brundusium*, adopting himself into the *Julian* Family, he called himself *Caius Julius Cæsar Octavius*.

Many resort to him.

To this very Name, as though he had been his true Son, there came great store of, partly of his Friends, partly of freed-men, slaves, and Souldiers, by whom being more strengthened and imboldned by the multitude of them that flocked to him, and by the authority of the *Cæsarian* name, which with the common People was in great reputation, he took his journey towards *Rome* with a great traine, which daily increased like a Floud.

On the fourteenth Kalends of *May* he entered into *Naples*,

Naples, where he gave *Cicero* a visit. From thence as he was going to *Rome* there met him a vast company of his Friends, and as he entered the City, the Globe of the Sun seemed to compasse his Head round like unto a Bow, as it were, putting a Crown upon his Head, who afterward was to be so great a man: and at night, calling together his Friends, he commanded them to be ready the next morning, with good store of followers, to meet him in the Market-place, which was done accordingly; and he going to *Caius*, the City *Prætor*, and Brother to *Anthony*, he told him that he did accept of the Adoption. For it was the *Roman* custome in Adoptions to interpose the authority of the *Prætor*: which acceptance being Registred by the Scribes, from thence he presently went to *Mark Anthony* the Consul, who behaved himself proudly towards him, and scarcely admitting him into *Pompeys* Gardens, gave him time to speak with him.

He comes to *Rome*.

M. Anthony's pride.

Octavianus had a great mind to revenge the Death of *Julius Cæsar*; but by his Mother, and *Philip* his Father in Law he was advised to conceal his Purpose for a time, both because the Senate had approved his Death, and because *Mark Anthony*, who was principally to assist him therein, did not shew himself very friendly to him. *Octavianus* understanding that *Mark Anthony* had in his custody all the Treasure that was left by *Julius Cæsar*, he desired him to command it to be delivered to him, therewith to pay his debts, and to distribute it as *Cæsar* had appointed in his Will: But *Anthony* with greater Pride than *Octavianus* could well bear, not only refused what he demanded, but reproved him for desiring it; whereupon discords presently arose betwixt them: and *Octavianus* strengthened himself with the Counsel of *Cicero*, a great enemy to *Anthony*, and one whose authority at that time, by reason of his Wisdom and *Eloquence*, was very great.

Anthony being Overseer of those things which *Cæsar* had commanded

And falshood.

commanded to be done, what by corrupting the Notes, and changing them at his pleasure, did what himself listed, as if it had been the appointment of *Cæsar*; by this meanes, gratifying Cities and Governours, and heaping vast summes of money to himself, selling not onely Fields and Tributes, but freedomes and immunities even of the City of *Rome*, and that not onely to particular Persons, but to whole Provinces, and of these things there were Tables hung up all over the Capitol.

Cæsar raises an Army.

Octavianus being nineteen years old, at his own charges gathered an Army, and sought the favour of the People, and prepared forces against *Anthony* for his own and the Commonwealths safety. He also stirred up the old Souldiers, who by *Julius Cæsar* had been planted in Colonies: so that *Anthony* being afraid of him, by the mediation of Friends, had a conference with him in the Capitol, and they were for the present reconciled: but within a few dayes, through the whisperings of some, their enmity brake out again, and *Anthony*, not thinking himself strong enough, and knowing that the Legions of *Macedonia* were the best Souldiers, and six in number, with whom also were many Archers, light harnessed men, and Horsemen, these he sought to draw to himself, who, because of their neernesse, might presently be brought into *Italy*: and thereupon he caused a rumour to be spread, that the *Getæ* wasted *Macedonia* by their inrodes; and upon that occasion he demanded an Army of the Senate, saying, that the *Macedonian* Army was raised by *Cæsar* against the *Getæ*, before he intended the *Parthian* War, whereupon he was chosen Generall of those Forces, and he obtained a Law for the change of Provinces, whereby his Brother *Caius Anthony* challenged *Macedonia*, which before by lot fell to *Marcus Brutus*.

Anthony leaves Rome.

On the seventh of the Ides of *October* *Anthony* went to *Brundusium*, there to meet foure of the *Macedonian* Legions, whom he thought to draw to himself by money.

Thither

Thither also *Octavianus* sent his Friends with money to hire these Souldiers for himself, and himself posted into *Campania*, to engage those Souldiers which were in Colonies to take his part; and first he drew to him the old Souldiers of *Galatia*, then those of *Casilinum* on both sides of *Capua*, giving to each man five hundred pence, by which meanes he gat together about ten thousand men, who marched with him under one Ensigne as a guard.

In the mean while the four Legions of *Macedonia*, accusing *Anthony* for his delayes in revenging *Cæsars* Death, without any acclamations conducted him to the Tribunal, as it were, to hear an account of this matter, and there continued silent. *Anthony* taking this ill, upbraded them with their Ingratitude, and complained that they had not brought to him some disturbers of the Peace, who were sent from that malapert young man (for so he called *Octavian*) and to ingratiate himself with them, he promised an hundred pence to each of them, which niggardly promise was intertained with laughter, which he took so ill, that being returned to his Quarters, in the presence of his most covetous, and most cruel Wife *Fulvia*, he put to death some Centurions out of the *Martian* Legion. *His Parsimony.*

When those of *Cæsars* party, that were sent to corrupt the Souldiers, saw that they were more exasperated by this deed, they scattered Libels about the Army, wherein they disgraced *Anthony*, and extolled the liberality of *Cæsar*. And when some sided with *Octavian*, and others with *Anthony*, the Army, as if it had been set to sale at an outcry, addicted themselves to him that would give most. And because that *Decius Brutus*, who commanded *Gallia Cisalpina* (now *Lombardy*) opposed *Anthony*, he went to besiege him in the City of *Mutina* (now *Modena*) which being known in *Rome*, *Cicero* his authority and credit in the Senate was such, that *Mark Anthony* was declared an enemy to the State, and the new Consuls, *Hircius* and *Pansa* were sent against him, and *Cæsars Policy.* *Anthony declared an enemy.*

and with them was *Octavian* sent with Ensignes of a Consul, and Title of a *Pro-prætor*, having been first admitted into the Senate though so young, which was done by the procurement of *Cicero*, though he afterwards requited him ill for it.

Octavian with the Consuls, drew neer to *Mark Anthony*, *Ciccro* remaining to command in chief in all matters at *Rome*: and between the two Armies there passed many skirmishes and encounters, and at last they came to a Battell, wherein the Consuls and *Cæsar* had the Victory, but *Hircius* was slaine in the Battell, and *Pansa* was so wounded, that he died within a few dayes after, and both the Armies of the slaine Consuls obeyed *Cæsar*. By this meanes *D. Brutus* was freed from his siege, and *Anthony* was forced to forsake *Italy* by a dishonourable flight, leaving his baggage behind him. In this service *Octavian* made marvelous proof of himself, being but twenty years old, performing the Office, not onely of a good Captaine, but also of a stout Souldier: For seeing the Standart-bearer sore wounded and ready to fall, *Octavian* took from him the Eagle, and bare it a great while till he had lodged it in safety.

Cæsar overcomes him.

Mark Anthony after the Battell, gathering the remainders of his Army, passed the *Alps* and went into *France*, solliciting the Friendship of *Lepidus*, who was there with an Army ever since the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, whom after some treaties he made his Friend: and *Octavian* after the Victory obtained, presently sent to the Senate to require a Triumph for his Victory, as also the Counsulship for the remainder of the year in the roome of the dead Consuls, with their succession in their charge, and command of the Army. But the answer of the Senate was not according to his desire: For the Friends and Kinsmen of those that had murthered *Cæsar* began to fear him, and to suspect his power, wherefore they prevailed to delay that which he required, and in the end they resolved to assign the Army to *Decius Bru-*

He flies into *France*.

tus, and temporizing with *Octavian*, they granted him a Triumph, but denied him the Consulship, whereat he was much discontented, and therefore secretly treated of friendship with *Mark Anthony*, and having drawn to himself the affections of the Army, he therewith marched towards *Rome*, and approaching near to the City, in dispite of the Senate, he caused himself to be chosen Consul being not fully twenty years old. Then did he cause accusations to be exhibited against *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, and the rest of the Conspirators; and in their absence, having none that durst defend their cause, they were condemned. After this was done he left the City, and with his Army marched toward *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*, who were already entred into *Italy*.

Caesar makes himself Consul.

Decius Brutus hearing of the Treaties and League that was made between *Octavian*, *Lepidus* and *Mark Anthony*, not daring to stay in that Country, departed with his Army, which soon forsook him, some going to *Caesar*, others to *Mark Anthony*, whereupon he fled, but being at last taken, he was brought to *Mark Anthony*, who caused his Head to be cut off. The Armies of these Captaines drawing neere together, to whom *Affinius Pollio*, and *Planeus*, with their Legions were joyned, these three *Octavian Caesar*, *Mark Anthony*, and *Lepidus*, meeting, after three dayes debate, they concluded their accursed Peace; and these firebrands of sedition entered into a *Triumvirate*, with severall intents and designes. *Lepidus* was covetous, and sought riches by troubling the State. *Anthony* was by nature an enemy to Peace, and to the Commonwealth, desiring an opportunity to be revenged of those who had declared him an enemy to the State. And *Octavian* sought revenge upon *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, and those who had slaine his adopted Father. And to bring these things to passe, *Octavian* put away his Wife who was Daughter to *Servilius*, and contracted himself to *Clandia*, Daughter in Law to *Anthony* by his

A Triumvirate erected.

his Wife *Fulvia*, who was now a child, and from whom he was afterward divorced by reason of the discord that arose between *Anthony* and him.

In this League which they made, besides dividing the Provinces amongst themselves, they agreed to Proscribe and kill each of them his enemies, and the one delivered them into the others hands, having more respect to be revenged upon an enemy then to save a Friend; and so there was made the most cruel and inhumane Proscription, and Butchery that ever was before heard of, giving and exchanging Friends, and Kinsmen for enemies. For *Mark Anthony* gave up his Fathers Brother: and *Lepidus* his own Brother, *Lucius Paulus*: and *Octavian*, *M. T. Cicero*, whom he called Father, and who had intreated and honoured him as a Son. And besides these, they Proscribed and condemned to die three hundred other Principall men of *Rome*, amongst whom were about one hundred and fourty Senators, besides two thousand *Romans* of the order of Knighthood.

Many proscribed.

Ingratitude.

This agreement being made, they all three went to *Rome*, where they took upon them the Government of the Commonwealth by the name of *Triumviri*, the time being limited to five years, though they never meant to leave the same. And presently after, those who were condemned and Proscribed, were by their commandement put to death; being sought out in all parts and places; their Houses were ransacked, and their goods confiscated.

Cicero understanding that his name was in the Catalogue amongst the Proscripts, onely because he had been a lover of *Roman* Liberty, he fled to the Sea, where he embarked himself, but so hard was his hap, that by contrary winds he was driven back to the shore, whereupon, returning to some possessions of his neere *Capua*, not far from the Sea, as he lay sleeping there, he was awakened by some Crowes which with their bils pluckt his cloaths from his back. His

Cicero flies.

servants

servants being moved with this ill presage, put him into his Litter, and again carried him towards the Sea: but being overtaken by the murtherers, he put his neck out of his Litter, and they cut off his Head, and his right hand, wherewith he had written his Orations against *Mark Anthony* called *Philippicks*: And thus was he slaine by one whom he had defended, and delivered from death. *Anthony* joyfully received his hand, and caused it to be nailed up in the place where he was wont to plead, to which all the People repaired to behold so wofull and miserable a spectacle, of whom there was not any one but was heartily sorry for the Death of so great a Personage, and so fervent a lover of his Country. *Salvius Otho*, a Tribune of the People, invited his Friends to his last Supper, and as they were sitting, in came a Centurion, and in the presence of them all, strake off his Head. *Minutius* the *Prætor* was slaine, sitting in his seat of Judgment. *L. Villius Annalis*, who had been Consul, flying from the murtherers, hid himself in the Suburbs in a little House of one of his clients, but his own Son betrayed him to the murtherers, who slew him there; but shortly after this Parricide being drunken, quarrelling with the same Souldiers, was slaine by them. *C. Tarapius* also being betrayed by his own Son, was slaine, who in a few dayes having consumed his Patrimony, was condemned for Theft, and banished into a place where he died miserably.

And is slaine.

Horid cruelty.

Sons unnaturall.

Quintus Cicero was hid by his Son, whom they could never make to confesse by any torments where his Father was; but the old man, not being able any longer to endure that they should torment so vertuous a Son, came and presented himself to the Murtherers: whereupon the Son entreated them to kill him first, but they killed them both together. The *Egnaces*; the Father and Son, embracing one the other were both run through at once and slaine. *C. Hostidius Geta*, was put into a grave by his Son as dead, who sustained and kept

Sons dutifull and good.

him till the danger was over. *Aruntius*, after he had comforted his Son, delivered up himſelf to the murtherers, but his Son for griefe famiſhed himſelf. Some other Children carefully hid, and preſerved their Parents.

Wives good.

Tanuſia was ſuch an importunate ſuitor to *Cæſar* for her Husband *T. Junius* that ſhe preſerved his life: He was in the *intrim* hidden by *Philopœmen*, his bondmen enfranchiſed, whom *Cæſar* afterwards Knighted for his fidelity to his Maſter. *Q. Ligurius* haivng been concealed by his Wife, was diſcovered by a ſlave, and killed, whereupon his Wife pined her ſelf to death. *Lucretius Veſpilio*, having paſſed many dangers whilſt he ſought to hide himſelf here and there, at laſt came to his Wife *Sburia*, who hid him between the Sealing and the top of the Houſe till ſhe had begged his Life of the *Triumvirs*. *Apuleius* was ſaved by his Wife, who fled away with him. *Antius* his Wife wrapped him up in Coverlets, and cauſed him to be carried to the Sea ſide as a pack of ſtuff, where he embarked and ſailed into *Sicily*. *Coponius* was ſaved by his Wife, who lent her Body to *Anthony* for one night, to ſave him whom ſhe preferred before her honour.

Wives bad.

But the Wife of *Septimius*, having ſhamefully given her Body to one of *Anthonies* Familiars, cauſed her Husband to be put into the number of the Poſcripts, that ſhe might the more freely continue her Adulteries, and her Husband was ſlaine by her meanes. *Q. Vettius Saluſſus* was hidden in a very ſecret place, but acquainting his Wife with it, ſhe betrayed him to the murtherers. *Fulvius* was diſcovered by one of his ſlaves and his Concubine, though he had made her free, and given her goods wherewithall to maintaine her ſelf.

Servants bad.

P. Naſo was betraid by his ſlave enfranchiſed, with whom he had been too familiar, but he revenged himſelf upon his ſlave, whom he killed, and then held forth his neck to the cut throats. *L. Lucceius* had put into the

the hands of two of his Freedmen as much as would have relieved him in his Banishment, but they ran away with all, whereupon he delivered himself to the murtherers. *Haterius*, who had hid himself in a very secret place, was sold and betrayed by his slave, and killed. *Cassius Varus* who was betrayed by a man made free, had his Head struck off. *Cains Silanus* was hiden by his slaves, but being given to Perfumes, the sent thereof discovered him; yet when the Souldiers could not find him, they cruelly tormented his Servants to make them confesse where he was, which yet they would not do: But the Master pitting his faithfull servants, came out of his secret place, and delivered himself to the murtherers.

Servants good.

Appius Claudius changed his Gown with his slave, who in that habit presented himself to the murtherers, and was slain by them instead of his Master. Another slave of *Menius* did the like: for he went into his Masters Litter, and offered his neck to the murtherers, who cut off his Head, and so his Master escaped into *Sicily*. The slave of *Urbinus Panopio*, hearing that the murtherers were comming to his Masters House, took off his Gown and his Ring, and gave him his own apparrel, and put him out at a back doore: then he went up and lay upon his Masters Bed, where he boldly attended them that killed him for *Panopio*. The slave of *Antius Restio*, though his Master had soundly beaten him a few dayes before for some knavish tricks, yet to save his Master, meeting an old man by the way, he struck off his Head, and shewing that, with his whippings to the murtherers, he made them believe that thus he had revenged himself of his Master, with whom he shortly after fled into *Sicily*. The slaves of *Martius Censorinus* kept their Master secretly, till he had oportunity to escape into *Sicily* to *Sextus Pompeius*.

Q. Oppius, an honourable old man, being very neere taking, was rescued by his Son, who conveying him out of *Rome*, carried him upon his shoulders, and sent him

A good Son.

him into *Sicily*, where all the poor distressed *Romans* were courteously intertained by *S. Pompeius*, who sent forth Ships, and Galleys to lie upon the coast of *Italy*, ready to receive all them that fled to him; doubly rewarding those that saved any that was Proscribed: He *Tit.* also honourable Offices to all that had been Con- *Hu.* and comforting the rest with singular courtesie. Many others fled into *Macedonia* to *Brutus* and *Cassius*: others into *Africk* to *Cornificius*. *Statius Samnis*, an honourable Senator being about eighty years old, that those Theeves might have no part of his Goods, he gave them for a prey to whomsoever would take them; then setting his House on fire he burnt himself in it. *Aponius* having been long concealed by his slave, grew weary of that confinement, came out into the Market-place, and yeilded his neck to the murtherers. *Cestius* being in the like condition, caused his slaves, to make a great fire, threw himself into it and died: *Sulpitus Rufus*, who had been Consul, was murthred because he would not sell an Isle of his to *Fulvia*: also *Ampius Balbus* was slaine, because he would not give her a pleasant place of his.

A *Jezabel.*

M. Anthony put into the number of Proscripts a Senator called *Nonius Struma*, onely to get from him an Emerod esteemed worth fifty Thousand Crowns: but *Nonius* found a meanes to escape with his Emerod, to the great grief of *Anthony*. Some valiantly defended themselves, as *Atteius Capito*, who killed many Souldiers who came rudely running upon him, but being at last oppressed with multitudes, he was slaine. *Vetulinus*, assisted by his Son, valiantly repulsed the murtherers, but at last was slaine. *Sicilius Corvus* hoping to escape, put himself amongst the Mourners that followed a dead Corpse, but being discovered was slaine.

Base covetousnesse.

Valour.

The *Triumviri* caused the goods of the Proscripts to be sold by the Drum, at such prizes as the Souldiers pleased, yet most part of them was spoiled and given away.

away. They promised also to Widdowes their Joyntures, and to Sons the tenth part of their Fathers Patrimony, and to Daughters the twentieth part, but few or none had any benefit by this promise; yea, on the contrary, they sacked many of them that demanded these rights. They exacted great summes of money in *Rome*, and all over *Italy*; and to encourage the Souldiers, they gave them unmeasurable gifts, and granted them daily new pillage. The Legions they Wintered in the richest Cities upon free Quarter. To be short, men by fear and custome were so inured to slavery, that they became more slaves than the Tyrants would have had them. Oppression.

These three men having done what they would in *Rome*, and knowing that *Brutus* and *Cassius* had a very great Army in *Greece*, who called themselves the *Deliverers of their Country*, saying that they would go and and set *Rome* at liberty from oppression: *Cassius* having overthrown and slaine *Dolabella* in *Syria*: and being informed, that by the assistance of their Friends, they had gotten together eighteen Legions, hereupon *Mark Anthony*, and *Octavian* resolved to go against them with the greatest Army that they could possibly make of old Souldiers, and that *Lepidus* should stay to guard *Rome*: and accordingly they departed, and arrived in *Greece*, and marching on, they drew neer to the place where *Brutus* and *Cassius* were encamped, which was in *Macedonia* in the *Philippick* Fields. They go against *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Before they came to joyn Battell there were sundry Prodigies: for fowles of prey hovered about the Camp of *Brutus* as if it had been their own already: and as they marched out to Battell, a Blackmoore met them, which they accounted an ill *Omen*. *Brutus* being alone in his Tent at night, a man sad and gastly appeared to him, and being asked what he was, he answered, *I am thy evill Genius*, and so vanished: But on the contrary Birds, and Beasts promised good successe to *Cæsar*. Prodigeis. A Spectarum.

sar. These Armies lying so neere together had frequent skirmishes, and at last came to a Battell, where the Victory was strangely divided: For *Brutus* on the one side of the Field, did beat *Octavian*, and put his Battalion to rout, pursuing them into the Camp, where many of them were slaine; and while *Brutus* was following his Victory, his partner *Cassius* was overthrown by *Mark Anthony*, though he did all that was possible to encourage his men, and by reason of the clouds of dust, knew nothing of *Brutus* his Victory, whereupon retiring to an high ground, he there pitched his Tent: and so standing and looking about, he saw *Brutus* his Troops comming to his aid, and to relieve him; but he imagining that they came flying before their enemies, commanded a slave of his whom he had made free to kill him, who did it accordingly.

Brutus beats *Cæsar.*

M. Anthony beats *Cassius.*

Octavians men that escaped by flight, retired to *Mark Anthonies* Camp, and had not *Brutus* his men busied themselves in ransacking *Octavians* Camp, they had that day, obtained an intire Victory: for they might in due time have rescued, and relieved *Cassius*, and both of them being joyned together might easily have overthrown *Mark Anthony*: but God had otherwise determined. The Victory being thus devided, the Generals of either party gathered their forces together, and of *Brutus* side, were slaine eight thousand men, and of the enemies side a far greater number. *Brutus* did his best to encourage and comfort his Souldiers, and the Gentlemen which followed *Cassius*: and the next day, though both Armies were put in Battell array, yet they fought not; but a few dayes after, *Brutus*, by his Souldiers, was forced to come to an other Battell, who was of himself willing rather to delay and prolong the War, knowing that his enemies wanted Victuals, and many other necessaries, and because he reposed no great trust in the forces of *Cassius*: for he found that they were fearfull, and hard to be commanded because of their late overthrow,

Brutus beaten.

verthrow. When they came to the second encounter, *Brutus* did all the Offices of an able Generall, and of a Valiant Knight, yet in the end his men were broken, and overthown by the enemy. *Brutus* having gathered his scattered Troops together, found himself unable to make any further resistance, and being advised by some of his Friends to fly, he told them, *That so he would, yet not with his feet but with his hands*, and thereupon, taking a Sword from a servant of his called *Stratus*, he slew himself. Thus *Octavian*, and *Mark Anthony* remained Victors, and Masters of the Field, and all things succeeded according to *Cæsars* desire, for whom, God in his secret Counsell, had reserved the Monarchy of the whole World, which for the present was devided between three. Kills himself.

These Wars being ended, and the Legions of *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, reduced to the obedience of the Conquerors, *Octavian*, and *Mark Anthony* agreed, and resolved, that *Anthony* should remaine to Govern *Greece*, and *Asia*, that *Lepidus* should go into *Africk*, and that *Octavian* should returne to *Rome*: and accordingly *Mark Anthony* went into *Asia*, where he gave himself up to sensuality and delights with the fair, but wanton *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Ægypt*, and *Octavian*, though with some hindrances, by reason of his health, at last came to *Rome*. *Anthony* With *Cleopatra*.

Not long after, there arose new Wars and troubles for though *Octavian* was at peace with *Lepidus* who was now in *Africk*, *Octavian* having under his command *Spain*, *France*, part of *Germany*, *Italy*, and *Illyricum*, yet *Lucius Antonius*, who at this time was Consul, being provoked thereto by his Sister in Law *Fulvia*, Wife to *Mark Anthony*, began to oppose himself against *Lepidus* and *Octavian*, seeking to overthrow the *Triumviri*, which contention brake out about the division of Fields which *Cæsar* had made to the Souldiers which had served him in his Wars. Some say that *Fulvia* made this stirre, that she might procure the return of *Mark Anthony* Troubles in *Rome*.

thony to her, of whom she was jealous, hearing of his familiarity with *Cleopatra*. The discord in *Rome* grew to that height that they came to Armes; and *Lucius Antonius* went from the City, and levied an Army against *Octavian*, who also marched towards him with his Forces. But *Lucius* not daring to joine Battell, shut himself up in *Perugia*, where *Cæsar* immediately besieged him, and divorced himself from *Claudia*, the Daughter of *Fulvia*, and was married to his third Wife, *Scribonia* by whom he had one only Daughter. *Octavian* being about twenty three years old, so strictly besieged *Perugia* that *Lucius* and his men were brought to such straits for want of Victuals, that he was forced to yeild up himself to *Octavian*, who pardoned him, and used him kindly, and thus this War was ended without bloudshed. And so *Octavian* returned to *Rome*, of which he was now sole Lord: and from hence some reckon the beginning of his Empire which was about four years after the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, and about thirty eight years before the Incarnation of our blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*.

Cæsars Victory.

Cæsar being now in quiet, *Fulvia* by letters, and false informations sought to stirre up her Husband *Mark Anthony* against *Octavian*, with which resolution she left *Italy*, and went towards him; and at the same time *Mark Anthony* departed from *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, and came to the Ile of *Rhodes*, where he was informed of all that had happened to his Brother *Lucius*. From thence he went into *Greece*, and at *Athens* he found his Wife *Fulvia* sick, yet vehemently inveying against *Octavian*; wherefore leaving her there, he went with two hundred Gallies into *Italy*, and landed at *Brundusium*, where the Wars began between him and the Forces of *Octavian*, who was yet at *Rome*. But newes comming of *Fulvias* death, some Friends interposed to reconcile them, and at last it was agreed, that Arbitrators should be chosen to compose their differences. *Octavian* chose *Mecænas*, and for *Mark Anthony* was *Asinius Pol-*

Anthony comes into *Italy*.

lio

lio, and these brought it to this issue, that *Mark Anthony* should have all the East from *Italy*, beginning from the *Ionian* Sea, which is the entry into the *Mediterran Gulph*, unto the River of *Euphrates*, wherein were included all the Provinces of *Graecia* and *Asia*, with all the Islands within these limits. To *Octavian* was allotted from the said *Ionian* Sea to the Westerne or *Spanish* Sea, wherein were contained *Spain, France, Italy, Germany*, and *Britan*. To *Lepidus* was confirmed *Affrica*, where he then was, with all the Provinces thereof. And for the strengthening of this League, *Mark Anthony*, now a Widdower, was to marry with *Octavia*, the Sister of *Octavian* by the Fathers side, formerly married to *Marcus Marcellus*, by whom she had one Son called also *Marcellus*, whom *Octavian* adopted. And this marriage was dispensed with by the Senate, because in *Rome*, Widdows were not permitted to marry till they had lived ten moneths in Widdowhood, which she had not done.

Peace made betwixt them.

This being concluded, *Octavian*, and *Mark Anthony* went to *Rome*, where the wedding was solemnized, and they were seemingly good Friends; but their Peace was disquieted by the Neighbourhood of *Sextus Pompeius*, who commanded the Seas from *Sicily* where he lived, and with his Ships, and Pirates, he disquited *Cesars* Friends, who thereupon resolved to raise him: But at the request of the Senate, and of *Mark Anthony*, he harkned to Peace, and by the mediation of Friends, it was agreed that all matters past should be forgotten, & that they should live like good Neighbours and Friends, and that *Sextus Pompey* should enjoy *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corsica* which he had in possession, and that he should cleere the Seas from Pirates that Marchants and Passengers might passe safely, and that he should furnish Rome yearly with a certaine quantity of Corne. This being concluded, they agreed upon a meeting of all three upon the Seaside in the straight of *Messina*, in a Fortresse built for that purpose which reached into

Anthony marries *Octavia.*

They are reconciled with *Sextus Pompey.*

the Water, whither *Sextus Pompey* might come with his Galleys and be in safety: which accordingly was performed with great joy and solemnity; and *Sextus Pompey* feasted them in his Galleys, and they likewise him by Land.

From hence *Sextus Pompey* returned into *Sicily*, and *Octavian* and *Mark Anthony* to *Rome*, where for a while they remained in great familiarity: and then *Mark Anthony* preparing for his journey into the East, sent *Ventidius* before him with a great Army against the *Parthians*, wherein he had so good successe, that he overcame and defeated *Pacorus*, the *Parthian* Kings Son, and slew twenty thousand of his men, and thereby sufficiently revenged the Death of *Marcus Crassus*, for which he afterwards Triumphed at *Rome*.

The *Parthian* beaten.

Mark Anthony departed from *Rome* with his new Wife, and wintered with her in *Athens*. *Octavian* in the mean time in *Rome* growing mighty, and in high esteem, was yet very pensive, being troubled at the Neighbourhood of *Sextus Pompey* in *Sicily*, attending an occasion to War against him: for which purpose he prepared a great Fleet, pretending that *Sextus* with his Ships, and Gallyes hindred the comming of Corne into *Italy*. These *Sicilian* Wars continued for some years: in the beginning whereof *Octavian* had ill successe, yet more from stormes and tempests than from the force of his enemies: and if *Sextus Pompey* had been as Prudent and able to offend his enemy as he was to defend himself: and as he was Valiant, if he had been as Wise and Politick, he might have greatly distressed *Octavian* in all matters concerning *Italy*: yet the matter was so handled, that at *Octavians* request *Mark Anthony* came twice out of the East into *Italy* to assist him in these Wars. The first time he came to *Brundusium*, where not finding *Octavian* according to appointment, he returned without seeing him, upon some jealousies which grew betwixt them. But *Octavian* having lost most of his Fleet in

Cæsar envies *Sextus Pompey*.

in a storme, he sent his intire Friend *Mecenas* to *Mark Anthony*, at whose intreaty he returned into *Italy* with three hundred Ships and Galleys, giving it out that he came to *Cæsars* aid. And though there were some differences between them, yet *Octavia* so laboured between her Husband and Brother, that she reconciled them, and so they met in the mouth of the River neer *Tarentum*, where *Mark Anthony* gave to *Octavian* one hundred and twenty of his Galleys for his Wars, and *Octavian* gave to him some of the *Italian* Souldiers, and they renewed their *Triumvirat* for other five years. Which done, *Mark Anthony* returned to the East to prosecute his Wars against the *Parthians*, his Wife *Octavia* and her Children remaining in *Rome*.

Wars against him.

Anthony being gone, *Octavian* resolving to prosecute the Wars against *Sextus Pompey* with all his Forces, armed two Navies, whereof *Agrippa* was the Admirall of the one, and himself of the other: He sent also to *Lepidus* intreaing his aid, who accordingly came and brought with him a Thousand Ships, little and great, and eighty Galleys, wherein he transported five thousand Horse, and twelve Legions of Foot Souldiers. *Sextus Pompey* hearing what great preparations were made against him, did strongly fortifie all the Sea-coasts of *Sicily*, and on the frontiers of *Africk*, neere to *Lilibæum*, he placed *Plinius*, a good Captain with good companies of Souldiers, and his whole Fleet by Sea he drew into the Port of *Messina*, purposing to mannage his Wars by Sea, having neither experience, nor power to do it by Land, and so he attended the comming of his enemies.

Lepidus loosing with his whole Fleet from *Africk*, was encountered with a tempest, wherein with the losse of a great part of his Navy, he, with the rest landed at *Lilybæum*, and took in certaine places there about, but having small judgement, and experience in the Wars, he made a greater noise then did hurt to *Pompey*. *Octavius* also being at Sea in a tempest, lost thirty of his Galleys,

Galleys, besides small Ships, and with much difficulty returned to *Italy*: and *Taurus*, who commanded the Galleys which *Anthony* left, landed at *Terentum*, though with great losse and danger. *Octavian* was so grieved at these losses, that he had thoughts of giving over the War for that yeer: but changing his mind, he repaired his Fleets, and ordered *Agrippa*, with one of them to passe into *Sicily*, and there to make War both by Sea and Land: and himself following with the other Fleet did the like.

Cæsar marries Livia.

About this time *Octavian* divorced himself from *Scribonia*, though he had a Daughter by her called *Lavia*, and then he married *Livia Drusilla*, Wife to *Tiberius Nero*, by whom she had a Son called also *Tiberius*; hereupon *Tiberius* was forced to leave her to please *Octavian*, though at this time she was with child of a Son. This *Livia* he loved deerly, and continued with her till his Death.

Pompey beaten.

Agrippa assaulted, and took in some places in *Sicily*, which *Pompey* hearing of, departed from *Messina* with one hundred and seventy five Galleys, to relive them, and *Agrippa* being advertised of his comming, prepared to meet him, his Galleys being almost equall in number, and so they joyned Battell, which for a time seemed to be equall, but at last *Agrippa* prevailed, and *Pompey* retreated in time, his Galleys and Foists withdrawing themselves into some Rivers neer at hand, whither *Agrippa* with his bigger Vessels could not follow them. In this fight *Pompey* lost thirty of his Galleys. *Agrippa* the next day went to a City called *Tindaria*, thinking to surprise it by reason of intelligence which he had with the Citizens: and *Pompey* in the night gave secret order to his whole Fleet to retire to *Messina*.

Octavian in the mean time imbarked a great part of his Army, which he landed in *Sicily*, and set them on shore under the command of *Cornificius*, little thinking that *Pompey* had been so neer, who if he had taken this

opportunity,

opportunity, might have defeated *Octavian*. But loosing it, *Octavian* imbarking again, intended to determine the quarrell by a Battell at Sea, leaving *Cornificius* with his men fortified on the Land. Then did *Pompey* saile out of *Messina* with his whole Fleet, and neither Parties refusing it, they came to a Battell, in which *Octavian* was overcome, and all his great Fleet scattered and lost, and himself driven to fly into *Italy* in a Brigandine, where through many dangers, he at last came to the Army, whereof *Messalla* was Generall, and being nothing discouraged with this losse, he presently took order for all that was needfull. To *Rome* he sent his intire Friend *Mecenas*, to take order that this newes should breed no alteration there, and then presently sent to *Agrippa*, the Admirall of his other Fleet, that he should with all speed succour *Cornificius* and his Army in *Sicily*, and to *Lepidus* he sent to desire him to make his present repaire to the Isle of *Lippari*, which is between *Sicily*, and *Calabria*.

Cæsar beaten.

His diligence and good order about these affairs was such, that in a short time, by the help of *Lepidus*, and *Agrippa*, in dispite of *Pompey*, he landed all his Forces in *Sicily*, and joyning with *Lepidus*, he encamped neer to *Messina*, where began a most cruel War both by Sea, and Land, wherein the power and sufficiency of *Pompey* did wonderfully appear, in that he was able to grapple with so potent adversaries. Yet seeing himself oppressed, he sent a challenge to *Octavian*, that to avoid the further effusion of bloud, he would try it out with him in a Navall fight, so many Ships and Galleys against so many. *Octavian* delayed him at the first, but afterwards they agreed that with three hundred Ships and Galleys on either side, they would meet in such a place, and there fight it out, and accordingly they prepared for the Battell.

Octavian leaving *Lepidus* with his Land Army, embarked himself in his Fleet, and *Pompey* did the like, and so they joyned Battell, which was one of the cruellest

that

that ever was, considering the Commanders and the strength on either side, where *Pompey*, after he had performed all the Offices of a good and Valiant Captain, and after the slaughter of multitudes on both sides, was overcome by *Octavian*, and all his Fleet was burnt and sunk, or taken, saving sixteen sayl which escaped by flight, and he in one of them, and these entered into the Haven of *Messina*. And though the City was sufficiently fortified, and *Pompey* knew that *Plinius*, his Generall was comming to his rescue, yet in a dark night he imbarked, and with those sixteen Ships which had escaped, he fled into the East to *Mark Anthony*, hoping to find relief from him: but after much toile, and many accidents which happened to him, he was slain by one *Titius* at the commond of *Mark Anthony*, and in him failed the House and memory of his Father *Pompey* the *Great*.

Pompey beaten.

And flies.

And is slaine.

In this War *Octavian* escaped many dangers. For having transported part of his Army into *Sicily*, and sailing back to fetch the rest, he was suddenly supprised by *Demochares*, and *Apolaphanes*, two of *Pompeys* Captaines, from whom he escaped with much difficulty with one only Ship. Then travelling by Land to *Rhegium*, he saw some of *Pompeys* Galleys neer to the shore, and supposing them to be his own, he went down to the Sea side, where he had like to have been taken by them; and then seeking to escape by unknown passages, he met with a slave of *Æmilius Paulus*, who remembring that he had proscribed his Master *Paulus*, Father to this *Æmilius*, he attempted to kill him.

Cæsars dangers.

Octavian having obtained this great Victory aforesaid, though with very great losse, he went to Land with the remainder of his Ships and Army, comanding *Agrippa* to joyn with *Lepidus*, and to go to *Messina*, whither *Pliny*, *Pompeys* Generall had retired himself. But not thinking good to stand upon his defence, now that his Master was fled, he yeilded himself to *Lepidus* with all his Legions:

Legions: This made *Lepidus* so proud, that affecting to have *Sicily* to himself, he contended with *Octavian* about it: and entering into the City of *Messina*, he placed a Garison in it, to hold it for his own use: The like he did in many other places of the Island: and when *Octavian* came, he desired to speak with him, greatly complaining of his proceedings.

He falls out with *Lepidus*.

But in Rule, and Dominion equallity is intollerable, whilst either of them coveted this Isle for himself they fell at variance, and *Octavian* made his Navy to draw neere to the shore: So that both Armies began to stand upon their guard, the one against the other, and many messages passed between them, yet could they not agree. But *Octavian* was far better beloved and esteemd by the men of War, for his many vertues, and Nobility, and for his Name-sake [*Julius Cæsar*,] then the other, and the Souldiers began to lay all the fault upon *Lepidus*.

Cæsars Policy.

Octavian understanding this, laboured secretly to corrupt *Lepidus* his Souldiers, to draw them to himself: and one day, with a great Troop of Horse, he rode neere to *Lepidus* his Camp, and parlying with his Souldiers, justified himself and laid all the fault upon *Lepidus*, insomuch that many of them began to come over to his side. *Lepidus*, being informed hereof, caused an Alarme to be given, and commanded his men to sally out against *Octavian*, but when they came forth, most of them joyned with him: so that *Lepidus* seeing himself in danger of beig forsaken of his whole Army, yeilded himself unto *Cæsar*, and putting off his Generals Robe, he went to his Tent, and submitted to him. *Octavian* received him as if he had never offended, very courteously, and honourably, but restored him neither to his State nor power, and sent him with a good company to *Rome*, without any Office but the High Priesthood, which he had held ever since the Death of *Julius Cæsar*: and so this difference was ended without bloudshed.

Lepidus overcome.

Octavian now retaining *Sicily* to himself, and having devested *Lepidus* of the *Triumvirat*, he appropriated to himself the Province of *Africk*, and remained Generall of the three Armies, to wit, of *Lepidus*, of *Pompey*, and of his own; wherein were fourty five Legions of Footmen, and twenty five thousand Horse, all well armed, besides many other *Numidians*. He had also upon the Sea, six hundred Galleys and many Ships, and Brigandines. And now waited only for an opportunity to fall out with *Mark Anthony* that he might make himself Lord of all. Yet for the present he paid his Souldiers as well as he could, and gave Coronets, Honours, and Armes to those who had deserved well in these Wars. He then dispered his Armies, sending them to their own homes, loaden with many faire promises. He also left, and sent *Prators* and Governours into *Sicily* and *Africk*, and so hasted towards *Rome*, where he was received with Ovation (which was little lesse than a Triumph) with incredible joy and honour: and was so exceedingly beloved, that in many places they erected Temples and Altars to him, as to their Gods: and he reformed such things as by reason of the Wars were grown out of order.

Cæsar return to *Rome*.

At this time *Mark Anthony*, who was in the East, though he had no great successe in his *Parthian* War, yet was he still of great power, very Rich, and well obeyed in the Provinces of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Ægypt*, and in the rest of his Governments. But he was so besotted with the love, and company of *Cleopatra*, the Queen of *Ægypt*, that he thought of nothing but how to satisfie her humour, in the meane time neglecting, and forgetting his Wife *Octavia*, the Sister of *Octavian*, who in beauty and Wisdom was nothing inferior to *Cleopatra*, and in virtue and goodnesse did far excell her.

Anthony besotted with *Cleopatra*.

The Monarchy of the World being thus devided between these two, the one in the East, the other in the West, yet

yet, as though each of them had not enough, they studied each of them to supplant, and destroy the other. Chiefly *Octavian*, who seeing that *Anthony* neglected his Sister, and did not send for her, he continually advised, and urged her to go to her Husband, that he might have a fair occasion to fall out with him if she were not well intertained: But she, not well understanding his designe, that she might prevent all controversies between her Brother and her Husband, departed from *Rome*, carrying with her many Jewels, and Presents which she had gotten together therewith to present *Mark Anthony*. But he, having fixed his heart upon *Cleopatra*, wrote to her by the way that she should go into *Greece*, and stay at *Athens*, till he returned from the *Parthian* War, yet did he never go againstthem, *Cleopatra* hindering him. Notwithstanding *Octavia* sent all those things which she had brought, to her Husband, and all this not prevailing to procure her acceptence, she went full of griefe, to *Rome*.

Cæsar seeks a quarrill with him.

Then did *Octavian* begin openly to complain of *Mark Anthony*, and to declared himself his enemy, and *Mark Anthony* entered into a League with the King of the *Medes*, the better to strengthen himself, causing *Cleopatra* (besides the Title of *Ægypt*) to be called Queen of *Syria*, *Lybia*, and *Cyprus*, and joyntly with her, a Son of hers called *Cæsarion*, of whom *Julius Cæsar* left her with child when he was in *Ægypt*: and to two Sons which himself had by her, called *Ptolomy*, and *Alexander*, he gave the Title of Kings: to *Alexander*, of *Armenia*, and *Parthia*: and to *Ptolomy*, of *Cilicia*, and *Phœnicia*; hereupon the enmity between *Octavian* and him greatly encreased: yet was the War deferred because of other Wars which *Octavian* had in *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*. The People of these Countries, seeing the *Romans* engaged in Civil Wars, rebelled, together with those of *Austria*, *Hungary*, and *Bavaria*, who joyned with them. This War *Octavian* undertook in his own person, which was very cruel and dangerous:

Cæsars new troubles.

wherein he was twice wounded, and gave great proof both of his Wiſdome and Valour: yet in the end, he not only ſubdued and tamed *Illyricum*, but both the *Pannonia*'s, and all the neighbouring Nations which had joyned with them.

Then did *Octavian* return Victorious to *Rome*, and though a Triumph was granted him, yet would he not Triumph as then, ſo great was his deſire to make War againſt *Mark Anthony*, who was no better affected towards him. For he levied Souldiers, procured Friends, and Armies againſt him, and promiſed *Cleopatra* to bring her Tryumphing into *Rome*. Yea, ſhe requeſted of him, the Rule and Empire of *Rome*, and he promiſed it her.

Qurrals betwixt them.

Matters ſtanding upon theſe tearmes, *Mark Anthony* ſent his Wife *Octavia* a Bill of Divorce, according to the cuſtome of thoſe times, commanding her to go out of his Houſe wherein ſhe dwelt in *Rome*. This, and other indignities *Octavian* imparted to the Senate, complaining againſt *Anthony*, and in his Orations to the People, he accuſed him for that (the ſecond five years of his *Triumvirat* and League being expired) yet came he not to *Rome*, neither reſpecting the authority of the Senate, nor of the People, but held his place, and kept poſſeſſion of the Eaſt and of *Greece*: and by ſuch ſuggeſtions he incenſed the People againſt him.

Mark Anthony, on the other ſide, by Letters and Meſſengers, complained that *Octavian* had often broken the Peace, and had caſt *Sextus Pompey* out of *Sicily*, retaining that, and other places which he held, to himſelf: and that therein he had no reſpect of him, nor had given him any part thereof: and that he detained the Galleys which he had lent him for that War. As alſo that he had deprived *Lepidus* of his Government, and kept all thoſe Provinces, and all the Legions which were his, without imparting any ſhare thereof to him: and that he had divided all the Lands in *Italy* to his own Souldiers, not aſſigning any part thereof to his

his. Thus the one accused the other, either pretending that they were forced to undertake the War; whereas the truth is, it was their Ambition, and insatiable desire to Rule that pricked them forward to it. Hereupon they called diverse Nations to their aid, so as the whole World in a manner, either of one side or other, was in Armes. Those in the West for *Octavian*, and those in the East for *Anthony*: at least, the beast and choisest men of them all. Preparation for War.

Anthony was first in the Field, and came with a great Army to the famous City of *Ephesus* in *Jonia*, a Province of *Asia* the lesse, whither he had sent for his Navy to transport him into *Europe*. And he had in readinesse eight hundred Galleys and Ships of burthen: two hundred whereof *Cleopatra* gave him, together with all the Ammunition, and Victuals necessary for the Fleet: He also took her along with him, contrary to the advise of all those which were of his Councel. Then sailed he to the Isle of *Samos*, to which he had appointed all the Kings, Tetrachs, and People which served him in this War, to come by a day prefixed. The Kings that met him there, were *Tarcondemus*, King of the upper *Cilicia*: *Archalaus*, of *Cappadocia*: *Philodelphus*, of *Paphlagonia*; *Methridates*, of *Comagena*, and others: Besides those which sent their Forces, as *Herod*, King of *Judaea*: *Amyntas*, of *Lycaonia*: and the Kings of *Arabia*: Of the *Medes*: and *Polemon*, King of *Pontus* with some others. So that he had one hundred thousand well trained Footmen, and twenty two thousand Horse, besides his Navy by Sea, which consisted of five hundred Gallyes, besides Ships of burden which carried his amunition, and Victuals.

If *Anthony*, thus furnished, had presently passed into *Italy*, he had put *Octavian* into great hazard: For then he had not sufficient Forces to have withstood him, nor other necessary Provision for the Wars. But *Mark Anthony*, delaying the time at *Athens*, let slip the opportunity, and gave *Octavian* leasure to provide all things necessary *Anthonys* imprudence.

necessary from *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and all other his Provinces, from whence he levied eighty thousand choise Souldiers, and above twenty thousand good Horse: and seeing that *Anthony* stayed so long, he sent him word, that seeing he had Ships, and other fit provision, he should come for *Italy*, where he staid in the Field to give him Battell, promising to afford him good Ports and Havens, where he might safely land without interruption. To this *Anthony* answered, that it would be more honourable if he would determine this quarrel in Person against him, body to body, which he would willingly accept, though he was now old and crazed, and the other young and lusty: and if he liked not of this challenge, he would stay for him with his Army in the Fields of *Pharsalia*, in the same place where *Julius Cæsar* fought with *Cneius Pompey*.

Cæsars message.

Antonys answer.

These Meslages passing between them without effect, *Anthony* drew his Army by Land, and his Navy by Sea towards *Italy*, and *Octavian*, imbarked his Legions at *Brundusium*, and crossed the Sea to a place called *Torma*, in the Province of *Epire* (now called *Romania*) and after some notable exploits performed, the two Armies drew neer together, as also did the Navies. *Octavians* Navy consisted of two hundred and fifty Galleys, but better armed, and swifter then were *Mark Anthonies*, though his were more in number. And *Mark Anthony*, being perswaded by *Cleopatra* (who in this also was the cause of his ruine, thereby to have the better meanes to fly if the Battell should be lost) would needs try his Fortune in a Sea fight, though his Army by Land had a great advantage over the other.

They meet.

Anthony chose twenty two thousand out of his Army and put them aboard his Fleet, and *Octavian*, who refused not the Sea-fight, made his provision also, and so shipping himself in his Galleys, he committed the charge of his Land Army to *Taurus*, and *Anthony* left his Land Forces with *Canidius*: and in the sight of both the Armies, these

They prepare to fight.

these two brave Captaines, whith the best Navies in the World, took the Seas, where they fought for no lesse then the Empire of the World. Yet was the Fight deferred for three dayes in dispite of both parties, the Seas rising so high that they could not Govern their Vessels. The fourth Day they came to an encounter at a Cape called *Accius*, in *Epire*, not far from the place where their Land Armies stood.

A Battell.

The Battell was one of the most cruelest that ever was heard of, and lasted ten hours before *Octavian* obtained the Victory, though *Mark Anthony* staid not so long in the fight. For *Cleopatra* in the greatest fury of the Battell, fled away in her Galley, whom seventy of her other Galleys followed: and unfortunate *Mark Anthony*, who all his life time hitherto had been a valiant and brave Captain, seeing *Cleopatra* fly, on whom he had fixed his eyes and heart, shifting out of his own Galley into a lighter, followed her, without regard of his Armies either by Sea, or Land, and overtaking her, went abord her Galley, wherein he sailed three dayes with out either seeing or speaking with her, being confounded with shame for shewing so much weakness, and at last they arrived in the Port of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*.

Antony flies.

His Navy which he left fighting, though now Headlesse and without a Captain, yet continued to make gallant resistance till five thousand of them were slaine: and at last they were overcome, rather for want of a Commander then through any force of an enemy, though *Octavians* light and swift Galleys were a great help to him: and so he remained Conquerour, and granted life, and pardon to the Conquered, getting into his hands three hundred of their Galleys. In *Anthonies* Army by Land there wanted neither courage nor constancy to their Generall, though he had so unworthily deserted them: and therefore they continued seven dayes in their Camp, ready to give Battell, without accepting any composition from the enemy, and they would have staid longer, had not *Canidius* their Captaine

His mens fidelity.

His Army yeilds to *Cæſar*.

taine abuſed his truſt, flying ſecretly from the Camp to ſeek *Anthony*, whereupon, the Army being deſtitute of a Generall, yeilded to the enemy; who admitted them into his own Army, being nineteen Legions of Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe. The Senators, Knights, and Noble men, that had ſerved *Anthony*, many of them he fined in great ſumms of Money, many he put to death, and ſome he pardoned.

Then did *Cæſar* ſail to *Athens*, and being pacified with the *Greeks*, he diſtributed the Corne that was left in the War, to the Cities that were afflicted with Famine, and that were deſpoiled of their Money, Servants, and Horſes. And *Anthony* being arrived in *Ægypt*, choſe out one good Ship of good burden, and fraught with ſtore of Treaſure, and rich Plate of Gold and Silver, and gave it to his Friends, intreating them to divide it amongſt them and to ſhift for themſelves, and he wrote to *Theophilus*, the Governour of *Corinth*, that he would provide them an hiding place till they might make their Peace with *Cæſar*. And *Cæſar*, of the ſpoiles of the enemy dedicated ten Ships to *Apollo Actius*.

Authony lives privately.

Anthony being come into *Africk* went into a deſart place, wandering up and down, only accompanied with two Friends; and after a while he ſent to the Generall of the Army which he had formerly raiſed for the defence of *Ægypt*, but he ſlew his meſſengers, and ſaid that he would not obey *Anthony*, whereupon he had thought to have killed himſelf, but being hindred by his Friends, he went to *Alexandria*, and after a while he built him an Houſe in the Sea by the Iſle of *Pharos*, and there lived from the Company of all men, ſaying, *That he would live the life of* Timon *the* Man-hater, *becauſe he was abuſed by his Friends, and had experience of their ingratitude*, and he called this houſe *Timonion*. Yet at length he left this place, and went to the Pallace, where he ſpent his time in Feaſting and jollity. And *Cleopatra* got together diverſe ſorts of deadly poiſons of poiſonſome Creatures, whereof ſhe made triall upon many condemned

condemned persons, and amongst all, she liked the biting of the Aspe best: for it brought a sleepinesse without any contraction of the members, or groaning, onely causinga gentle sweating of the face, and a languishing stupidity of the senses.

At *Rome* many things were decreed in honour of *Cæsar* for this Victory at Sea: First a Triumph was granted him for *Cleopatra*: and a Triumphal Arch was erected at *Brundusium*, and another at *Rome*. The base of the *Julian* Temple was adorned with the Beakes of the Ships he had taken: There were Playes decreed to be kept every fifth year in honour of him: Processions were always to be made on his Birth day, and on the day wherein the newes of his Victory was first brought. That the vestall Virgins, the Senate, with their Wives and Children should go and meet him at his returne: that all the Ornaments of *Anthony* should be demolished and cast down: that his birth day should be accounted unlucky: and that none of his Family should ever have the forename of *Marcus*. *Cæsar* highly honoured.

About this time *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* sent Ambassadours to *Cæsar* into *Asia*. *Cleopatra* demanded the Kingdom of *Ægypt* for her Children, and without *Anthonies* knowledge, sent him a Scepter, Crown, and Chaire, all of Gold, as it were, delivering her Kingdom over to him: and *Anthony* demanded that he might live a private life at *Athens* if he might not continue in *Ægypt*. *Cæsar* accepted of *Cleopatra*'s gifts, accounting them as good *Omens*: but he would afford no answer to *Anthony*; and privately he promised impunity and her Kingdom to *Cleopatra* if she would kill *Anthony*. They sent also a second Ambassage to *Cæsar*, and *Cleopatra* promised him a huge masse of money; and *Anthony* minded him of the former friendship and alliance that was between them, and what acts they had done together: he delivered also to him *Terullius*, a Senator, and one of *Cæsars* murtherers, whom he put to death: he proffered also to kill himself to obtaine security for *Cleopatra*,

yet *Cæsar* would give him no answer.

Anthony prepars for War.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* hereupon prepare for War, and *Cæsar* at last marched against them, and sent *Cornelius Gallus* before with four Legions, who suddenly seized up *Paratonium*, the prime City of *Ægypt*, toward *Lybia*. *Anthony* being informed hereof, marched towards *Paratonium*, hoping to draw *Gallus* his Souldiers to owne him, but when on the contrary he had received great losse both by Sea and Land, he returned to *Alexandria*. Presently after *Cæsar* took *Peluſium*, by the Treachery of *Cleopatra*, who caused *Seleucus* the Governour to deliver it up to him, hoping to draw his love to her, yet did she disown it to *Anthony*.

Cleopatra had storehouses, and Monuments, admirable both for sumptuousnesse and higth, which she had built by the Temple of *Isis*, and thither she had brought the most precious things of all her Royall Treasure, as Gold, Silver, Emeralds, Pearles, Ebony, Ivory, and Cinnamon, as also store of Lamps, and Flax; whereupon *Cæsar* fearing that she would set fire of them, whereby he should loose such Treasures, he, to preven despaire, gave her hopes of favour, whilst he marched towards the City, and she privately forbad the Citizens of *Alexandria* to sally out against him; whereas openly she seemed to encourage them to oppose him.

Cæsar pursuss him into *Ægypt*.

Cæsar being come before the City, *Anthony* sallied out, and fought valiantly with him, and routed his Horse, and drave them to the very Camp, of which at his returne, he boasted to *Cleopatra*, and she to reward him gave him an Headpeice, & Armour, all of Gold. The next Day *Anthony* dispersed tickets amongst *Cæsars* Souldiers, promising them fifteen hundred Drachmaes apiece if thy would come over to him: These *Cæsar* read to his Souldiers, rendering *Anthony* more hatefull to them thereby, and they being exceeding angry that their fidelity was tempted, fought so valiantly at the next encounter, that *Anthony* was driven back out of the Field. After

ter this *Anthony* challenged *Cæsar* to a single Duel, who answered, *That* Anthony *had many wayes to die.* He therefore considering that he could not die any way more honourably than in Battell, resolved to set upon *Cæsar* both by Sea and Land.

Many Prodigies fore-ran the bondage of *Ægypt.* In some places it rained bloud. Armies appeared in the Aier. A huge Draggon was seen amongst the *Ægyptians* which hissed horribly. A Comet appeared, and the Images of the Dead. The Statues seemed to mourne: and *Apis* lowing heavily, shed some teares. Prodigies.

On the Kalends of *August*, *Anthony* early in the morning went down to the Haven to order his Fleet. But *Cleopatra* caused them to revolt from him, and to joyn with *Cæsars* Fleet: Whilst *Anthony* beheld this, he was also forsaken by all his Horsemen, who revolted to *Cæsar*, and his Foot were beaten back into the City: whereupon he cryed out that he was betrayed by *Cleopatra*. She fearing his anger, fled to her Monument with one Eunuch, and two Maids, and sent *Anthony* word that she was dead: This he believing, desired his faithfull servant *Eroles*, according to his former promise, to kill him: *Eroles* drew out his Sword as if he would do it, but *Anthonies* back being towards him, he slew himself, who falling at his feet, *Anthony* said, *Noble* Eroles, *thou hast taught me what to do, but couldst not endure to do it thy selfe*; So taking the Sword, he thrust it into his Belly: yet after a while, the bloud stopping, he desired those about him to dispatch him, but they all fled, which caused a great tumult. *Cleopatras* treachery. *Anthony* kills himself.

Cleopatra from the top of the Monument perceiving it (for the Gate was so made that being shut it could not be again opened) she sent her Secretary to bring him into the Monument to her: *Anthony* was carried to the foot of the Monument, and being tyed in a Pulley, was with great paines drawn up by *Cleopatra* and her two Maids. It was a sad sight to see him thus drawn up, be-

smeared with bloud, and ready to give up the Ghost. When he came to the top, he stretched forth his hands to *Cleopatra*, who receiving him in, laid him on a bed, tareing her head-tire, breast and face with her own hands, so that she was all gore-bloud: He laboured to comfort her, and advised her to look to her affaires, and to save her life if she could do it without dishonour, and that amongst all *Cæsars* Friends she should most trust *Proculeius*, and so gave up the Ghost.

Cæsar bewailes his Death.

In the mean time *Dercetæus*, one of *Anthonies* Guard, stole his bloudy Sword, and ran away with it to *Cæsar*, telling him what had happened: *Cæsar* then going into the inmost roome of his Tent, much bewailed *Anthony*, his Kinsman and Colleague, and who had been his companion in many Battels, and in the Government of the Empire. Then sending for *Proculeius*, he commanded him by all meanes, if it were possible, to save *Cleopatra* alive, fearing to loose her Treasures, and that she might adorne his Triumph. *Proculeius*, and one *Epaphroditus* coming to the Monument, laboured to perswade *Cleopatra* to come forth: and at last, by a wile, *Proculeius* seized upon her, yet granted her some dayes to embalme *Anthonies* Body, after which they brought her into the Pallace, diminishing nothing either of her wonted traine, or honour, that so she might do no mischief to her self.

Cæsar pardons the *Egytians*.

Cæsar having Conquered *Alexandria*, ascended into a Tribunal, and calling the Citizens before him, who for fear fell upon their knees, he told them that he freely pardoned them for their great God *Serapis* his sake. He also pardoned the rest of the *Ægyptians*, being unwilling to put so many men to death, which formerly had done so good service for the *Romans*. Of those that favoured *Anthony*, some he put to death, and others he pardoned either of his own good will, or at the intercession of Friends. And whereas *Anthony* had with him many Children of Kings, some as Hostages, others upon false

false accusations, some of them *Cæsar* sent home, others he joyned together in marriage, and some he kept by him. Comming to view the Tomb of *Alexander* the *Great* (which as *Strabo* reporteth was of Glasse) *Cæsar* put a Crown upon it, and strewed flowers over it, and worshipped it: and being asked whether he would see the Bodies of the *Ptolomies?* he answered, *That he would see a King, not the dead.* Neither would he go to see their God *Apis*, saying, *that he used to worship Gods, not Oxen.*

Many great Kings, and Captains desired to bury the Body of *Anthony*, but *Cæsar* would not take it from *Cleopatra*, who buried it splendidly and Magnificently, and *Cæsar* suffered her to take what Treasures she would for his Funerals. *Cleopatra*, through her much sorrow, fell into a Fever, and her Breast was troubled with inflammations, and ulcers, through the blowes which she had given herself, yet by the care of *Cæsar*, and the skill of her Phisician she was recovered: after which she delivered to *Cæsar* an Inventory of all her Treasures: and when *Seleucus*, one of her Treasures, accused her for concealing some things, she leaped up, and taking him by the haire, she buffetted him soundly; at which *Cæsar* smiling, reproved her, to whom she answered, *Is it not a great matter, O* Cæsar, *seeing thou pleasest to come and visit me in this condition that I am in, that I should be accused by my own Servant? If I have reserved some Jewels, not for my self poor wretch, but that I might Present* Octavia, *and thy* Lyria, *that by their intercessions I might find the more favour with thee, I hope its no fault. Cæsar* was glad at this, hoping that now she had a mind to live, but she deceived him. *Cleopatras Passion.*

Shortly after she wrote a Letter, and sealing it up, she sent it by *Epaphroditus* to *Cæsar*, wherein she desired to be buried with *Anthony*: then adorning her self in her best apparel, she set an Aspe to her left Arme, by the biting of which, she presently died as in a slumber. As soon as *Cæsar* had read her Letter, he sent some in all haste *She kills herself.*

haſt to her to ſee what was done, who when they came, found *Cleopatra* dead upon a bed of Gold, in all her royall robes, and her two waiting maides dead at her feet. *Cæſar* being informed hereof, admired, and pitied her, and grieved that he was deprived of the chiefe honour of his Triumph; and buried her in the ſame Sepulcher with *Anthony*, finiſhing the Tomb which ſhe had begun: and her waiting Women by his command were buried honourably: ſhe lived thirty nine years and raigned twenty two.

Cæſars Triumphs.

Cæſar having ſetled his affairs in *Ægypt*, paſſed through *Syria* into *Aſia*, and from thence into *Greece*, and ſo to *Rome* where he Triumphed three dayes, firſt for his *Dalmatian*, ſecondly for his *Acoian*, and thirdly for his *Ægyptian* Victory, which was the moſt ſumptuous, and ſet forth with the greateſt preparations, wherein was carried in a bed the Image of *Cleopatra*, and an Aſpe biting her Arme. After which *Cæſar* inriched the Temple of his Father *Julius* with the *Ægyptian* ſpoiles. He alſo conſecrated many things to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*: He brought into the Cell of *Jupiter Capitolinus* ſixteen thouſand pound weight of Gold, beſide Pearls, and precious ſtones vallued at fifty Millions of Seſterces, and *Rome* was ſo enriched with the Riches of *Alexandria* that the prizes of every thing were doubled, and Intereſt fell from ten to four *per Cent.*

Cæſars commendations.

Thus *Cæſar*, in the ſpace of about ſixteen years, erected the Monarchy, which his Uncle *Julius Cæſar* had begun, and though the meanes whereby he obtained it, are not juſtifiable, yet afterwards he Governed it juſtly, and wiſely, and was one of the beſt Princes in the World: Gentle, Juſt, Merciſull, Liberall, Valiant, and endued with many other Virtues; happy and ſucceſſull in his affaires, and much beloved of all: and the People, and Senate of *Rome* gave him a new Name, which before that time was never heard of, calling him *Cæſar Auguſtus*, a Name which they held for holy, venerable, and of Great Majeſty, and which appertained

tained to the Gods and their Temples, concerning which *Ovid* thus writes,

Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes,
Hic socium summo cum Jove *nomen habet*, &c.
Fastorum.

All common Persons have their common Fame,
But he with *Jove* enjoyes an equall Name,
Of old most sacred things, *Augusta* were:
Temples that Name, and hollowed things do bear:
Yea *Auguri* depends upon this word,
And whatsoever more *Jove* doth afford:
Let it enlarge his rule and life, let all
Our coast be guarded by a fenced wall.

The Senate also by Oath approved all his acts, freed him from all tye of Laws, and that he should have as absolute power as the Laws, and that he might do all things, or not do them, according to his pleasure. And now because the Books of the *Sybils*, through age were worn out, *Augustus* gave charge to the Priests, with their own hands to write them out, and that no other should read them. Flattery.

Cæsar Augustus (for so now we must call him) seeing himself in quiet and without War, cauled the Temple of *Janus* to be shut, whereas they Religiously observed, that during the time of War it should stand open: It had never before been shut since the foundation of *Rome* but twice: Once in the time of *Numa Pompilius* the second King thereof: and the other after the second *Punick* War, whe *Titus Manlius* was Consul. *Augustus* shut this Temple three times, whereof this was the first: And now living in Peace and prosperity, he omitted no part of his care in the Government of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and the Provinces thereof: Sending thither *Prætors*, Pro-consuls, and other Governors which were excellent men, & fit for those dignities: *Janus* Temple shut up.

and

and himſelf gave direction, and was very diligent in all things touching Juſtice, Cuſtomes, Religion, and publick buildings, ſo as in all things his Rign was happy, peaceable, and quiet dureing all his life.

New troubles.

Yet in this ſo happy a time, ſome People and Nations ſtill affecting Liberty, laboured to ſhake off the *Roman* yoak, and thereby moleſted, and diſquieted the Empire, as the *Spaniards*, the Inhabitants of *Illyricum*, and the *Pannonians*. In *Spain* the *Cantabrians*, the *Aſturians*, and part of *Gallicia*, paſſing their bounds, began a War againſt the Empire. *Auguſtus* being informed hereof, judging it to be a doubtfull War, and of importance, commanded the Temple of *Janus* to be opened, and determined to go againſt them in perſon, and to ſend other Captaines to follow his other Wars. And accordingly *Auguſtus* went into *Spain*, and with three Armies made War againſt the People aforementioned, which proved very doubtfull, and deſperate, and laſted five years: and though he ſuppreſſed the *Cantabrians*, and *Aſturians*, and drave them to their Rocks and Mountains, yet before he could wholly ſubdue them, he was faign to bring a great Navy upon the coaſt of *France* to invade the Sea coaſts of *Cantabria*, and *Galizia*, by which meanes he drave them to ſuch extremities by Land, that they were at laſt forced to ſubmit to his obedience.

Auguſtus his great favourite *Agrippa* ſerved him faithfully in this War, whom therefore he married to his Daughter *Julia*, who was the Widdow of his Nephew *Marcellus*, the Son of his Siſter *Octavia*. And thus he brought all *Spain* into ſubjection to him above two hundred years after the *Romans* began to make their firſt Wars there. So as no Province coſt *Rome* more Treaſure, more bloud, nor more time than *Spain*.

Spain ſubdued.

This long and doubtfull War being ſo happily finiſhed, *Auguſtus* was ſo pleaſed with it that he gave commandment

commandment that the Temple of *Janus* should again be shut, and came to *Rome* in great Triumph. But this Temple continued not long shut, for some Nations of the *Germans* rebelled, so that it was again opened. These were the Inhabitants of *Noricum*, (now *Bavaria*) and the *Pannonia's* (now *Austria* and *Hungary*) and the two *Missia's* (now *Bulgary*, and *Servia*) as also *Illyricum* (now *Sclavonia*) and the Province of *Dacia* (now *Transylvania*, and *Walachia*) and some others, though at severall times.

Against these *Augustus* sent his Generals, and Armies, amongst which were his Sons in Law, the Sons of *Livia*, *Tiberius Nero*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and his Brother *Drusus Nero*, of whom *Livia* was with child when *Octavian* married her: and these two Brothers (though the War lasted somewhat long) vanquished those Nations, and obtained great Victories in *Germany*, and the confines thereof: especially *Tiberius*, who in three years space subdued the *Pannonia's*, *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*; for which Victories he afterwards entered into *Rome* in an Ovation Triumph with great Pomp and honour. *Marcus Crassus* also overcame and put to flight the *Missians*, a People who had never seen the *Romans* before. And when they were ready to give Battell, they said, *Tell us who you are that seek to molest, and disquiet us?* We are (said they) *Romans*, the Lords of Nations, whereupon they replyed, *It shall be so if you overcome us*; which fell out accordingly.

But *Augustus* obtained not these Victories without some crosses. For in these Wars dyed his Son in Law *Drusus*, who was highly esteemed for his Noble acts, and great Victories, for the losse of whom both *Augustus* and *Livia* were much afflicted: But yet his griefe was greater for the mishap which befell *Quintilius Varro*, who was Generall of three Legions in *Germany*, and being carelesse, was surprized by the *Almans*, and himself, his Legions, and all his Auxiliaries were slaine, and

Augustus his crosses.

two Standards with the Emperiall Eagles taken, for which he was so immoderately grieved, that he knocked his Head against the Wall, and cryed out unadvisedly, *Quintilius Varro, Give me my Legions again*: For certaine moneths also he suffered the haire of his Head and Beard to grow carlesly. And the very day of this unhappy accident, he did every year observe mournfully with sorrow and lamentation.

Of his Son in Law *Drusus* there remained two Sons, *Germanicus* and *Claudius*, which he had by *Antonia*, *Augustus* his Neece, and Daughter of his Sister *Octavia* and *Mark Anthony*; of which *Claudius* was Emperour: And *Germanicus* married *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *Julia*, *Augustus* his Daughter, by whom he had *Caius Caligula*, who also was afterwards Emperour. *Augustus*, after many notable Victories, compelled his enemies at length to sue for Peace, whereupon again he commanded the Temple of *Janus* to be shut up, and from thenceforth all things succeeded prosperously with him.

Many Ambassadours come to him.

The Subjects of the Empire were now very obedient to him, and all other sent their Ambassadours seeking his favour, and Friendship. The *Indians* in the remotest parts of the East; and the *Scythians* that inhabited the North: and the *Parthians* an untamed People, sent their Ambassadours to him, giving security to keep the Peace, and restoring to him the Standards and Eagles which were taken when *Marcus Crassus* was slaine. There came also Kings who were Friends and Subjects to the *Roman* Empire to do him Homage, laying aside their Ensignes, and Royall Robes: and many of them built Cities to his Name, and for his honour, calling them *Cæsaria*. So did *Herod* the *Great* in *Palestine*: King *Juba* in *Mauritania*, and others.

The World being thus at Peace and quietnesse, forty and two years being expired since that *Augustus*, after the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, came to *Rome*, in the time of this generall Peace, was the Prince of Peace, our blessed

sed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* borne in *Bethlem*, of the Virgin *Mary*, *Herod* being King of *Judea*, placed there by the *Romans*, of whose blessed Life and bitter Death, as also of the order of his Ministery, and Miracles see his Life published by me *Anno Christi* 1664. At which time their came forth a command from *Cæsar Augustus* that all the *Roman* World should be taxed, which taxing was first made when *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*. *Luck.* 2. 1. Out of which a little Book was made by *Augustus*, in which all the publick Riches were contained: as also how many Citizens, and Allies in Armes: what Navies: How many Kingdomes and Provinces: what Tribute, and Customs there were: what necessary charges, and Pensions went out. Shortly after *Augustus* was called Lord by the People, but he did not only refuse that Title, but forbad it by a publick Edict. Our Saviour *Christ* borne.

Augustus enjoying so great prosperity, was yet nothing altered in his qualities and behaviour, as often it happens in other Princes; but rather became more mild, just, and affable, more courteous, liberall, and temperate. He established very good Laws, and orders for the reformation of abuses and evill customes. He erected both within and without *Rome* many stately, and sumptuous Edifices, which made him to boast concerning *Rome*, *Laterician inveni*, *Marmoream reliqui*: I found it built with Brick, and left it built with Marble. He bestowed great gifts and favours upon all sorts of People. He delighted the People with Feasts, and Playes of sundry kinds, going himself in person to honour them: He sent Colonies into sundry parts and Provinces: He made excellent good Orders for the Governours, and Government of the whole Empire: The like he did also for the Wars, and Martial Discipline. He shewed himself loving and sociable to his Friends and Familiars, whom he honoured and loved much. Some conspiracies against him which were discovered, he punished without rigour, being more prone to His Prudence and Justice.

pardon than to puniſh. Of murmurings, and defamatory Libels he never deſired to know the Authours; but anſwered them with gravity, giving ſatisfaction, and purging himſelf from thoſe things which were charged upon him. He was much addicted to, and affected with learning, and himſelf was very learned and eloquent, and compiled ſome notable Books. He much honoured and rewarded wiſe and learned men: yet he eſcaped not the taineure of ſome vices, growing through humaine frailty, and his great liberty: eſpecially he was much given to Women, though in his diet, apparel, and ornaments he was very ſparing and modeſt. He gave himſelf alſo exceſſively to play at Dice, and other Games then in uſe.

His vices.

Thus, though in many things he was very happy, yet, beſides his troubles and dangers, he was very unhappy in his Children and Succeſſours: For by his four Wives to whom he was married, he had only one Daughter called *Julia*, by his third Wife *Scribonia*, and ſhe proved exceeding Wanton, and unchaſt, yea ſhe left nothing undone in luxury, and luſt, which was poſſible for a woman to do or ſuffer, accounting every thing lawfull that pleaſed her. Yea, ſhe came to that heigth of laciviouſneſſe, that ſhe kept her feaſting even in the Courts of Juſtice, abuſing thoſe very places with laſcivious acts in which her Father had made Laws againſt Adulterers. Hereupon her Father was ſo enraged that he could not contain his anger within his own Houſe, but publiſhed theſe things, yea, and communicated them to the Lords of the Senate. He kept himſelf alſo a long time from company for very ſhame: He had thoughts of putting his Daughter to death; but at laſt he baniſhed her into *Pandataria*, an Iſland of *Campania*, her Mother *Scribonia*, of her own accord, accompanying her in baniſhment, *Julia* being at this time thirty eight years old.

His croſſes.

For want of Sons to ſucced him, *Auguſtus* firſt adopted his Nephew *Marcellus* the Son of his Siſter *Octavia*, to whom he firſt married his Daughter *Julia*: and *Marcellus*

cellus dying without issue, he then married her to his Favourite *Agrippa*: who also left her a Widdow, but yet he had by her three Sons, and two Daughters: Two of these Sons having been adopted by *Augustus*, died before him: whereupon he adopted the third, who bore his Fathers Name, *Agrippa*, the which adoption he afterwads revoaked for some displeasure conceived against him: and lastly he adopted his Son in Law *Tiberius Nero*, and made him his Heire, whom also he married to his Daughter *Julia*, the Widdow of *Agrippa*: yet this he did more through the importunity of his mother, than for any good liking that he had of him, being sorry that such an one should succeed him.

Not long after, the first Letter of his Name that was upon the Inscription of his Statue that was set up in the Capitol, fell down, being struck with a flash of lightening; whereupon the Southsayers foretold that he should live only one hundred dayes after, which was denoted by the letter *C*. and that he should be Cannonized for a God, because *Æsar*, which remained of his Name, in the *Hetruscan* Tongue signified a God. Hereupon he wrot a Catalogue of his doings, which he appointed to be engraven in Tables of Brasse, and to be set over his Tomb. A prodigy.

Things being thus done, *Cæsar Augustus* being now seventy six years old, and odd dayes, having raigned above fifty six, and being the best beloved, and the best obeyed Prince in the World, Death overtook him, which was occasioned by a flux which held him for some dayes: and so *Augustus* died at *Nolla* in *Campania*, in the same House and Chamber wherein his Father *Octavius* died, being the nineteenth day of *August*, upon which day he was first made Consul: and in the fifteenth year after the birth of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*. His Death.

He was generally lamented, and there was a universall sorrow, and heavinesse over the whole Empire for him. For he did wisely and uprightly Govern that Monarchy

His Character.

narchy which he had gotten by force, and fraud. He was of a mean ſtature, of a very good ſhape, and proportion of Body, of an exceeding fair face mixed with modeſty, and gravity: His eyes were very clear and bright: He was very adviſed in his ſpeeches, and loved to ſpeak quick, and briefly. His laſt Will and Teſtament was written a year and four moneths before he died, and left in the cuſtody of the *Veſtall Virgins*.

In his life time he was very deſirous to reforme abuſes in *Rome*, and in the firſt place he corrected ſome diſorders in the Senate, whom he reduced to the number of ſix hundred. He reformed what was amiſs in their Playes and Games, in the Knights, and in their manner of ſuing for publick Offices. He ſet fines upon their Heads that would not marry, and beſtowed much upon thoſe that had Wives and Children. He gave unto *Hortenſius* twenty five thouſand Crowns to procure him to marry, that he might raiſe up iſſue to that Noble Family of the *Hortenſes*. He ordained that maids ſhould be at leaſt twelve years old before they married: and ſuffered them to kill Adulterers that were taken in the fact, and condemned the *Sodomites* without pardon. He gave order that none ſhould be put in nomination for Offices but ſuch as were vertuous and of good repute. He tied not himſelf to any certain hours for his meales, but uſed to eat when he was hungry, and that which he fed upon was neither dainty nor delicate, and he drank little Wine: Inſtead of a Looking-glaſſe, he uſed to read or write whilſt his Barber was trimming him. He never ſpake to the Senate or people, or to his Souldiers but what he had firſt written and premeditated, though he had words at command.

He was a friend to marriag.

His temperance.

His Prudence.

He delighted to read good Authours, but gathered nothing more then ſentences teaching good manners, and having written them out word for word, he gave Coppies thereof to his familiar Friends, and ſent them about to the Governours of Provinces and to the Magiſtrates of *Rome*. He was too much adicted to Divinations, and

and was marvellously afraid of Thunder and Lightning: Our Saviour *Christ* being borne, all the Devils Oracles ceased, and the Oracle of *Delphes* was faigne to confesse it, and ever after remained dumb: whereupon *Augustus* being astonished, caused a great Altar to be set up in the Capitol, with an Inscription, signifying that *it was the Altar of the God first born.* To prevent the great abuse of usury which undid many Families, he put into the Exchequer twenty five hundred thousand Crowns, and suffered private men to take of it for three years without Interest, putting in good security for the paying back of the principall: and condemned such usurers as had taken more than the Law allowed to pay four times as much to those who had been oppressed by them.

The Devils Oracles dumb

His Charity.

FINIS.

Courteous Reader, be pleased to take notice that these Books following, are Printed for, and sold by *William Miller*, at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door.

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THE WICKED LIFE, AND WOFULL DEATH OF HEROD the Great,

A ſtranger by Nation, yet by the *Romans* made King of the *Jews*.

Taking in alſo the Story of the *Jews* during all the time of his Reign, which was about 37 years: whereof thirty five were before the Incarnation of CHRIST, and two after.

Whereby much light is given to many paſſages in the Evangeliſts: and at which time that Propheſie of old *Jacob* was fulfilled: *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, till Shilo come.* Gen. 49. 10.

By SA. CLARKE, ſometime Paſtor in St *Bennet-Fink*, *London*.

The memory of the Juſt is bleſſed: but the name of the wicked ſhall rot. Pro. 10. 7.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Miller* at the Sign of the Gilded-Acron in St *Pauls* Churchyard near the little North door. 1664.

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THE WICKED LIFE, AND WOFULL DEATH OF HEROD, the Great,

In whose Time our LORD CHRIST was Born.

HEROD, sirnamed the *Great*, was the Son of *Antipas*, or *Antipater*, an *Idumæan*, a prime man both for birth, and wealth amongst them: His mothers name was *Cypros*, born at an eminent place amongst the *Arabians*, so that when this *Herod* acquired the Kingdome of *Judea*, that Propheſie of old *Jacob* was fulfilled, Gen. 49. 10. *The ſcepter ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until* Shiloh *come.* *Herods Pedigree.*

This *Antipater*, riding his circuit about the Province of *Judea*, whereof *Julius Cæſar* had made him Governour, repreſſed them who were deſirous of innovation, both by threats, and counſell; telling them, that if they would be content with their Prince *Hyrcanus* (whom *Cæſar* alſo had confirmed in the High-Prieſthood) they might live happily in their own *poſſeſſions*: but if they promiſed themſelves new hopes, and thought that they ſhould gain much by innovations, they ſhould have him a Maſter inſtead of a Governour, and *Hyrcanus* a Tyrant inſtead of a King: and *Cæſar*, and the *Romans* bitter enemies inſtead of Princes; for that they would by no means ſuffer any

thing to be altered, from what they had ſettled. But *Antipater* perceiving *Hyrcanus* to be dull, and idle, he ſettled the ſtate of the Province as himſelf pleaſed, making his elder ſon, *Phaſalus*, Governour of *Jeruſalem*, and the Countries adjoyning: and to *Herod* his ſecond ſon, being then a very young man, he committed the care of *Galilee*.

Herod is made Governour of *Galilee*.

Herod being *Præfect* of *Galilee*, there was one *Eſekias*, a *Jew*, who aſſociating to himſelf many other lewd perſons, exerciſed thievery, and uſed to make incurſions into *Syria* in Troops: Theſe *Herod* purſued, and having taken *Eſekias*, he put him to Death, which fact of his gat him much favour with the *Syrians*, which Province alſo was then under his Government.

He puts *Eſekias* to death.

The violence, and bold nature of *Herod*, who was deſirous of the Tyranny, much terrified the Princes of the *Jews*, wherefore they addreſſed themſelves to *Hyrcanus*, and openly accuſed *Antipater*; but eſpecially they complained of *Herod* for that he had put to Death *Eſekias*, with many others, without any Commiſſion from *Hyrcanus*, in contempt of their Laws, by which, no man ought to ſuffer, though never ſo wicked, unleſs he were firſt condemned by the Judges. The Mothers alſo of them that were killed, ceaſed not daily in the Temple to weary both the King and the people with their continuall exclamations, deſiring that *Herod* might be made to give an account of theſe his doings before the *Sanhedrim*: whereupon *Hyrcanus* moved herewith commanded *Herod* to be called before the Councell, and to plead his own cauſe.

He is cited before the *Sanhedrim*.

Herod having ordered the affairs of *Galilee* as he thought beſt for his own advantage, being forewarned by his Father that he ſhould not come into the Councell as a Private perſon, he took with him a moderate, but yet a ſufficient Guard: not too great, leaſt he ſhould terrifie *Hyrcanus*, nor too little, leſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to danger from the Judgement. When *Herod* therefore preſented himſelf before the *Sanhedrim* in his royall robes, and his Guard in armes, they were all aſtonished, neither durſt any one of them that accuſed him in his abſence, now

Appears with a Guard.

ſpeak

ſpeak a word againſt him; but all of them kept ſilence, not knowing what to do. Then one of the Councell, called *Sameas*, a juſt man, being not at all diſtracted with fear, roſe up, and not only accuſed *Herod* of preſumption and violence, but laid the fault upon the Judges, and King himſelf who had granted him ſo great a liberty, and told them, that afterwards, by the juſt Judgement of God they ſhould be puniſhed by *Herod* himſelf; and the event made him a true Prophet. For the Judges of that Councel, and *Hyrcanus* himſelf were afterwards put to death by *Herod* when he came to be King. But *Hyrcanus* perceiving that the Judges were inclining to paſs ſentence of Death upon *Herod*, put off the buſineſs till the next day, and privately adviſed him to ſhift for himſelf, and ſo he departed to *Damaſcus* as if he fled from the King, and preſenting himſelf before *Sextus Cæſar*, and having ſecured his own affairs, he profeſſed openly, that if he were again cited by the Judges he would not appear, which they took in great diſdain, and endeavoured to perſwade *Hyrcanus* that all theſe things tended to his deſtruction.

Sameas his boldneſs.

A prediction.

Herod flies

Refuſed to appear when again cited

Herod to increaſe his power, gave a great ſumme of money to *Sextus Cæſar*, who thereupon made him Governour of *Cæloſyria*: He, being elated with this advancement, and taking it impatiently that he had been called before the Councel, raiſed an Army, and went againſt *Hyrcanus*: But his Father *Antipater*, and Brother *Phaſælus* meeting him, by their intreaties prevailed that he ſhould not go againſt *Jeruſalem*, but be content to have affrighted them, adding that it would be diſhonourable for him if he ſhould attempt any thing further againſt him that had advanced him to his dignity; hereupon he deſiſted, judging it ſufficient for his future hopes that he had ſhewed to that Nation of what power he was.

Is made Governour of *Cæloſyria*.

Caſſius and *Marcus*, two *Roman* Generals, coming into *Syria*, after the death of *Julius Cæſar*, confirmed *Herod* in his Government of *Cæloſyria*, and delivered to him great forces both of horſe and foot, and ſhips at Sea, promiſing him alſo the Kingdome of *Judea*, after the war

Is confirmed in it.

ſhould

should be ended which they were waging with *M. Antony*, and young *Cæsar*.

Not long after *Antipater* (the Father of *Herod*) was Feasted at *Hyrcanus* his house, at which time, one *Malichus* corrupting the Kings Butler, poysoned *Antipater*, and presently raising a band of Souldiers, seized upon the Government of the City of *Jerusalem*. *Phasalus* and *Herod* being grievously offended hereat, charged *Malichus* with their Fathers death, which he stifly denied: But *Herod* had a great mind presently to revenge the murther, and to raise an Army for that purpose, had not *Phasalus* interposed, who judged it more meet to circumvent *Malichus* by Policy, least they should seem to be the beginners of a civil war, and accordingly *Phasalus* made as though he accepted of *Malichus* his justification, and believed that he was not guilty of his Fathers Death, and so busied himself in building a stately Monument for him.

Antipater poisoned.

In the mean while *Herod* coming to *Samaria*, and finding it in a desperate estate by reason of their Civil dissentions, he appeased the discords amongst the Inhabitants and restored it to peace: and not long after, the Feast of *Penticost* approaching, he went to *Jerusalem* accompanied with some souldiers, of whom *Malichus* being affraid, perswaded *Hyrcanus* not to suffer him to enter, which *Hyrcanus* accordingly did, alleadging that amongst the holy People that came to the Feast, it was not lawfull to bring in a mixt multitude of prophane men. But *Herod* making small account of the prohibition, entred the City by night, and thereby mightily terrified *Malichus*; who, thereupon, according to his wonted dissimulations, openly bewailed with tears the Death of *Antipater*, as of his dear Friend: And it was judged meet by *Herods* Friends, that he should take no notice of this dissimulation, but courteously again intertain *Malichus*.

Herod goes to *Jerusalem*

Herod by letters certified *Cassius* of his Fathers death, who very well knowing the temper of *Malichus*, wrote back unto *Herod* to revenge the same, and secretly also gave order to the Tribunes that were at *Tyre* to be aiding

He is excited to revenge his Fathers death.

to

to *Herod* in his ſo juſt undertaking.

Caſſius afterward having taken the City of *Laodicea*, Governours came from every place, bringing Crowns and Preſents, to him: and here *Herod*, expecting that *Malichus* ſhould doe the like, intended to have him puniſhed for the Murther of his Father: But *Malichus* had another deſign on foot, purpoſing, that whileſt *Caſſius* was buſie in proſecuting the warre againſt *M. Anthony*, to ſtir up the Nation of the *Jews* to revolt from the *Romans*, and to depoſe *Hyrcanus*, and get the Kingdome to himſelf; But *Herod* being Politick and underſtanding of the treachery, invited him and *Hyrcanus*, with ſome other of their companions to ſupper: At which time he ſent one of his ſervants, under pretence of providing for the Banquet, whereas indeed he ſent him to the Tribunes to deſire them to ſet upon *Malichus*, with their weapons, who being mindfull of the Commands of *Caſſius*, finding *Malichus*, they ran him through, and ſlew him, at which *Hyrcanus* being aſtoniſhed, fell into a ſwoun, and being ſcarcely come to himſelf, he asked who had ſlain *Malichus*, and when one of the Tribunes anſwered that it was done by the commandment of *Caſſius*, he ſaid, *Truly* Caſſius *hath preſerved me and my Country, in killing him who was a Traitor to both*; but whether herein he ſpake as he thought, or that through fear only he ſeemed to approve the fact, is uncertain.

Malichus ſlain.

After *Caſſius* was gon out of *Syria*, there aroſe a ſedition at *Jeruſalem*. For *Felix*, who was left there by *Caſſius* with ſouldiers, in revenge of the death of *Malichus*, ſet upon *Phaſalus*, and the people betook themſelves to their Armes. At which time *Herod* was with *Fabius*, the Governour of *Damaſcus*, and had a mind to help his Brother, but was hindered by a ſudden ſickneſs: Yet did *Phaſalus* get the better of *Felix*, forcing him into the Town, and afterwards agreeing upon quarter, ſuffered him to go out: But he was very angry with *Hyrcanus*, that after the receipt of ſo many favours from him, he yet favoured *Felix*, and ſuffered the Brother of *Malichus* to ſeize upon ſome Caſtles, and amongſt the reſt, of the Caſtle of *Maſſada*, which

A ſedition at *Jeruſalem*.

was

was a moſt ſtrong piece.

Herods Valour. As ſoone as *Herod* was recovered, he went againſt the Brother of *Malichus*, and took from him all the Caſtles that he had ſeized upon, and *Maßada* alſo, where he took him Priſoner, yet afterwards ſet him at liberty upon compoſition. He alſo recovered three Caſtles that were ſeized upon by *Maſion*, the Tyrant of the *Tyrians* in *Galilee*, but gave Quarter to all the Souldiers, and ſent them home well rewarded, by which means he procured the love of the Citizens, but the greater hatred of the Tyrant.

His Policy

Shortly after *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, Brother to *Hyrcanus*, invaded *Judæa*, being aſſiſted by *Ptolomei*, the ſon of *Menæus*, and *Fabius* the Governor of *Damaſcus*, and *Maſion*, the Tyrant of the *Tyrians*, who adhered to him for the hatred that he bore to *Herod*, whom *Herod* meeting, when they had ſcarce entred the borders of *Judea*, overcame them in Battell, and drave them thence, whereupon *Hyrcanus* honoured him with Crowns, as ſoone as he returned to *Jeruſalem*: For he was already accounted as one of the Family of *Hyrcanus*, being to marry *Mariamne*, or *Mary*, the daughter of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, the Brother of *Hyrcanus*, and of *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*.

He overcomes Antigonus.

M. Anthony having overcome *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, there met him Ambaſſies from all Nations in *Bythinia*, and amongſt the reſt, ſome of the Rulers of the *Jews*, to accuſe *Phaſalus*, and *Herod*, alleadging that *Hircanus* ruled only in ſhew, but in truth, all the power was in the two Brothers: Yet *Anthony* highly honoured *Herod*, who was come thither to wipe off all thoſe objections, whereby it came to paſſe that his adverſaries were not ſo much as admitted to ſpeak with *Anthony*: and this *Herod* had obtained by his Bribes.

Yet not long after there came an hundred of the moſt honourable amongſt the *Jews* to *Daphne*, near *Antioch* in *Syria*, to *Anthony*, to accuſe *Phaſalus* and *Herod*, having choſen out of their whole number the moſt Eloquent, to mannage their buſineſs: But *Meſſala* undertook the de-

Herod accuſed to Anthony.

fence

ſence of the two Brothers, with whom alſo *Hyrcanus* joined, who had betrothed his Grand-daughter to *Herod*. Both parties being heard, *Anthony* asked *Hyrcanus* whether of the two parties were fitteſt to Govern a Commonwealth? who ſpeaking for the young men, *Anthony* that loved them for their Fathers ſake, his old Friend, he made them both *Tetrarchs*, leaving to them the Government of all *Judæa*, writing his letters to the ſame purpoſe, and clapped fifteen of their Adverſaries into priſon, and would have put them to death, had not *Herod* intreated for them. But when the People did nothing but rail upon *Herod*, *Anthony* in diſpleaſure ſlew them all.

Herod accuſed to *Anthony*.

But acquitted.

Antigonus the Son of *Ariſtobulus* hired the *Parthians* to tranſlate the Kingdome from *Hyrcanus* to himſelf and to kill *Herod*, who coming along with him, and ſome *Jews* alſo joining themſelves to him, he came to *Jeruſalem*, and they ſet upon the Kings Houſe: But *Phaſælus* and *Herod* defended it againſt them; and in the Market place, overcomming them in a fight, forced them to fly into the Temple, where they ſhut them in, and placed ſixty men in ſome adjoyning houſes to prevent their flight: but the people having the two Brethren ſet fire on thoſe Houſes, and burnt the men in them, which ſo enraged *Herod* that he ſlew many of the people: and each laying wait for the other, every day ſome were murdered.

War between *Antigonus* and *Herod*.

The day of *Pentecoſt* being come, many thouſands of men, as well armed as unarmed gathered together about the Temple from all parts of the Country, and ſeized upon the Temple, and City, all but the Kings Houſe, which *Herod* kept with a few ſouldiers, as *Phaſælus* did the walls. Theſe brothers aſſiſting each other, aſſaulted their enemies, in the ſuburbs forced many thouſands of them to fly, ſome into the City, and ſome into the Temple, and others into a rampire that was near the City.

Herod prevails.

Hereupon *Antigonus* deſired that *Pacorus*, the Generall of the *Parthians* might be admitted to make peace between them: which *Phaſælus* aſſented to, and *Pacorus* perſwaded him to go with him as an Ambaſſador to *Barzapharnes*

The *Parthians* falſhood.

zapharnes (an other Generall of the *Parthians*) laying an ambuſh for him by the way: *Phaſelus* aſſented, though much againſt the mind of his Brother *Herod*, and was willing to go with *Pacorus*, and took *Hyrcanus* along with him. *Pacorus* leaving two hundred Horſemen with *Herod*, and ten whom they called *Eleutheri*, went along with the Ambaſſadors. And as ſoone as they were come into *Galile*, *Barzapharnes* entertained them with a cheerefull countenance, and beſtowed gifts upon them, but watched an opportunity to intrap them: and ſo *Phaſelus* was brought with his company to a place near the Sea ſide called *Ecdippon*; where *Opheltus*, a rich *Syrian*, underſtanding of the treachery intended againſt them, offered *Phaſelus* ſome ſhips to carry him away: But he unwilling to leave *Hyrcanus*, and his Brother *Herod* in danger, expoſtulated with *Barzapharnes* about the injury offered to them who were Ambaſſadors, who ſwore that theſe things were not true, and preſently went to *Pacorus*.

No ſooner was he gon, but *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſelus* were clapped up in Priſon, much deteſting the perfidiouſneſs of the *Parthians*: and an Eunuch alſo was ſent to *Herod* with a command to ſurprize him if he could get him out of *Jeruſalem*. *Herod* having intelligence what had happened to his Brother, taking with him ſuch forces as he had in readineſs, and his Mother *Cybele*, his ſiſter *Salome*, his wife *Mariamne*, and his wives Mother *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, and his youngeſt Brother *Pheroras*, with their ſervants, he privately by night took his flight into *Idumæa*.

Herod flies from *Jeruſalem.*

In their journey, his Mother, by the overthrow of her Coach, was in great danger of death, and *Herod*, fearing leaſt the enemies ſhould overtake them whileſt they ſtayed there, drew forth his ſword, thinkiug to kill himſelf: But being reſtrained by thoſe which ſtood by, he went towards *Maſſada*, a very ſtrong place, which is ſeated in *Arabia*, and *Paleſtine*, by the neareſt way that he could poſſible: The *Parthians* firſt, and alſo the *Jews* purſuing him by that he was ſixty furlongs from the City, but he repelled

He would have killed himſelf.

repelled them both in fight.

The next day after *Herod* had fled from *Jeruſalem*, the *Parthians* plundered the City, and the Kings houſe; only the Treaſure of *Hyrcanus* which was three hundred Talents, remained untouched. A great part alſo of *Herods* ſubſtance which he had not carried away with him, they ſiezed upon; and not ſatisfied therewith, they harraſſed all the the Country alſo, and raſed the rich City of *Mariſſa*. *Jeruſalem* plundered.

Antigonus being thus ſettled in *Judæa* by the *Parthians*, he received into his Cuſtody *Hyrcanus*, and *Phaſælus*, who were priſoners: yet he was much grieved that the women were got away, whom he had intended to deliver to the *Parthians*, together with the money which he had promiſed to give them. Being afraid alſo leaſt *Hyrcanus* ſhould again by the favour of the people be reſtored to his Kingdome and Prieſthood, he cut off his eares, thereby rendering him unfit for the Prieſthood, the Law forbiding that any one who wanted a member ſhould approach to the Altar. *Lev.*21.17,&c. *Antigonus* made King of the *Jews*. Cuts off *Hyrcanus* ears.

Phaſælus knowing that his death was determined, ſought to lay violent hands upon himſelf, but being hindred by reaſon of his chains, he daſhed out his brains againſt a ſtone: Yet before he was quite dead, hearing by a woman that his Brother *Herod* was eſcaped, he greatly rejoyced that there was one left to revenge his death. The *Parthians*, though they miſſed of the women, which they moſt of all deſired, yet having ſettled all things at *Jeruſalem* with *Antigonus*, when they departed, took *Hyrcanus* along with them Priſoner into *Parthia*. *Phaſælus* kills himſelf.

Herod not hearing of his Brother *Phaſælus* his death, went to *Malchus*, the King of the *Arabians* [*Nabathæans*] who were obliged to him by many favours he had done them, purpoſing ſo ſoone as poſſiblely he could to redeem his Brother for three hundred Talents from the enemy: For which cauſe he carried along with him young *Phaſælus*, his Brothers Son, about ſeven years old, to leave him for a pledge with the *Arabians*: But there met him ſome that *Herod* flees to *Malchus* King of *Arabia*.

Is rejected by him.

were ſent from *Malchus*, to command him to depart from the bounds of his Kingdome, for ſo the *Parthians* had required: Yet he pretended that he did it by the requeſt of his Noble men, purpoſing to cozen him of that great treaſure which his Father *Antipater* had committed to his truſt. *Herod* taking this very heavily, turned aſide into a certain Temple, where he had left many of his followers: but the next day, when he came to *Rhinocorura* he heard of his Brothers death.

Herod goes into *Egypt.*

Malchus, upon ſecond thoughts, repenting of his ingratitude, ſent in all haſt after *Herod*: but the meſſengers could not overtake him: for he was gon farre on his journey towards *Peluſium*, where the Marriners that were ſailing to *Alexandria*, refuſed to take him in. There, by the Magiſtrates of the City he was honourably intertained, and brought to *Cleopatras* the Queen, who could not prevail with him to ſtay at that time, becauſe he was haſtening to *Rome*, though the ſea was very tempeſtuous,

From thence into *Italy.*

and as then the affairs in *Italy* were in no very good condition. As he ſailed from *Alexandria* towards *Phamphilia* he met with a very great ſtorm, which made him caſt overboard much of his ſubſtance, and ſcarcely got he to *Rhodes.*

He comes to *Rhodes.*

At *Rhodes* two of his greateſt friends met him, *Sappinus*, and *Ptolomæus*, and finding that the City had ſuffered much in the warre againſt *Caſſius*, he could not be reſtrained, no not by his preſent poverty, but that he would do ſomething for it, even beyond his ability: After which he cauſed a Frigot to be built, and embarking himſelf with his Friends in it, he arrived at *Brunduſium* in *Italy*, and from

So into *Italy.*

thence went to *Rome*, declaring unto *M. Anthony* thoſe things that had happened to himſelf and his Family, and that thorough many tempeſts, and dangers he had retired unto him, as his onely refuge, in whom all his hope lay.

Anthony favours him.

This Narration moved compaſſion in *Anthony*; remembring alſo his Fathers friendſhip towards him, but that which prevailed moſt, was the promiſe of a great ſum of mony if he would help him to the Kingdome: *Anthony*

alſo

alſo hated *Antigonus* as a man of a turbulent ſpirit, and an enemy to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* alſo partly for that *Antipater* [*Herods* Father] had been fellow ſouldier with his Father in *Ægypt*, and for other curteſies which he had ſhewed him, and partly to gratifie *Anthony*, whom he ſaw to be well affected to *Herod*, was willing to promote his deſigns: whereupon the Senate being aſſembled, *Meſſala*, and *Atpatinus*, brought in *Herod*, and after they had praiſed him, reckoning up the love, and ſervices that both he, and his Father had done for the *Romans*, and accuſing *Antigonus* both for former crimes, and for that newly he had received the Kingdome of the *Jews* from the *Parthians* in contempt of the *Romans*: and when *Anthony* alſo had declared to the Senate how much conducing it was to the *Parthian* warre, then in hand, that *Herod* ſhould be made King: *Antigonus* was declared an enemy, and the Kingly title was devolved upon *Herod* by their genearll ſuffrage. And *Cæſar*. The Senate make him King.

Whileſt theſe things were tranſacting at *Rome*, *Ventidius*, the *Roman* Generall eaſiely recovered *Paleſtine*, *Antigonus*, the King thereof, being much afraid of him, and he exacted great ſums of mony from all men, but eſpecially from *Antigonus*, who in *Herods* abſence had beſieged his Family in *Maßada*, which place, though it abounded with all other kinds of proviſion, yet it wanted water, ſo that *Joſeph*, *Herods* Brother, who commanded in chief there, with two hundred of his friends intended to fly to the *Arabians*; for that he heard that *Malchus* now repented him of his former ingratitnde towards *Herod*: But the very night a great ſhore of rain falling filled their ciſterns, which made him change his purpoſe, and the next morning, making a gallant ſalley forth, they killed many of *Antigonus* his men. *Herods* Family beſieged. A ſpecial providence.

Ventidius encamped near to *Jeruſalem*, and drew from *Antigonus* a ſufficient ſum of money, and to the intent that his fraudulent dealing ſhould not be diſcovered, he left one *Silo* there, with part of his forces, under a pretence of helping *Joſeph*, who alſo was to be feed by *Antigonus*, leſt

he ſhould raiſe him ſome new troubles; which *Antigonus* ſubmitted to, hoping that the *Parthians* would ſhortly come to his aid.

After the Senate was diſmiſſed, *Anthony*, and *Cæſar* went out, leading *Herod* between them, who was alſo accompanied with the Conſuls, and other Magiſtrates, and ſo they went all together up into the *Capitol*, to ſacrifice to the Gods, and to place there the Decree of the Senate: and the new King, the firſt day of his reign, was Feaſted by *Anthony*, and within ſeven days after he was by *Anthony* diſmiſſed out of *Italy*, honoured with this unexpected felicity.

He returns homeward.

Shortly after *Anthony* being to go to the *Parthian* War, had all his Acts, as well paſt as to come, confirmed by the Senate, whereupon he ſent to ſome Kings by his own authority to pay certain Tributes to him, and he made *Herod* King both of the *Idumæans*, and *Samaritans*.

Herods Kingdom enlarged.

Herod being returned out of *Italy* to *Ptolemais*, quickly gathered ſtore of Souldiers, both of ſuch as he hired, as alſo of his own Countrymen, paſſing through *Galile* againſt *Antigonus*; being aided by *Silo*, and *Ventidius*, who were commanded by *Anthony* to conduct him into his Kingdom; and as he went on, his forces daily increaſed, and all *Galile*, except a few, ſided with him.

As *Herod* was marching towards *Maſſada*, where he was neceſſarily to relieve his Kindred, *Joppa* would not let him paſs, wherefore he was to reduce it, leſt he ſhould leave ſo ſtrong a place behind him in his paſſage to *Jeruſalem*: which occaſion *Silo* taking hold on (for he was not yet come to *Herod*) diſlodged his Army from about *Jeruſalem*, whom the *Jews* purſued, but *Herod* meeting him with a ſmall party ſaved *Silo*, who fought very cowardly.

Herod relieves *Silo*.

After he had taken *Joppa*, he haſted to *Maſſada* to raiſe the ſiege, and his Army encreaſed dayly, many of the Country people joyning with him: and having relieved his friends in *Maſſada*, he haſted towards *Jeruſalem*; and though *Antigonus* had laid ambuſhments for him in divers places, yet he drew near to the City, *Silo* following, and the *Jews* being terrified with his power. When he had encamped

He takes *Joppa*.

Beſieges *Jeruſalem*.

camped on the Weſt ſide of the City, they upon the walls ſhot at him with darts and arrowes: others alſo ſallying out in Troops, beat up ſome of his quarters. Then did *Herod* by an Herald proclaim round about the Walls, that he came for the publick good, and to preſerve the City from ruine, and withall, he promiſed pardon for all former actings. On the other ſide *Antigonus*, directing his ſpeech to *Silo*, and the *Romans*, told them, that it was unjuſtly done of the Senate to give the Kingdom to *Herod*, a private man, and an *Idumæan*, and ſo but an half-Jew, whereas by cuſtom it was to be given to one of the High-Prieſts line. His men alſo ſhooting valiantly from the Towers, drave the enemy from the walls: and *Silo* (who was beforehand bribed by *Antigonus*) ſuborned ſome of his Souldiers to demand of *Herod* more proviſions, and larger pay, and to be withdrawn into commodious winter-quarters. The Army being thus troubled, and begining to diſlodg, *Herod* intreated the Captains, and Souldiers of *Silo*'s Army, that they would not now forſake him, he being ſent both by *Anthony*, *Cæſar*, and the Senate, to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; and withall he ſent into all the Country, and brought in ſuch ſtore of proviſions, that there was no occaſion for *Silo*, and his Army to complain. He commanded his Friends alſo that inhabited about *Samaria*, that they ſhould bring to *Jericho* Corn, Wine, Oyl, Cattle, and other neceſſaries, that the Souldiers for the future might have plenty.

Antigonus having intelligence hereof, ſent forth ſome to intercept the victualers: but *Herod* taking with him ſome Cohorts, *viz.* five of the *Romans*, and as many of the *Jews*, with ſome forreign Souldiers, and a few Horſe mixed with them, flew out to *Jericho*, and found the City forſaken of the Inhabitants, and five hundred Families of them were fled to the tops of the Hills, whom he took, and diſmiſſed in ſafety: But the *Romans* entring the City, plundered it, where they found all ſorts of precious movables. *Herod* leaving a Garriſon there, returned to his Camp before *Jeruſalem*, and then diſmiſſed the *Romans*, ſending them into winter-quarters in *Idumæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galile*, which Countries were lately

Herod takes Jericho.

lately ſurrendred to them: But *Antigonus* by bribes obtained of *Silo*, that part of the *Roman* Army ſhould be quartered in *Lydda*, carrying thereby favour with *Anthony*: and thus the *Romans* lived in plenty, and without bearing Arms.

His activity.

But *Herod* could not be idle: For ſending his Brother *Joſeph* into *Idumæa*, with a thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe, himſelf went into *Samaria*, and there ſetled his Mother, and the reſt of his Kindred, whom he had drawn out of *Maſſada*: Then did he march into *Galile*, where he ſurprized ſome places which were yet held by *Antigonus* his Garriſons: and when he came to *Sephorus* in ſnowie weather, *Antigonus* his men fled away, and there he found great ſtore of neceſſaries. From thence he ſent a Troop of Horſe, and three Companies of Foot againſt ſome Thieves that dwelt in Caves, not far from the Village *Arbela*, by which means he kept them from doing miſchief. Then he marched with his whole Army, whom the enemy met, and encountred reſolutely, in ſo much as *Herods* left wing began to waver, till himſelf coming on with the main body, encouraged his own men to ſtand their ground, and cauſed the enemy to flee, whom he followed as far as *Jordan*: by which victory he brought all *Galile* into his ſubjection, except thoſe that dwelt in the Caves: and ſo giving to every one of his Souldiers a hundred and fifty *Drachmes*, and more to his Captains, he diſmiſſed them into their winter quarters.

He purſues the Thieves.

Subdues *Galile.*

There came *Silo* to him with his Captains who had wintered with *Antigonus*, and who now would maintain them no longer, commanding the Inhabitants thereabout to ſpoil the Country of all victuals, and to retire to the mountains that the *Romans* might periſh through famine: But *Herod* committed the charge of proviſions to his Brother *Pheroras*, and withall, commanded him to rebuild *Alexandrium*, who in a ſhort time furniſhed the ſouldiers with abundance of all neceſſaries, and built again *Alexandrium* that had formerly been diſmantled.

Alexandrium rebuilt.

Ventidius in *Syria* ſent for *Silo* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Parthians*, but commanded him firſt to aſſiſt *Herod*, and to bring *Herod*, and the reſt of the Auxiliaries of thoſe Provinces

Provinces along with him: But *Herod* ſending *Silo* to him, went himſelf with his Souldiers againſt the Thieves that lived in Caves, and in the mean time made *Ptolomy* Governour of the Country, which fell out ill for him; for being ſet upon by thoſe who had formerly diſturbed the Country, he was ſlain by them, after which they retired into Fennes, and inacceſſible places, infeſting with their inrodes, and robberies all the Country: But when *Herod* returned, he made them pay deer for their theveries: for ſome of them he killed, others flying to their fortified places he purſued, and having taken them, put them to death, and raſed their ſtrong holds, and fined the Cities in an hundred Talents.

Ptolomy ſlain.

Herod beats the Thieves.

About this time *Anthony* commanded *Ventidius* to ſend *Macharas* to aid *Herod* with two Legions, and a thouſand Horſe; but when he came, being corrupted by *Antigonus* with money, he would needs go to him, againſt *Herods* mind, under a colour of obſerving his actions: But *Antigonus* ſuſpecting him, denied him admittance, and drave him away with ſlings, whereby he found that *Herod* had given him good counſell, and blamed himſelf for not following of it: whereupon he retyred to *Emmaus*, and in his march killed all the *Jews* that came to hand, without diſtinction of friend or foe, being provoked by *Antigonus* his dealing: At which cruelty *Herod* was much grieved, intending to go to *Anthony*, and ſaying, that he needed other manner of men than thoſe who did him more hurt than his enemies, whereas of himſelf he was able to ſubdue *Antigonus*: But *Macharas* overtaking him, intreated him to ſtay, or if he was reſolved to go on, yet at leaſt that he would leave with him his Brother *Joſeph*, that with their united forces they might make war upon *Antigonus*. Thus after much intreaty he was reconciled to *Macharas*, and ſo leaving his Brother *Joſeph* with his Army, he commanded him in his abſence that he ſhould not put all to the hazard of a battail; but himſelf haſted to *Anthony*, whom he found beſieging *Samoſata*, a City near to the River *Euphrates*, and carried along with him ſome Auxiliaries both of Horſe, and Foot. *Anthony* entertained him very honourably, and much praiſed him for his valour.

Macharas his cruelty.

Herod goes to *Anthony*.

Joseph, unmindfull of his Brothers command, taking with him his own forces, and five *Romane* Cohorts that were given him by *Macharas*, went towards *Jericho*, purposing to reap the enemies Corn, now that it was ripe, and encamped in the mountains, because the *Romane* Cohorts were raw Souldiers, most of them being lately taken up in *Syria*: yet there he was circumvented by the enemy in the middest of those fastnesses, and having lost six Cohorts, he himself valiantly fighting, was slain: *Antigonus* being in a rage, caused the dead body of *Joseph* to be whipped, though *Pheroras* his Brother, offered fifty Talents to have redeemed it: After this loss, the *Galilæans* revolting from their Governours, drowned those that were of *Herods* party in the Lake: In *Idumæa* also there were many innovations.

Joseph is slain.

Anthony having made peace with his enemy, commanded *Caius Sosius* to assist *Herod* against *Antigonus* with two Cohorts: When *Herod* came to *Daphne*, the Suburbs of *Antioch*, he heard of his Brother *Josephs* death, which caused him to hasten his journey, and coming to Mount *Libanus*, he took thence with him eight hundred men, and one Cohort of the *Romans*, and so came to *Ptolemais*, from whence in the night he passed with his Army through *Galile*: Here his enemies met him, whom he overcame in fight, and forced them into the Castle, from whence they had issued the day before: Them he assaulted, but was compelled to desist by reason of the extremity of the weather, and to retreat into some neighbouring Villages: but upon the coming of another Cohort from *Anthony*, they in the Castle were so affrighted, that they forsook the same by night: *Herod* then hastned to *Jericho*, purposing to revenge his Brothers death: and being come thither, he feasted his Nobles, and the feast being ended, and his guests dismissed, he retired into his chamber, and presently the room wherein they had supped, being now empty of company, fell down without hurting any, which made many to think that surely *Herod* was beloved of God who had so miraculously preserved him.

Herod overcomes his Enemies.

A speciall providence.

The next day six thousand of the enemies came down from the Mountains to fight with him, and their forlorn-

hope

hope with darts and ſtones ſo terrified the *Romans* and ſome of *Herods* Souldiers that they fled, and *Herod* himſelf received a wound in his ſide.

Antigonus, deſiring to have his ſtrength ſeem greater than it was, ſent one of his Captains, named *Pappus*, with ſome forces into *Samaria*, whileſt himſelf went againſt *Macheras*. In the mean time *Herod* took in five Towns, and therein put two thouſand of the Garriſon Souldiers to the ſword, and ſetting the Towns on fire, he went againſt *Pappus*, and was ſtrengthened by many that came to him out of *Jerico* and *Judea*: yet was the enemy ſo confident that he would joyn battle with him, but in fight, *Herod* overcame them, and being inflamed with a deſire to revenge his Brothers death, he purſued them that fled, ſlew many of them, and followed them into a Village, and there ſlew many more of them who retreated into houſes, the reſt fled: After which victory, *Herod* had preſently gone to *Jeruſalem*, and put an end to the warre, had not the ſharpneſs of the winter hindred him; for now *Antigonus* bethought himſelf to leave the City, and fly elſwhere for ſafety.

Herods beats his Enemies.

Herod in the evening, when he had diſmiſſed his Friends to refreſh themſelves, as yet hot in his Armour, went into a chamber, attended with one only ſervant to waſh himſelf, wherein ſome of his enemies armed, whom fear had forced thither, were hidden; and whileſt he was naked, and waſhing himſelf, firſt one, and then a ſecond, and a third, ran out armed with naked ſwords in their hands, ſo aſtoniſhed that they were glad to ſave themſelves without proffring the leaſt hurt to the King. The next day *Herod* amongſt others cut off *Pappus* his head, and ſent it by way of revenge for his Brothers death, to his Brother *Pharoras*; for it was *Pappus* that with his own hand had ſlain *Joſeph*.

A ſpeciall providence.

Pappus ſlain.

Herod in the beginning of the third year after he had been declared King at *Rome*, coming with an Army to *Jeruſalem*, encamped near the City, and from thence removing to that place where the Walls were fitteſt to be aſſaulted, he pitched his Tents before the Temple, intending to attempt them, as *Pompey* had done in times paſt: and having

Herod beſieges *Jeruſalem*.

encompaſſed the place with three Bulworks, by the help of many workmen he raiſed his batteries; fetching materials from all places thereabouts, and appointing fit men to overſee the work; and then himſelf went to *Samaria* to ſolemnize his Marriage with *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, who was formerly betrothed to him.

Marries *Mariamne.*

The Marriage ceremony being over, *Soſius* came with an Army of Horſe and Foot, being ſent by *Anthony* to the aid of *Herod*, and *Herod* alſo took a great party with him from *Samaria* to *Jeruſalem*; ſo that the whole Army being come together, conſiſted of eleven Legions of Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, beſides the *Syrian* Auxiliaries, which were very many, and ſo they pitched on the North ſide of the City. Over this great Army were two Generals, *Soſius*, and *Herod*, who purpoſed to diſplace *Antigonus* as an enemy to the people of *Rome*, and to eſtabliſh *Herod* in the Kingdom according to the Decree of the Senate.

Herod's great Army.

The *Jews* being gathered together out of the whole Country, and ſhut up within the Walls, made a valiant reſiſtance, boaſting much of *the Temple of the Lord*, and ſaying, that the Lord would not forſake his people in the time of danger. By ſecret ſallies alſo they burnt up, and ſpoiled all proviſion without the City both for Man and Horſe, whereby the beſiegers began to be pinched: But *Herod* provided againſt their excurſions, by placing ambuſhments in convenient places, and ſending parties to fetch in proviſion from afar off, ſo that in a ſhort time the Army was well furniſhed with all neceſſaries.

The *Jews* fight valiantly.

By reaſon of the multitude of workmen the three Bulworks were ſoon finiſhed, it being Summer time, ſo that no untemperateneſs of weather hindered them: and with his Engins *Herod* often battered the Walls, and left nothing unaſſayed: but the beſieged fought valiantly, and were every way as active and ſubtile to make void his endeavours; often ſallying forth, and firing their works, both thoſe that were finiſhed, and others that were but begun, and coming to handiſtrokes with the *Romans*, they were nothing inferiour

riour to them but only in Martiall skill.

The *Sabbaticall* year now coming, brought a famine upon the beſieged *Jews*, notwithſtanding which they built a new Wall within that which was beaten down by the battering *Rams*, and ſo countermined the Enemies mines, that many times they came to handiſtrokes under ground, and making uſe of deſpair inſtead of courage, they held it out unto the laſt, though *Pollio*, the *Phariſee*, and *Samias* his Diſciple adviſed them to receive *Herod* into the City, ſaying, *that they could not avoid his being their King by reaſon of their ſins.* A Famine in *Jeruſalem.*

They held out the ſiege for five moneths ſpace, though there was ſo great an Army before the City: But at length twenty of *Herods* choiſeſt Souldiers got upon the Wall, and after them the Centurions of *Soſius*. So that the firſt Wall was taken on the forti'th day, and the ſecond on the fiftieth, and ſome Galleries about the Temple were burnt down, which *Herod* charged (though falſly) upon *Antigonus*, thereby to bring him into hatred with the people. When the outward part of the Temple was taken, and the lower City, the *Jews* fled into the inward part of the Temple, and the upper City: and fearing leſt they ſhould be hindred from offering their daily Sacrifices unto God, they ſent Ambaſſadors unto *Herod*, to deſire leave that ſuch Beaſts only might be brought in which were to be ſacrificed: This requeſt *Herod* eaſily granted, hoping that by this means they would leave their obſtinacy, and ſubmit to him. But perceiving that this courteſie prevailed not, and that they were ſtill reſolute to continue the Soveraignty in *Antigonus*, he gave a generall aſſault, and won the City on the *Kalends* of *January*, on the ſecond moneth, *Ciſlu*, being the day on which the *Jews* were wont to celebrate a Faſt in commemoration of the holy Rowl that was burnt by *Jehoiakim*. *Jeruſalem* taken by *Herod.*

The City being taken by aſſault, all places were filled with murthers: the *Romans* being incenſed againſt the *Jews* for holding out ſo long; and the *Herodian Jews* endeavouring to extirpate the contrary faction, ſo that there were continuall ſlaughters in the Porches, and Houſes, yea, the Cruelty.

reverence of the Temple not saving the suppliants: They spared neither age nor sex, nor so much as the little children: and though the Conquerour *Herod* besought, and intreated them to forbear, yet none would hear, or obey him, but as if they had been mad, they proceeded in their cruelty.

Antigonus coming down from the upper City, fell at *Sosius* his feet, who nothing pitying his miserable condition, insulted over him, calling him *Madam Antigonus*, and withall cast him into prison, and set keepers about him.

Antigonus imprisoned.

And whereas a multitude of Strangers, that *Herod* had hired, came rushing in, not into the Temple only, but even into the Sanctuary, some he thought to restrain by intreaty, others by threats, and some by force, judging his victory worse than if he had been overthrown, if any of those things which were not lawfull to be seen, were exposed to the view of the profane multitude. He restrained also the plundering of the City as much as in him lay: Intreating *Sosius* to do the like, asking, if the *Romans* would make him King of a Wilderness, the City being so wasted by rapines, and murthers: *Sosius* answered, that the Souldiers desired the plunder of the City in regard of their hard service in the siege: To which *Herod* replied, that he would recompence every man out of his own Treasury, and making good his promise, he freed the City from further misery: For he bestowed gifts liberally upon the Souldiers, and proportionably upon the Commanders, and bountifully upon *Sosius*: whereupon *Sosius* offering a Crown of Gold unto GOD, withdrew out of the City, leading *Antigonus* a Prisoner, along with him to *Anthony*.

Herod saves the City.

Rewards the *Romans*.

Herod being thus setled in *Jerusalem*, he advanced those of his own faction, and daily put to death them of the contrary: Amongst whom, he also slew all those of the *Sanhedrim*, who had accused him of a capitall crime, before he was King, sparing only *Pollio*, the *Pharisee*, and *Samias*, his Disciple, whom he highly honoured.

Herods cruelty.

Then did he gather together all the Regall Ornaments, and much silver and gold which he exacted from rich men, all which he gave to *Anthony* and his Souldiers. He put to death

death alſo forty and five of *Antigonus* his chief Noble men, ſetting watches at their doors that none of them might be carried out under pretence of being dead: and what gold or ſilver ſoever was found, was all carried to *Herod*, ſo that there was no end of the peoples miſeries, the covetouſneſs of the needy conquerours conſuming all their eſtates. The fields alſo lay untilled, becauſe it was the *Sabbaticall* year, in which it was unlawfull to ſow the ground.

Who were ſpectators of it.

Of theſe miſerable times, amongſt others, were ſpectators, *Zacharias* the Prieſt, with his Wife *Elizabeth*: Of the relicts of *Davids* ſtock, *Hely*, and *Joſeph*: *Anna* alſo the Propheteſs of the Tribe of *Aſer*, and *Simeon* the Juſt, who received an anſwer from the Holy Ghoſt, that *he ſhould not ſee death, till he had ſeen the Lord Chriſt*, Luk. 2. 26.

Anthony being thus poſſeſſed of *Antigonus*, intended to keep him Priſoner to adorn his Triumph; But *Herod* feared that if *Antigonus* was brought to *Rome* by *Anthony*, he might there contend with him before the Senate for the Kingdom: Conſidering alſo how the Nation of the *Jews* hated him, and favoured *Antigonus*; he thereupon gave great ſums of money to *Anthony* to cut off his head, which accordingly he did at *Antioch*: *Antigonus* being the firſt King that was thus put to death by the *Romans*: and in him ended the Principality of the *Haſmonæans*: It being from the Captainſhip of *Judas Maccabæus* to the death of *Antigonus* a hundred twenty ſix years, and two or three moneths, and by this means *Herod*, a ſtranger, got the Kingdom, and was totally freed from his fears.

Anthony ſlew *Antigonus*.

Hyrcanus (as we heard before) being carried Priſoner to *Phraates*, the King of the *Parthians*, he intreated him courteouſly for the Nobility of his deſcent, and after a time, freeing him from Priſon, he ſuffered him to live in *Babylon*, where were great ſtore of *Jews*, who honoured him no leſs than as their King and High-Prieſt: and not only they of *Babylon*, but all the reſt of the Nation of the *Jews* did the like, who in old time had been carried captive beyond the River *Euphrates* by the *Aſſyrians*, of whom there were many millions. But *Hyrcanus* hearing that *Herod* was made King

Hyrcanus honoured in *Babylon*.

King of the *Jews*, he began to caſt his hopes that ways, expecting favour from *Herod*, whoſe life he had ſaved when he was called in queſtion before the *Sanhedrim*. He conſulted therefore with the *Jews* that came to viſit him, about his return into *Judæa*, who by all means diſſwaded him from it, yet could they not prevail with him. Beſides, *Herod* deſired by all means to get the poor old man into his clutches, and thereupon wrote to him to get leave of *Phraates*, and the *Jews* that he might return, and that they would not envy him the joint rule with his Son in Law, the time being now come wherein he could requite the favours that *Hyrcanus* had ſhewed him, in being his nouriſher, and preſerver. He ſent alſo his Ambaſſador to *Phraates* with great Preſents, intreating him that he would not hinder him from being thankfull to him that had deſerved ſo well of him. *Hyrcanus* being forward of himſelf, diſmiſſed by the *Parthians*, and honourably furniſhed by the *Jews* for the expences of his journey, he came at laſt to *Herod*, who entertained him with all honour, gave him the upper hand in all Aſſemblies, and the more honourable place at all feaſts, calling him *Father*, hereby to delude him, leſt he ſhould ſuſpect any treachery.

Herods ſubtilty.

Hananeel made High-prieſt.

Herod providing that none of the Nobility ſhould be created High-Prieſt, ſent to *Babylon* for a Prieſt of a baſe parentage, whom formerly he had been acquainted with, of the race of thoſe Prieſts that had been carried away beyond *Euphrates*, whoſe name was *Ananelius*, or *Hananeel*, and to him he gave the High-Prieſthood.

Alexandra takes it ill.

This *Alexandra* the Daughter of *Hyrcanus*, the Wife of *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and Mother in Law of *Herod*, took in ill part; for that *Ariſtobulus* her Son, and Brother of *Mariamne* was neglected, and another from a ſtrange place ſhould be made High-Prieſt: whereupon ſhe wrote to *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, and *Anthonies* darling, that ſhe would procure the High-Prieſthood of *Anthony* for her Son. *Cleopatra* neglected her requeſt; but ſhortly after, *Delius* a friend of *Anthonies* coming into *Judea*, perſwaded her to ſend the Pictures of her Son *Ariſtobulus*, and of her Daughter

Daughter *Mariamne* to *Anthony*, who then would deny her nothing: This she assented to, and sent them by *Dellius*, who told *Anthony* that they seemed rather to be of a Divine than of a humane race.

Anthony was much inflamed herewith, yet thought it undecent to send for a Lady that was married to *Herod*, shunning also the jealousie of *Cleopatra*: whereupon he wrote to *Alexandra* to send her Son to him under some honest pretence: But these things coming to the ears of *Herod*, he thought it not safe that *Aristobulus*, now in the flower of his age, being but sixteen, should be sent to *Anthony*, the most potent man amongst the *Romans*, and very much given to his lusts. Wherefore he wrote back, that if the youth did but step out of the Kingdom, all the Country would be up in Arms; the *Jews* hoping for some innovations under a new King, and by this means he satisfied *Anthony*.

Anthony sends for *Aristobulus*.

Herod being continually molested with the intreaties of his Wife *Mariamne*, that he would give the High-Priesthood to her Brother *Aristobulus*, it being his right, he called a Councel of his friends, to whom he inveighed against his Mother in Law *Alexandra*, as if she had privately wrought treason against his Kingdom, and had indeavoured by *Cleopatra*'s means to translate it to young *Aristobulus*; yet, lest he should seem to neglect both his piety to her, and the rest of that kindred, he told them he would now restore the Priesthood to her Son, which hitherto *Ananelus* had supplied, by reason of the young mans tender years: *Alexandra* being herewith overjoyed, and withall grieved that she was suspected, fell a weeping, clearing her self of those accusations, and gave him many thanks for her Sons honour, promising that hereafter she would be most obedient unto him. And thus *Herod*, in the life-time of *Ananelus*, gave the High-Priesthood to *Aristobulus*, being then but seventeen years old.

Aristobulus made High-Priest.

Yet *Herod* fearing lest his Mother in Law *Alexandra* should seek occasion to raise new troubles, confined her to the Palace, and commanded her to do nothing by her own authority: yea, he set so strict a guard over her, that nothing

Alexandra confined.

was concealed from him of all that ſhe did, to the very expences of her Table. This ſhe took very heavily, and wrote to *Cleopatra*, complaining of her hard condition, and deſiring her to yeild her aſſiſtance: *Cleopatra* adviſed her with her Son to fly to her into *Egypt*, which ſhe liked, and therefore provided two Coffins, one for her ſelf, the other for her Son, commanding her ſervants that were privy to the plot, to carry them out by night, and to convey them to a Ship that was ready prepared to carry them into *Egypt*. This buſineſs *Æſopus*, one of her ſervants, blabbed to *Sabbation*, a friend of *Alexanders*, ſuppoſing that he had known all before: which as ſoon as *Sabbation* knew, though hitherto he was an enemy of *Herods*, as being ſuſpected to have been in the plot of poiſoning his Father *Antipater*, he took this occaſion of being reconciled to the King, by diſcovering the matter. *Herod* being thus informed of the plot, diſſembled the matter till it was in execution, and then ſurpriſed her in her flight, and brought her back: Yet did he pardon her fault, not indeed daring to puniſh her, leſt thereby he ſhould diſcontent *Cleopatra*, that was willing to take any occaſion againſt him: wherefore under a colour of a magnanimous ſpirit, he made ſhew as if he pardoned her out of meer clemency.

She complains to *Cleopatra*.

She is ſurpriſed by *Herod*.

The Feaſt of *Tabernacles* being now come, the new High-Prieſt *Ariſtobulus*, being juſt paſt ſeventeen years old, was to offer Sacrifice according to the Law, and being clad in his Pontificall attire, he came to the Altar, and performed the Ceremony with all decency, whoſe excellent beauty and ſtature, being higher than was uſuall for his age, and carrying in his countenance the honour of his Linage, drew the eyes, and love of all the multitude upon him, every one calling to mind the worthy, and memorable actions of his Grandfather *Ariſtobulus*, and therefore, as overcome with affections towards him, they were ſo overjoyed that they could not contain themſelves, but openly prayed for him, and wiſhed him all joy, and that more freely than was meet in thoſe jealous times under ſuch a King, proclaiming openly both the memory, and thanks that they owed to the

Ariſtobulus highly honoured.

the Famely for all the benefits they had received from it.

As ſoon as the Feaſt was ended, *Ariſtobulus* was entertained at a Banquet by his Mother *Alexandra*: *Herod* alſo pretended favour to him, and enticed him into a convenient place to ſport with him after the manner of young men, and when they were hot, and weary, and left their ſport, they walked out to the Fiſh Ponds, which were near the Court to take the freſh air, where alſo they beheld ſome of the ſervants that were ſwimming: At laſt by the perſwaſion of *Herod*, *Ariſtobulus* undreſt himſelf and went in amongſt them: Then they, who were ſuborned by *Herod*, as it were in ſport and eſt, ducked him as he was ſwiming, holding him under water, and never left off till they had drowned him. This was the end of *Ariſtobulus* in the eighteenth year of his age, and in the firſt year of his High-Prieſthood, which immediatly returned to *Ananelus*. He is drowned.

The report of theſe things coming to the Women, they were all on an uprore, and did nothing but weep, and howl over the body of the young man: Yea ſorrow overſpread the whole City, every one bewailing the calamity as if it had been his own: But *Herod* endeavoured by all means to make the people believe as if it had faln out by chance without his privity, not only feigning ſorrow, but tears and grief alſo: and that he might the more comfort the Women, he buried the body in a moſt magnificent manner, being liberall to prodigality in adorning his Monument, and in perfumes, and other precious things. *Herods* ſubtilty.

But his Mother *Alexandra*, knowing the treaſon, though ſhe was oft ready to lay violent hands upon her ſelf, yet repreſſed her paſſion, ſeeming not to be ſuſpicious, till an opportunity of revenge might offer it ſelf.

And ſhortly after ſhe wrote to *Cleopatra* of the treachery of *Herod*, and of the lamentable death of her Son. *Cleopatra* pitty'ing her misfortune, took a particular care of this buſineſs, as if it had been her own, and never reſted from perſwading *Anthony* to revenge the young mans death; telling him that it was an unpardonable crime, that he who by his help, enjoyed a Kingdom that was anothers right, *Alexandra* complains to *Cleopatra*.

ſhould rage ſo inſolently againſt the famely of the lawfull Kings. *Anthony* being prevailed with hereby, when he came to *Laodicea* in *Syria*, ſent for *Herod* to come before him to anſwer what ſhould be objected againſt him about the Death of *Ariſtobulus*.

Herod queſtioned by *Anthony*.

Herod, during the time of his abſence committed the care of his Kingdom to his Unkle *Joſeph*, privately commanding him, that if *Anthony* ſhould do him any miſchief, he ſhould preſently put his Wife *Mariamne* to death, pretending that he ſo loved her, that he ſhould eſteem it a great wrong if any but himſelf ſhould enjoy her beauty, yea though it was after his Death.

But cleered by his bribes.

When *Herod* came to *Anthony*, he ſo appeaſed him with rich preſents that he brought on purpoſe with him from *Jeruſalem*, and by his frequent conferences with him, that afterwards *Cleopatra*'s inſtigations prevailed little: For *Anthony* ſaid, that it was not fit that a King ſhould be accountable for his actions, otherwiſe he would ceaſe to be a King: For having once given him the honour, the free exercile of his Kingly power was to be admitted unto him. He told *Cleopatra* alſo, that it was not fit for her too much to meddle with other mens matters.

During *Herods* abſence, *Joſeph* governing the Kingdom, he had occaſion many times to converſe with *Mariamne*, partly upon buſineſs, and partly to do her honour, and in their diſcourſes there was often mention made how much *Herod* loved her, which diſcourſe was laughed at by the Ladies, eſpecially by *Alexandra*: But he was carried on with ſuch a deſire of proving the Kings love to them, that he told them what private command the King had given him, ſuppoſing this was an infallible argument of his love, becauſe he could neither endure to live without her, nor in death to be diſjoyned from her: but the Ladies were not of his mind, rather abhorring the Tyranny of *Herod*, who, though he were dead, yet would he ſeek their lives.

Preſently after a rumour was ſpread about the City, that *Anthony* had put *Herod* to death, which much troubled all the Court, eſpecially the Ladies: whereupon *Alexandra*

andra perſwaded *Joſeph*; that, taking them along with him, he ſhould fly to the *Romane* Legions that lay before the City under the command of the Tribune *Julius*, ſo that if any trouble aroſe in the City, they might be ſecured by the *Romans*: adding, that ſhe hoped if *Mariamne* came but once to the ſight of *Anthony*, ſhe might obtain any thing of him, yea, even the Kingdom, with whatſoever belonged to the Royall Famely.

Whileſt theſe things were under debate, there came Letters from *Herod*, which daſhed all, ſignifying how *Anthony* had honoured him both in the publick *Aſſemblies*, and in inviting him to his Feaſts, and that, during the accuſations of *Cleopatra*: ſo that he feared her not for the time to come, but hoped ſhortly to return to them, *Anthony* having given *Cœloſyria* unto *Cleopatra* inſtead of *Judea*, upon condition that ſhe ſhould not hereafter demand *Judea*, nor trouble him any further about that buſineſs.

As ſoon as theſe Letters were received, the ſpeech about flying to the *Romans* vaniſhed, but yet their debate about it was not hid; For as ſoon as *Herod* had brought *Anthony* part of his way againſt the *Parthians*, he returned into *Judea*, and immediatly his Siſter *Salome*, and his Mother *Cyprus* told him what *Alexandra*'s counſel was; neither was ſhe herewith contented, but ſhe accuſed her Husband *Joſeph*, as if he had been too familiar with *Mariamne*: and this ſhe did out of an old grudge, becauſe the Queen (a woman of an high ſpirit) in their womanly brabbles, had upbraided her with her obſcure birth. *Herods return.*

Mariamne by her Oath aſſured *Herod* of her chaſtity, who told her again how much he loved her; but ſhe replied, that it was not the part of a lover, to command that if he died, ſhe ſhould be put to death alſo. *Herod* judging that this ſecret could never be known, except ſhe had committed adultery with *Joſeph*, had much ado to refrain from killing her immediatly: but love overcoming his paſſion, he refrained; yet did he command *Joſeph* to be put to death without ſuffering him to plead for himſelf, *Alexandra* alſo he caſt into priſon, as the cauſe of all theſe evils. *Joſeph put to death.*

Cleopatra having brought *Anthony* part of his way towards *Parthia*, returned towards *Egypt*, and by the way, was entertained by *Herod*, who assured unto her that part of *Arabia* which was granted unto her by *Anthony*, to which he added the revenues of *Jericho*, where are great store of the best Date Trees, and where Balsom grows, which being a precious Oyntment only grows there, in two Gardens, both which are the Kings, the one of twenty Acres, the other of less.

Gardens of Balsom.

By this means *Herod* grew into great familiarity with *Cleopatra*, who sought to allure him to her lust, either through her great intemperance, or because she sought by this means to betray him; but though she pretended love to him, yet *Herod* refused, and held a consultation with his friends about killing her, who dissuaded him from it, and therefore having appeased her by great presents, and all manner of obsequiousness, he accompanied her as far as *Pelusium*: yet fearing both her, and the people of the *Jews*, he reserved the Castle as a refuge for himself, laying in as many Arms there as were sufficient for ten thousand men.

Herod payed duly to *Cleopatra* the Tributes of *Judea* and *Arabia*, which *Anthony* had given to her, not thinking it safe to give her any occasion of disgust against him,

Herod being now free from troubles, and having taken *Hyrcanium*, a Town which hitherto a Sister of *Antigonus* had kept, the *Actian* War brake forth between *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Mark Anthony*, whereupon *Herod* made great preparation for the assisting of *Anthony*, but he freed him from the trouble, telling him that he needed them not, and so dismissing him, *Herod* returned home with a well-furnished Army, wherewith he invaded *Arabia*, going as far as *Diospolis*, at which place the *Arabians* met him, and after a fierce conflict, the *Jews* gat the victory.

Herod prepares to assist *Anthony.*

After this *Herod* made many inrodes into *Arabia* in the seventh year of his raign after the death of *Antigonus*, at which time the *Actian* War being begun, *Judea* was shaken with such an Earthquake as never was the like before, in which ten thousand men were overwhelmed by the ruins of

A great Earthquake.

of the houſes, yet the Souldiers received no dammage, becauſe they lay in the open fields. This being much aggravated by report, ſo emboldned the *Arabians*, that they laid hold on the Ambaſſadours of the *Jews*, who, in this their affliction came to demand peace, and ſlew them, and preſently prepared for war with all earneſtneſs.

Herod hearing hereof, encouraged his men, offered Sacrifice according to the cuſtom, and ſo in all haſt, marched with his Army over *Jordan*, and having incamped at *Philadelphia*, there the fight began about the taking of a Caſtle that lay between him, and the *Arabians*, in which the *Jews* got the better, and after continuall skirmiſhes, forced the *Arabians* to flight, who in their haſt treading one upon another, they loſt in all five thouſand men: the reſt were beſieged in their Camp, and extreamly wanting water, they ſent Ambaſſadours to *Herod*, who would not admit of them, and was more eager upon them for offering but fifty Talents for their freedom: They being parched with continuall thirſt, came out of their Camp by great companies, offering themſelves to the *Jews*, by which means they took five thouſand of them in five days: and at laſt the reſt in the Camp came out to fight; but deſpairing of any good ſucceſs, there fell of them in the firſt conflict about ſeven thouſand more. By this overthrow the courage of the *Arabians* was tamed, and *Herod* was declared Governour of that Nation, and ſo returned home with great Glory.

Herod overcoms the *Arabians*.

The *Actian* war being finiſhed, wherein *Cæſar* finally overthrew *Anthony*, *Alexandra* hoped that *Herod* ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed by *Cæſar*, for aſſiſting *Anthony* againſt him, whereupon ſhe ſollicited her Father *Hyrcanus*, not any longer to ſuffer the affliction of their Family, but rather to reſerve himſelf for better times: For which end ſhe adviſed him to ſeek for protection and entertainment of *Malchus*, the King of *Arabia*. Theſe ſollicitations her Father at firſt repulſed, but at laſt being overcome by her womaniſh importunity, he ſent Letters to *Malchus* by one *Doſithem* a friend of his, deſiring him to ſend ſome Horſmen to convey him to the Lake *Aſphaltitis*, which is diſtant from

Alexandra's treſleſneſs.

Jeru-

Jeruſalem about three hundred furlongs. This *Doſithem* was kinſman to *Joſeph*, whom *Herod* had put to death, yet, to curry favour with the King, he ſhewed him the Letters: *Herod* thanked him, and withall deſired one curteſie more, that he would ſeal up the Letters, and give them to *Malchus*, and bring his anſwer to him. This he did, and the *Arabian* ſent back word, that he was ready to entertain *Hyrcanus* and his Famely, and all the *Jews* that were of his party, and that he would ſend a band of Souldiers to conduct them in ſafety, who ſhould be obedient to *Hyrcanus* in all things. *Herod* having received this anſwer, called *Hyrcanus* and asked him if he had any confederacy with *Malchus*? who denying it, he produced the Letters in the Councel of the *Sanhedrim*, and commanded him to be put to death.

Herod goes to *Cæſar.*

Herod having thus diſpatched *Hyrcanus*, reſolved to poſt unto *Cæſar*, and expecting no good from him, becauſe of his great friendſhip to *Anthony*, he was very jealous of *Alexandra*, leſt, taking this oportunity, ſhe ſhould ſtir up the people to rebell, and ſo fill the Kingdom with domeſticall ſeditions. Wherefore committing the care of his Kingdom to his Brother *Pheroras*, he left his Mother *Cyprus*, and his Siſter *Salome*, and all his kindred in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Maſſada*: And commanded his Brother, that if any thing befell him otherwiſe than well, he ſhould retain the Government of the Kingdom in his own hands: and becauſe his Wife *Mariamne*, by reaſon of ſome differences, could not live with his Mother, he placed her with her Mother *Alexandria* in *Alexandrion*, committing the cuſtody of them to his Treaſurer *Joſeph*, and to *Sohemus*, an *Iturian*, under a colour of doing them honour, but yet he gave them this command, that if they ſhould certainly know that any ſiniſter hap befell him, they ſhould preſently put both the Ladies to death, and to the uttermoſt of their power, keep the Kingdom for his Children, and his Brother *Pheroras*.

His cruel command.

Herod having thus ſetled his affairs at home, poſted to *Rhodes* to meet with *Cæſar* there, whither when he was come, laying only his Crown aſide, but retaining other his Princely Ornaments, he was admitted into *Cæſars* preſence, where,

where, with great constancy, and magnanimity of spirit, he freely confessed the love he bore to *Anthony*, as also the supplies he had sent him of Corn, and Money: adding moreover that he was ready with the same Faith to keep friendship with *Cæsar*. This *Cæsar* exhorted him to, and restoring his Crown to him, exceedingly honoured him. Thus beyond all expectation, is *Herod* again confirmed in his Kingdom, both by the free gift of *Cæsar*, and also by a Decree of the Senate, which *Cæsar* procured for him: and *Herod* gave great Presents both to *Cæsar* himself, and to all his friends about him, even above his ability, to shew the greatness of his mind.

Cæsar honours him.

During his absence, his Wife *Mariamne*, and his Mother *Alexandra*, took it very ill that they were shut up in that Castle as in a Prison, so that they could neither enjoy their own, nor make use of other mens goods: especially when by their femenine flatteries they had fished out of *Sohemus*, what *Herod* had commanded concerning them: She then began to wish that he might never return home, supposing that she should live a most intollerable life with him: all which she afterwards dissembled not, but openly confessed what it was that did afflict her. For *Herod* returning beyond all expectation, and relating to *Mariamne* what successes he had, she seemed not to regard them, and at all the caresses that he made her, she would sigh, so that *Herod* plainly perceived the hatred of his Wife against him, insomuch that himself was wavering between love, and hatred towards her.

His wife and mother are full of discontents.

Not long after *Cæsar* passing through *Syria* towards *Egypt*, *Herod* intertained him with all Royall magnificence at *Ptolemais*, and shewed all hospitality towards his Army, giving them plenty of all sorts of victuals, by which means he was counted one of *Cæsars* chiefest friends, and used to ride about with him when he mustred his Army. He presented him also and his Frinds with a hundred and fifty Men, all clad in most sumptuous, and rich apparell, yea, he suffered them to want nothing in their march to *Pelusium*, through barren places, and such as wanted water, yet did he

Herods bounty to *Cæsar*, and his Army.

provide plentifully for them, with which the Souldiers were much delighted. He also presented *Cæsar* with eight hundred Talents: yea, he gave such satisfaction to all, that they confessed that it was greater than the Kingdom could afford.

Herod is jealous of his wife.

Herod wavering between love and hatred towards his Wife *Mariamne*, was continually incensed against her by the false accusations of his Sister *Salome*, and his Mother *Cypros*, who laboured to kindle his hatred and jealousie against her: whereupon, probably he had proceeded rigorously with her, but that news came seasonably that *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* were both dead, and that *Cæsar* had won *Egypt*, and was coming back, whom in all hast he went to meet, and so left his Famely as it was. At his departure he commended *Sohemus* to *Mariamne*, professing that he owed him much respect for the care he had had of her: and gave to him also the Government of a part of *Judea*.

He meets Cæsar.

Cæsar enlarges his Government.

Herod meeting with *Cæsar* before he was come out of *Egypt*, in confidence of his Friendship, spake freely to him, and was highly honoured by him: For he bestowed upon him the four hundred *Galatians*, who were formerly of *Cleopatra's* Guard, to be his Guard, and restored to him that part of his Country which *Cleopatra* had seized upon, and added to his Kingdom *Gadara*, and *Hippon*, and *Samaria*; and by the Sea-side, *Gaza*, and *Anthedon*, and *Joppa*, and the Tower of *Straton*, which added much splendour to his Kingdom.

Herods suspicions of his wife are encreased.

In *Cæsars* return through *Syria*, *Herod* conducted him as far as *Antioch*. At his return, for the space of a whole year, suspicions increased daily between him and his Wife *Mariamne*, she neglecting his caresses, and oft upbraiding him either with the death of her Grandfather *Hyrcanus*, or her Father *Aristobulus*, so that *Herod* could scarce refrain from striking her, and *Salome* by the noise, perceiving that *Herod* was much moved, she sent in the Butler, whom long before she had suborned for that end, who told *Herod* that he was sollicited by *Mariamne* to deliver him a love potion, which he had by him, but what it was he knew not. *Herod* hereupon

upon examined the moſt faithfull ſervant of *Mariamne* by torture, being aſſured that ſhe would attempt nothing without his privity, who not enduring the torments, confeſſed that ſhe was offended for ſomething that *Sohemus* had declared unto her, which when the King heard, he cryed out, that *Sohemus*, who had ever been moſt faithfull both to him, and the Kingdom, would never have ſpoken of theſe things, had there not been ſome more ſecret familiarity between them than was fitting; and thereupon he commanded *Sohemus* to be apprehended and put to death; and having called his Friends to Counſel, he accuſed his Wife for practiſing to poiſon him, which he ſo aggravated, that all that were preſent perceived that he had a mind that ſhe ſhould be condemned, which was accordingly done by the generall conſent of them all: and whereas they thought that the execution ſhould not be over ſpeedy, but rather that ſhe ſhould be ſecured in ſome of the Kings Caſtles, *Salome* exceedingly urged the King that ſhe ſhould preſently be put to death, for fear leſt there ſhould be ſome commotion among the people ſhe being alive and in Priſon: and thus was *Mariamne* brought to her death.

Mariamne condemned to death.

When her Mother *Alexandra* ſaw her going to execution, and conſidered that ſhe muſt look for the ſame at *Herods* hands, that ſhe might not ſeem to be guilty of the ſame crime, ſhe began to upbraid her daughter as being wicked, and ingrateſull towards her Husband, ſaying, *that ſhe deſerved death who durſt attempt ſo hainous an act.* Whilſt ſhe counterfeited theſe things, and made as if ſhe would have pulled her Daughter by the hair, they that were preſent condemned her hypocriſie; but ſhe that was led to death returned her no anſwer, but refelled the falſe accuſation, with a reſolute countenance, and mind, and underwent her death without fear.

Her mothers Hypocriſie.

Mariamnes Death.

She being dead, *Herod* began to be more inflamed with love towards her, often calling upon her Name, and lamenting her death beyond decency; and although he ſought to divert his grief by pleaſures, feaſtings, and drinking, yet all availed nothing. Whereupon he caſt off the care of his

Herods exceſſive grief for her.

Kingdom, and ſo far gave up himſelf to ſorrow, that he would bid his ſervants call *Mariamne*, as though ſhe were yet living.

A great Plague follows.

As *Herod* was thus tormenting himſelf, there came a great Plague, which ſwept away a great part both of the Nobility, and Commons, every one judging that this Plague was ſent by God for the unjuſt death of the Queen. The Kings diſcontents being increaſed hereby, he at laſt hid himſelf in a ſolitary Wilderneſs under a pretence of hunting; where ſtill afflicting himſelf, he fell into a great ſickneſs, which was accompanied with an inflammation and great pain in his neck, ſo that he began to rave; neither could any applications eaſe him, but rather made the diſeaſe more painfull, ſo that thoſe about him began to deſpair of his life: and his Phyſicians, partly becauſe of the ſtubborneſs of the diſeaſe, and partly becauſe in ſo great danger there was not any free election of diet, they gave him leave to eat whatſoever he would.

Herods Melancholy and ſickneſſe.

Herod lying thus ſick in *Samaria*, and *Alexandra* being at *Jeruſalem*, ſhe endeavoured to get the two Caſtles of the City into her hands, the one adjoyning to the Temple, the other ſituate in the City: For which end ſhe ſollicited the Governours of them to deliver them up unto her, and to the Children of her and *Mariamne*, leſt that *Herod* being dead, they ſhould be ſeized upon by others: But they who had ever been faithfull to *Herod*, were now much more diligent in their Office, both out of an hatred of *Alexandra*, and becauſe they thought it a great offence to deſpair of the recovery of their Prince. Hereupon they preſently ſent meſſengers to *Herod*, to acquaint him with *Alexandra's* attempt, who thereupon commanded her to be ſlain. At length overcoming his diſeaſe, he recovered his ſtrength both of body and mind, but grew ſo cruell, that upon the leaſt occaſion he was ready to put any one to Death.

Alexandras treaſon and Death.

Herod grows cruel.

Salome, *Herods* Siſter, having been married to *Coſſabarus* an *Idumean*, a difference now ariſing betwixt them, ſhe, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Jews*, ſent him a Bill of Divorce, and came away to her Brother *Herod*, telling him that ſhe

Salome leaves her husband and comes to *Herod*.

preferred

preferred his love before her tye to her Husband: the reaſon which ſhe pretended was, that *Coſſaborus* had practiſed ſome innovations with *Lyſimachus*, *Antipater*, and *Doſitheus*, confirming it from this, becauſe he had privily kept in his Country the Children of *Bebas*, now for the ſpace of twelve years from *Herods* taking of *Jeruſalem*: As ſoon as *Herod* heard this, he ſent ſome to their hiding places, and killed them, with many others, to the intent that none ſhould remain of the kindred of *Hyrcanus*: He alſo took out of the way all ſuch as excelled in any dignity, that he might do whatſoever ſeemed him good, there being none to reſiſt him. *Herods* cruelty.

Herod by theſe practiſes growing more ſecure, he began to degenerate more and more from his Country faſhions, violating them by forreign inventions. For firſt he inſtituted wreſtlings every fifth year in the honour of *Cæſar*, for the exhibiting of which, he began to build a Theatre in *Jeruſalem*, and an *Amphitheatre* in the plaine, both of them very ſumptuous for the workmanſhip, but clean contrary to the *Jewiſh* cuſtomes: Yea he would have this ſolemnity to be inrolled, and to be proclaimed in the neighbouring Countries, and to remoter Nations, and by propounding great rewards, he invited, not only thoſe that were skilfull wreſtlers, but alſo excellent Muſitians, and ſuch as played on ſeverall inſtruments. Yet that which above all troubled the *Jews*, were the Trophees, which being covered with Armour, they thought to be Images, forbidden by their Law; but *Herod* to ſatisfie them, commanded the Armour to be taken off, and ſhewed them that they were meer ſtocks of wood, whereupon all their anger was turned into laughter. He inſtituted Games to the diſcontent of the *Jews*.

Herod having many wayes provoked the *Jews*, ten Citizens of *Jeruſalem* made a Conſpiracy againſt him, amongſt whom one was blind, who made one, not becauſe he could do any thing, but to ſhew how ready he was to ſuffer with thoſe that defended their Countrie rights: *Herod* had appointed ſecret ſpies to diſcover ſuch plots, one of which had fiſhed this matter out, and acquainted *Herod* with it, who A conſpiracy againſt *Herod*.

The conspirators are put to Death.

caused them to be apprehended, and when they were brought before him, with undaunted countenances they drew out their weapons from under their garments, protesting, that, not out of any private respect, but in the behalf of the publick weal, they had undertaken this conspiracy. Then were they led away, and put to death with all manner of tortures. Not long after, their accuser being hated of all men, was slain by some, and being cut in pieces, was thrown to the Dogs. Yet were the authors hereof concealed, till after long, and wearisome inquisitions, it was by torture wrung out from some silly women who were privie to it. When *Herod* had thus found out the authors, he punished them with death, and their whole Families.

Herods cruelty.

He fortified *Samaria*, and built a Temple there.

Herod the better to secure himself from the seditions of the tumultuous people, in the thirteenth year of his raign, began to fortifie *Samaria*, which was a days journey from *Jerusalem*, and called it *Sebaste* (or *Augusta*,) The circuit of it was twenty furlongs, in the middest whereof he built a Temple of a furlong and an half, which he wonderfully adorned, and so ordered, that many of the Souldiers, and of the neighbouring Nations came and dwelt there.

He built severall Castles.

Herod also built another Cidadel to be as a bridle to the whole Nation, namely the Tower of *Straton*: Also in the great plain he built a Castle, and chose of his Horsmen by lot, to keep it. Another he built in *Galile*, and one in *Perea*: which Castles being so conveniently disposed in severall parts of the Country, took away from the people all oportunity of rebellion.

Plague, and Famine.

About this time very grievous calamities befel the Nation of the *Jews*. First there was a long drought, after which followed a Famine: After the Famine, by reason of their ill diet, there came divers sicknesses, and the Plague; and *Herod*, having not wherewithall to supply the publick wants, was forced to melt the gold and silver that was in his Pallace, not sparing any thing for the curiosity of the workmanship: no not so much as the vessels which were for his own daily use. These being turned into mony, he sent to buy provisions into *Egypt*, where

Herods care to provide for the people.

where *Petronius* was Governour under *Cæſar*, who though he was peſtered with multitudes that repaired to him upon the like neceſſity, yet being *Herods* friend, he gave his ſervants leave to export Corn, and was aſſiſting to them, both in the buying, and carriage of it.

When the Corn was brought to *Herod*, he was very carefull to ſee it divided, firſt to ſuch as had moſt need, and then becauſe there were many who by reaſon of old age, or ſome other weakneſſe, were unable to dreſſe it themſelves, he appointed them certain Bakers to provide their food for them: By this means he procured the good will of the people, and the praiſe of a prudent and provident Prince.

He provided alſo for his ſubjects againſt the ſharpneſſe of the winter, taking care that none ſhould want clothing, their Cattel being dead, and wool, and other materials failing. And when he had made proviſion for his own People, he took care alſo for the neighbouring Cities of the *Syrians*, to whom he allowed ſeed for ſowing of their ground: and the Caſtles, and Cities; and thoſe of the Common people, who had great Famelies, coming to him for ſuccour, he found a remedy for them alſo: Inſomuch that he gave to thoſe that were not his Subjects ten thouſand Cores of Corn, each Core containing ten *Athenian* buſhels. His bounty to ſtrangers.

Aſſoon as the Corn was ripe for harveſt, *Herod* diſmiſſed fifty thouſand Men, whom he had fed in the time of Famine, into their own Countries: by which dilligence he reſtored the almoſt ruined eſtate of his own Subjects, and did not a little relieve his neighbours, who groaned under the ſame calamities.

At the ſame time alſo he ſent aid to *Cæſar*, to wit, five hundred choſen Men of his own Guard, whom *Ælius Gallus* led into the *Arabian* Wars, where they did moſt excellent ſervice. He ſends aid to *Cæſar*.

Herod alſo built himſelf a Pallace in *Sidon*, in which he built two very large and ſtately Houſes, with which the Temple it ſelf could in no wiſe compare, and called one of them He built himſelf a Pallace.

them by the name of *Caſar*, and the other by the name of *Agrippa*.

He makes a new High Prieſt: and marries *Mariamne*.

Herod having removed from the Prieſthood *Jeſus* the Son of *Phales*, made *Simon* (a Prieſt of *Jeruſalem*, the Son of *Boethus* of *Alexandria*) Prieſt in his room, and took alſo his Daughter *Mariamne* to Wife, that was the moſt beautifull Virgin of that age.

He built another Pallace

The marriage ſolemnities being over, he began to build another new Pallace, unto which he adjoyned a Town, which he called *Herodion*, in a place diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, about ſixty furlongs towards *Arabia*, in the place where he had overcome the *Jews* when he was thruſt out by the Arms of *Antigonus*.

And *Sebaſte*, and a ſtately Haven.

He built alſo *Sebaſte*, and having finiſhed that, he began to build another moſt magnificent City in a place by the Sea-ſide, where *Straton* ſtood, which he called *Caſaria*, and added to it an Haven of admirable work, equall in bigneſs to the Haven *Piræus*: all which he finiſhed in twelve years ſpace, ſparing neither labour nor coſt about them.

He ſent his ſons to *Caſar*.

Then did he ſend his two Sons, *Alexander*, and *Ariſtobulus* (whom he had by *Mariamne* the *Aſmonean*) to *Rome* to *Caſar*, to be there educated under him, for whom Lodgings were prepared at the Houſe of *Pollio*, *Herods* great Friend. *Caſar* intertained the young men very courteouſly, and gave *Herod* power to make which of his ſons he pleaſed the heir of his Kingdom: he added alſo to his Government *Trachonitis*, *Batunæa*, and *Auranitis*.

Caſar enlarged his Kingdom.

He repreſſed the thieves.

When *Herod* had received *Trachonitis*, he took guides, and went to the Den of the Thieves, reſtraining their villanies, whereby the people lived in quiet: But *Zenodorus*, the former Governour, being moved, partly thorough envy, and partly with the loſſe of his Government, went to *Rome* to accuſe *Herod*, but could effect nothing.

He went to *Agrippa*.

About this time *Herod* went to *Mytelene*, to ſalute his chiefeſt friend *Agrippa*, and ſo returned into *Judæa*: and preſently after ſome Citizens of *Gadara* went to *Agrippa* to accuſe *Herod*, whom he vouchſafed not ſo much as to hear, but ſent them bound to *Herod*: Yet did he ſpare them:

for

for though he was inexorable towards his own people, yet did he willingly contemn, and forgive injuries received from strangers.

Zenodorus had solemnly sworn to the *Gadarens*, that he would do his utmost with *Cæsar* to get them freed from the jurisdiction of *Herod*, and to be annexed to the Province of *Cæsar*: Many of themselves also exclaimed against *Herod*; calling him cruell Tyrant, complaining to *Cæsar* of his violence and rapines, and for rasing, and robbing their Temple: Yet was *Herod* nothing herewith terrified, being ready to answer for himself: But *Cæsar* used him courteously, and was nothing alienated from him for all these tumultuous complaints: The *Gadarens* therefore perceiving the inclination of *Cæsar* and his Friends towards *Herod*, despairing of good success, and fearing to be delivered into *Herods* hands, some of them cut their own throats, others fearing torments brake their own necks, or drowned themselves in the River, and thus, seeming to forejudg themselves, *Cæsar* absolved *Herod* from all their accusations.

Herod accused to *Cæsar.*

Zenodorus also having his bowels burst, through much blood that came from him, ended his life at *Antioch* in *Syria*; whereupon *Augustus Cæsar* gave his Tetrarchy to *Herod*: he made him also one of the Governours of *Syria*, commanding the rest of the Governours of that Province, to do nothing without his advice.

Cæsar him enlarged his Dominions.

Herod bestowed upon his Brother *Pheroras* a hundred Talents out of the revenues of his Kingdom, and begged a Tetrarchy for him of *Cæsar*, to the intent that if himself should happen to dy, *Pheroras* estate might be secure, and not subject to *Herods* children.

Cæsar coming into the East, having setled his affairs there *Herod* conducted him to the Sea-side, and so returned into his own Kingdom, where he built a goodly Temple in honor of *Cæsar*, all of white Marble, near to *Panion*, at the foot of which mountain were the spring-heads of *Jordan*. He also remitted to his subjects some part of their Tribute, under pretence that he would ease them after the great dearth, but indeed to appease the minds of his subjects,

Herod built a Temple: and eased his Subjects.

who were offended at his vaſt works, which ſeemed to tend to the deſtruction of Religion and good manners, as was commonly talked. As alſo to prevent theſe reports, he forbad all private meetings in the City, and to frequent Feaſtings: He had ſpies alſo who would mingle themſelves in all companies, and mark what people ſaid: yea himſelf would go about in the night in the habit of a private perſon, and mingle himſelf in the company of people to hear what they thought of him: and ſuch as peremptorily diſliked his doings, he would puniſh without all mercy: the reſt of the multitude he bound to him by Oath, requiring that they ſhould not depart from their fidelity, and duty: Yea he required this Oath of many of the *Phariſees*, as of *Pollio*, and *Samæus*, &c. which though he could not get them to take, yet did he not puniſh them as he did others, in regard of that reſpect that he bore to *Pollio*: Neither did he impoſe it upon the *Eſſeans*, whom he much eſteemed for one *Manahems* ſake, who was a Prophet, and when *Herod* was but a boy, he ſaluted him King of the *Jews*, and foretold that he ſhould Reign above thirty years.

His jealouſies.

He rebuilt the Temple at *Jeruſalem*.

Herod in the eighteenth year of his Reign, propounded to the *Jews* his building the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, whom when he ſaw troubled leaſt, when he had pulled down the old, he ſhould not be able to finiſh a new one, he told them, that the old Temple ſhould remain whole as it was, till all the materials neceſſary for the new Fabrick, ſhould be fully prepared: neither did he deceive them for he provided a thouſand wagons to carry ſtones, and he choſe out of all the Artificers ten thouſand that were the moſt exquiſite workmen, and a thouſand Prieſts, clothed in their Prieſtly garments at his coſt, who were not altogether ignorant of the Maſons, and Carpenters Art, to overſee them.

All neceſſary materials for this ſtately work being provided in the ſpace of two years, *Herod* began to build the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, forty ſix years before the firſt Paſſover of the Miniſtry of Chriſt and therefore that text *Joh.* 11. 20. ſhould be thus tranſlated, *This Temple hath been built forty*

ſix

six years hitherto: So the learned Primate of *Ireland*, and our Country-man *Lydiat*, read it,

Indeed the building of the Temple under *Zorobabel* began in the first year of the Monarchy of *Cyrus*, and after some interruptions, was finished in twenty years space, *viz.* in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*: but the magnificent building of it, begun by *Herod* at this time was finished in nine years space and an half: and truly the riches of *Herod* alone, were not sufficient to perfect so magnificent a structure, but all the holy treasures of many ages, that were sent to them from all the parts of the world to *Jerusalem*, were spent about it. Nine years it was in building.

Not long after *Herod* set sail for *Italy*, to salute *Cæsar*, and to see his Children at *Rome*, and as he passed through *Greece*, he was, not only present at, but Judg of the *Olympick* exercises, where, observing that they did not answer the resort that was to them, through the poverty of the *Elienses*, he bestowed towards them an yearly revenew, that so their Sacrifices might be made the more splendid, as also other things that tended to the gracing of so great a meeting: For which bounty he was declared perpetuall Judg of those exercises. He goes into *Italy*. His bounty.

When he came to *Rome*, *Cæsar* intertained him courteously, and delivered to him his Sons sufficiently instructed in the Liberal Sciences, and so from thence he went into *Galatia*.

At *Jerusalem*, by the diligence of the Priests, the building of the Temple properly so called, that contained the Holy, and the Holy of Holies, was finished in a year and an half; during which time, it is reported that it never rained in the day time, but only in the nights: and in the eight years following, the Porches, the Ranges, and the rest of the buildings about the Temple were all finished.

When *Alexander*, and *Aristobulus* were returned into *Judea*, and had gained all mens love, *Salome* the Sister of *Herod*, and her Faction, fearing that at some time or other they would reveng their Mothers death, cast out a rumour amongst the people, that they hated their Father, because he had caused their Mother to be slain: But *Herod* as yet suspe-

cting no ill, uſed them with all Honour, as they deſerved: and becauſe they were now grown to mens eſtate, he provided them Wives: for *Alexander*, *Bernice*, the Daughter of *Salome*, and for *Ariſtobulus*, *Glaphira*, the Daughter of *Archelaus*, the King of the *Cappadocians*.

Herods Sons married.

Then *Herod* hearing that *Agrippa* was again come into *Aſia*, he went to him, and begged of him that he would come into his Kingdom as to his Friend, and Gueſt; and as he came, he entertained him in all the Cities that he had newly built, ſhewing him the publick buildings, and preſenting, both to himſelf and friends all kind of delights which might ſet forth his magnificence, at *Sebaſte*, and the Port of *Cæſarea*, and in the Caſtles of *Alexandrion*, *Herodion*, and *Hyrcania*. He brought him alſo into the City of *Jeruſalem*, where all the People met him in their beſt, and Feſtivall attire, and with acclamations of joy: *Agrippa* alſo ſacrificed an *Hecatombe* to God, and feaſted the People; and though he would willingly have ſtayed longer there, yet, fearing ſtorms, the Winter now drawing on, he haſted to ſail into *Ionia*, both he and his Friends having been honoured with great preſents by *Herod*.

Herod entertains *Agrippa*.

As ſoon as the Spring came, *Herod* hearing that *Agrippa* was going with an Army to *Boſphorus*, made haſt to meet him, and taking his way by *Rhodes*, and *Chios*, he came to *Lesbos*, thinking there to find him: But *Agrippa* being driven back by contrary North-winds *Herod* ſtaied at *Chios*, to whom many came privately to ſalute him, upon whom he beſtowed many princely gifts, and when he perceived that the Gate of the City that was thrown down in the War againſt *Methridates*, as yet lay buryed in its ruins, and that by reaſon of the poverty of the Inhabitants, it could not by them be reſtored to its former beauty and greatneſs, he beſtowed upon them ſo much mony as would abundantly ſuffice to finiſh it, and exhorted them to haſten the reſtoring of their City to its former beauty, and grandure.

Herods great bounty.

As ſoon, as the wind ſerved, he left *Chios*, and ſailed to *Mytilene*, and from thence to *Byzantium*, and there underſtanding

derſtanding that *Agrippa* had already paſſed the *Cyanian* Rock, he followed him with all ſpeed, and overtook him at *Sinopi*, a City in *Pontus*, where, beyond *Agrippa*'s expectation, he arrived with his Navy: His coming was very grateful to him, and they embraced each other with ſingular affection, *Agrippa* looking upon it as an evident argument of his fidelity and friendſhip, that leaving his manifold occaſions, he would come to him in ſo ſeaſonable a time. Wherefore *Herod* ſtill abode with him in the Army, was companion with him in his labors, and partaker of his counſels: He was alſo preſent with him when he went to be merry, and was the only man that he uſed in difficult matters, for the love that he bore unto him. His love to *Agrippa*

Agrippa having forced the *Boſphorans* to lay down their Arms, in his whole journey thorough many countries and Cities, he gratified *Herod* in many things, and at his intreaty, relieved the neceſſities of many: If any one needed an interceſſor to *Agrippa*, *Herod* was the only man, by whom he could obtain his ſuit and aſſiſted many in whatſoever they had need of. *Agrippaes* love to him.

When they were come into *Jonia*, a great multitude of *Jews* that inhabited that Country, complained of the great injuries that they ſuffered from the *Jonians*, who would not permit them to live after their own Laws, but that upon their Feſtival days, they haled them before their Tribunals, and forbad them to ſend holy money to *Jeruſalem*, which alſo they perverted to ſecular affairs, contrary to the priviledges granted them by the *Romans*: *Herod* took care that *Agrippa* ſhould hear their complaints, and allowed them *Nicholas Damaſcene*, one of his friends, to plead their cauſe, which when he had largely performed before *Agrippa* (many honourable *Romans*, and ſome Kings and Princes being preſent) the *Grecians* denyed the thing, excuſing themſelves that the *Jews* were troubleſom to them: But they on the contrary proved that they were freeborn Citizens, and that they lived according to their own Laws without injuring of any; wherefore *Agrippa* anſwered, that both for his friend *Herod*'s ſake, as alſo becauſe *Herods* favour to the *Jews* in *Jonia*.

that which they demanded was just, he would gratifie them therein: He ordered therefore that the priviledges which were formerly granted them, should remain inviolable, and that none should molest them for living after their Country Laws. Then *Herod* rose up, and gave him thanks in the name of them all: and so after mutuall embraces, they took their leave each of other, and departed from *Lesbos*.

Herod in a few days after, having a prosperous gale, arrived at *Cæsarea*, and from thence went to *Jerusalem*, where, calling all the people together, he gave them an account of his journey, and told them what immunities he had procured for the *Jews* in *Asia*; and to win them the more to his friendship, he professed that he would remit to them the fourth part of his Tribute; with which bounty they being exceedingly taken, wished him all happiness, and departed with great joy.

Herod ingratiates himself with the *Jews*.

Presently after his return, he was greatly incensed by the false accusations and artifices of his Sister *Salome*, and his Brother *Pheroras*, against his two Sons that he had by *Mariamne*, *Alexander*, and *Aristobulus*: whereupon to take down their spirits, he began to use them more hardly, and publickly he put hopes of the Kingdom into his Son *Antipater*, whom he begat when he was a private man, his Mother also being a woman of mean parentage, whom formerly he had banished the City in favour to his two other Sons, and writing often unto *Cæsar* for him privately, he gave him great commendations: and at the intreaties of *Antipater*, he recalled also his Mother *Doris*, whom he had put away when he married *Mariamne*.

He is incensed against his Sons.

Agrippa after his ten years Government in *Asia*, being now to depart, *Herod* sailed to salute him, taking with him of all his Sons only *Antipater*, whom he delivered to *Agrippa* with many gifts, to be carried to *Rome*, and to be brought into *Cæsars* favour.

He visits *Agrippa*.

Antipater was much honoured at *Rome*, being commended to all his Friends by his Fathers letters: and though he was absent, yet desisted he not by writing to incense his Father

Antipaters subtilty.

Father againſt the Sons of *Mariamne*, pretending his great care of his Fathers ſafety, but in truth, to make way for his ſucceſſion in the Kingdom. About this time *Agrippa* died, and being brought into the market-place of *Rome*, *Auguſtus* commended him in a Funerall Oration.

Herod being now incenſed againſt his Sons, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, he ſailed with them to *Rome* to accuſe them before *Auguſtus*, and not finding him there, he followed him as far as *Aquileia*, before whom he accuſed them of treachery againſt him; but the young men ſatisfied all that were preſent by their Apology for themſelves mixed with prayers and tears, ſo that they were reconciled to their Father. After which, giveing thanks unto *Ceſar*, they departed together, and with them *Antipater* alſo, who pretended much joy that they were received into favour again. *Herod* accuſeth his Sons.

A few dayes after *Herod* gave *Ceſar* three hundred Talents, and again *Ceſar* gave him half the revenues of the mettall Mines in *Cyprus*, and the other half alſo he committed to his overſight, and having honoured him with other gifts of Hoſpitality, he gave him leave to chooſe which of his Sons he pleaſed to be his ſucceſſor, or if he liked it better to divide his Kingdom amongſt them, which when he was about to do, *Ceſar* told him that he would not ſuffer but that he ſhould have his Kingdom during his life in his own power, as well as his Sons. *Ceſars* favours to *Herod.*

In *Herods* abſence there was a rumour ſpread in *Judea* that he was dead, whereupon the *Trachonites* revolting, fell to their old trade of thieving; but by the diligence of his Captains that he had left in his Kingdom, they were ſubdued, and forty of the Chief of them, being terrified by the puniſhment of thoſe that were taken, left their country and fled into *Arabia Nabathea*, where they were intertained by *Silæus* (who was an enemy to *Herod*, becauſe he had denyed him his ſiſter *Salome* to wife) who gave them a place to dwell in that was well fortified. Thieves ſubdued.

Herod and his Sons ſailing homeward, arrived at *Seleuſa* in *Cilicia*, where they met with *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, who courteouſly intertained *Herod*, much rejoycing. *Herod* returns with his Sons.

joycing that his Sons were reconciled to him, and that *Alexander* had fairely answered the crimes that were objected against him: and so giving royall gifts each to other, they parted.

Herod being returned into *Judea*, called the people together, and told them what he had don ein his voyage, and declared to them that his sons should reign after him, first *Antipater*, and then *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, that he had by *Mariamne*.

Agrippa born. About this time, in the year of the world 3994, *Agrippa* the first King of the *Jews* of that name, was born, who dyed when he was fifty four years old, being struck by an Angel, *Act.* 12. 23. Also that lame man was now born, who being above forty years old, was healed by *Peter*, at the Beautifull gate of the Temple, *Act.* 4. 22.

Herod having finished *Cæsarea Stratonis* in the twenty eighth year of his Reign, he dedicated it with great solemnity, and many sports and pastimes: After which he began to build another Town in a field called *Capharsala*, which he called *Antipatris*, after his Fathers name, and a Castle also, which he called *Cyprus* after his Mothers name. In honour also of his dead brother, he built in *Jerusalem* a very faire Tower, not inferiour to the *Egyptian Pharos*, and called it *Phasalus*: and afterwards he built a Town of the same name in the valley of *Jericho*, from whence the country thereabouts is called *Phaselus*,

Herods great buildings.

Herod having wasted his wealth by his great prodigality, and now wanting mony, after the example of *John Hyrcanus*, in the night, without the knowledge of the people, he opened *Davids* sepulchre, where, though he found no mony, yet he found great store of precious things, and ornaments of gold, which he took away: for the expiation of which fact, he afterwards built a most sumptuous Monument of white Marble at the entrance of the Sepulchre.

He robs *Davids* Sepulchre

Antipaters subtilty. *Antipater*, suborning other men falsly to accuse his Brethren, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, takes upon him their defence, that making a shew of good will to them, he might

might the easier oppress them: and by these subtilties he so wrought upon his Father, that he thought him to be his only preserver. Hereupon *Herod* commended his Steward *Ptolomy* unto *Antipater*, and communicated all his Counsels with his Mother *Doris*, so that all things were done as they pleased, and still the King was imbittered against those, whom it was their profit that he should be angry with.

About this time *Pheroras* (*Herods* Brother) fell so madly in love with his own servant, that he refused marriage with *Cypros*, the Kings Daughter, that was offered him by his Brother: He also accused *Herod* to his Son *Alexander*, as if he had been greatly in love with his Wife *Glaphyra*: for both which *Herod* was highly displeased with him.

In the year of the world 3996, he began to be diseased, who, lying at the Pool of *Bethesda*, was after 38 years, restored to health by Christ, *Joh.* 5.5.

Alexander, by the subtilties of his adversaries, being even driven to desparation, was at this time reconciled to his Father by *Archelaus*, King of the *Cappadocians*, who came to *Jerusalem* to visit *Herod*, and being accounted one of *Herods* chief Friends, received great gifts from him, and when he departed, *Herod* brought him as far as *Antioch*. *Alexander* reconciled to his Father.

Not long after *Herod* went a third time to *Rome* to visit *Caesar*, in whose absence those Thieves of *Trachonis*, whom *Syllaus* had intertained, with their inrodes infested, not only *Judea*, but all *Coelosyria*; *Syllaus* affording them both impunity, and security. *Herod* goes again to *Rome*.

Herod being returned from *Rome*, celebrated the Dedication of the Temple, reedified by him in the space of nine years and a half, on the very birth day of his Kingdom, which he was wont to celebrate with great joy, at which time he Sacrificed unto God three hundred Oxen, and other of the people offered an innumerable company of Sacrifices, every one according to his ability. He returns and dedicates the Temple.

Herod finding that in his absence his People had sustained much dammage by those Thieves of *Trachonis*, and seeing he could not subdue them, being under the protection of the *Arabian*, he therefore entred *Trachonis*, and destroyed Thieves do much mischief.

their Famelies, which yet did but incense them the more; so that, contemning all dangers, they molested *Herods* Countries with continuall excursions, driving, and carrying away the peoples goods.

Herod, hereupon sent to the Presidents of *Syria*, *Saturninus*, and *Volumnius*, desiring that he might have the punishing of the Thieves of *Trachonis*, who by their incursions had often wasted his Country. They, when they heard hereof, being increased to the number of a thousand, began to waste both fields, and villages, cutting the throats of all that fell into their hands; wherefore *Herod* demanded those Thieves to be delivered over to him, and withall, required the sixty Talents that he had lent *Obodas* upon *Syllæus* his security, who had thrust *Obodas* from the Government, and now ruled all himself: But *Syllæus* denied that the Thieves were in *Arabia*, and deferred also to pay the money; whereupon the business was debated before *Saturninus*, and *Volumnius*, and in conclusion it was determined by them; that within thirty dayes space, both the money should be repaid, and the runawayes of both Countries should be delivered up, and *Syllæus* swore by the *Fortune* of *Cæsar* before the Presidents of *Syria*, that he would perform what was enjoyned.

But when the time was expired, *Syllæus* being unwilling to stand to the agreement, went to *Rome*: and in the mean time *Herod*, by the permission of *Saturninus*, and *Volumnius*, to punish those obstinate people, raised an Army, entred *Arabia*, and marched as far in three days as they used to do in seaven; and when he came to the Castle where the Thieves kept, he took it at the first assault, and demolished a Fortress also called *Raeptu*: and when a Captain of the *Arabians* came to their aid, they joyned battell, in which few of the *Herodians* were slain, but there dyed twenty five of the *Arabians* together with their Captain, whereupon the rest fled. Being thus revenged of the Thieves, he brought three thousand *Idumæans* into *Trachona*, to restrain the theiveries committed there, and certified the *Romane* Generals, that he had only used that power which they had granted against those obstinate *Arabians*, which upon enquiry, they found to be true.

Herod destroies the Thieves.

There

There were Letters posted away to *Rome* to *Syllaus*, that related matters far otherwise, aggravating every thing after their manner, by which Lyes *Cæsar* was so much incensed against *Herod*, that he wrote threatning Letters to him, because he had marched with an Army out of his own Kingdom without his leave: and he was so far provoked, that he would not hear his Ambassadors, but dismissed them without an answer. *Cæsar* incensed against him.

The *Trachonites*, and *Arabians* taking hold of this occasion, molested the Garrison of the *Idumæans* that *Herod* had set over them; but *Herod* being affrighted with *Cæsars* anger, was fain to connive at it.

About this time *Obodas*, King of *Arabia Nabathea* dyed, and one *Æneas* succeeded him, who changed his name into *Aretas*; which *Syllæus* hearing of at *Rome*, endeavoured by false accusations to have him thrust from the Kingdom, and to get it to himself, bestowing much money upon the Courtiers, and promising great things unto *Cæsar*, whom he knew to be offended with *Aretas*, for assuming the Kingdom without his consent. In the mean while *Aretas* sent Letters, and rich presents unto *Cæsar*, and amongst them a Crown worth many Talents: But *Cæsar* would not hear his Ambassadors, and scorned his Presents, and dismissed them without any thing done.

Herod being continually vexed with the insolencies of the *Arabians*, sent *Nicholas Damascene* to *Rome*, to see, if by the mediation of his Friends, he could get Justice from *Cæsar*: But in the mean time the discord with his Sons that he had by *Mariamne*, was greatly heightned by the artifices of *Eurichus*, a *Lacedemonian*, which occasioned *Herod*, to find out their supposed treachery, to put to death by various torments, many both of his own, and of his Sons Friends, yet could he find no other evil by them, but some too free complaints of improvident young men, concerning their Fathers immoderate cruelty, and his too easie hearkning to base pick-thanks, of the wicked deceits of their Brother *Antipater*, and of the faction that was combined against them, and that, to free themselves from these mischiefs, *Herod* falls out with his Sons, and imprisons them.

they were ſaid to think of flying to *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, which thing indeed they did not deny: Hereupon *Herod* caſt them into priſon, as if they had been convicted of treaſon againſt their Father, reſolving to puniſh them according as his affairs went at *Rome* and concerning this buſineſs he ſent Letters to *Cæſar* by *Volumnius*, the *Roman* Generall, and *Olympius*, his Friend.

At *Rome* *Nicholas Damaſcene* joyned himſelf to the *Arabians* that came to accuſe *Syllæus*, profeſſing that he was his accuſer alſo before *Auguſtus*, and not *Herods* defender, and this he did, leſt he ſhould be repulſed as others had been before him. When by this means he had gotten acceſs into *Cæſars* preſence, he indeed laid open many of *Syllæus* his crimes, and withall added, that *Cæſar* was circumvented with his lies in the cauſe of *Herod*, which he confirmed by certain authentick records: This ſo prevailed with *Cæſar* that he condemned *Syllæus*, and remanded him into the Province, that when he had ſatisfied the debt, he might be puniſhed.

Cæſar is reconciled to *Herod.*

From this time *Auguſtus* was reconciled to *Aretas*, and and *Herod*, and then received the Preſents that before he had ſo often rejected, and confirmed the Kingdom of the *Arabians* to *Aretas*. He adviſed *Herod* alſo by his letters, to call a Councel of his Friends at *Berytus*, and joyning the Preſidents of *Syria*, with *Archelaus*, the King of *Cappadocia*, by their joynt advice to determine of the buſineſs about his Sons.

An Angel appears to *Zachary.*

About this time the Angel *Gabriel* (who long before had foretold to *Daniel* the coming of the *Meſſias* by a certain number of weeks) appeared at the right ſide of the Altar of incenſe to *Zachary* the Prieſt, of the courſe of *Abia*, telling him, that there ſhould be born to him now in his old age, his wife *Elizabeth* alſo being well ſtricken in years and barren, a Son called *John*, a *Nazarite*, and the forerunner of the Lord, in the ſpirit, and power of *Elias*: which he not believing was made dumb, *Luk.* 1. 5, 22.

Herod having received *Auguſtus* his letters, rejoyced exceedingly, both becauſe he was returned into his favour and

and for that he had granted him power to do what he would with his Sons, and hereupon he convened by messengers all those that *Cæsar* had appointed, to *Berythus*, except only *Archelaus*, and kept his sons not far from the place, in a City of the *Sidonians*: and the Case being opened, *Saturninus*, one that had been Consul, delivered his opinion, but moderated with circumstances, that *Herods* Sons were to be condemned, but not to be put to death: After him, his three Sons that were his Lieutenants, delivered their opinions to the same purpose: But *Volumnius* pronounced that they were to be punished with death, whose opinion the *major* part followed: and so the Councel being ended, *Herod* took his Sons with him, and meeting with *Nicholas Damascene* at *Tyrus*, they went together to *Cæsarea*.

Herod procures his Sons to be condemned.

Here, when as a certain old Souldier named *Tyro*, had smartly reprehended *Herod* for his wickedness determined against his Sons, and told him that three hundred more of his Captains were of the same opinion, *Herod* commanded him to be cast into prison: *Trypho* the Kings Barber, taking this occasion, accused *Tiro* for that he had often sollicited him to cut the Kings throat with his razor, as he was trimming him, and immediately both *Tiro*, and his Son, and the Barber were tortured: and *Herod* bringing those three hundred Captains, and *Tiro* and his Son, and the Barber, accused them before the People, against whom the people throwing any thing that came next to hand, slew them every one.

Herods cruelty.

Then were *Alexander*, and *Aristobulus* led to *Sebaste*, and there strangled by their Fathers command, and their bodies were buried in the Castle of *Alexandrion*, where *Alexander*, their Grandfather by the mothers side, and many of their Progenitors, had been buried.

Herods Sons strangled.

Antipater, when his Brethren were now dead, intended to remove his Father also out of the way: and knowing that he was hated by many in the Kingdom, he endeavoured by Bribes to get the good will of his Fathers Friends, both at *Rome* and in *Judea*; but especially of *Saturninus*, the Presi-

Antipaters Treason.

dent of *Syria*, and of *Pheroras*, and *Salome*, the Brother and Sister of *Herod.*

At this time *Herod* sent home *Glaphira*, the widdow of his son *Alexander*, to her Father *Archelaus* the King of *Cappadocia*, and gave her a Dowry out of his Treasury, lest some controversie should arise concerning it, and withall, he took great care of the young children of *Alexander*, and *Aristobulus*, which *Antipater* took very heavily, fearing lest when they should come to age, they would hinder his designs: he sought therefore their destruction: and he so overcame *Herod* by his flatteries that he suffered him to marry the daughter of *Aristobulus*, and his son to marry the daughter of his Uncle *Pheroras*.

About this time *Herod* invited *Zamaris*, a *Babilonian Jew*, and gave him a Country in *Trachonis* to inhabit, and this he did, that he might be a guard to that Country against Thieves: and *Zamaris* coming with five hundred Horse, and an hundred of his kinsmen, erected Castles in divers places of that Country, by which means he secured the *Jews* that came from *Babilon* to the Feasts at *Jerusalem* from the Thieves.

Antipater working treason against his Father, drew in his Uncle *Pheroras*, and some of the Kings women, that were most addicted to the Sect of the *Pharisees*, except *Salome*, who constantly adhered to her Brother *Herod*. These *Pharisees* were a crafty people, arrogant, and enemies to Kings, and they only of the whole nation of the *Jews*, refused to swear allegiance to *Herod* and *Cæsar*, and were about six thousand. For which cause *Herod* fined them, and the wife of *Pheroras* paid their fine for them, to whom, by way of requitall, they foretold that the Kingdom should be taken from *Herod*, and his children, and be transferred upon her Husband, and her, and their children: these things *Salome* made known to *Herod*, who examining the business, put some of the *Pharisees* to death, and with them, the Eunuch *Dagoas*, and his darling *Carus*, who was commended to him for his handsomeness; and besides these, all the rest of his Family whom he found to have conspired with the *Pharisees*.

Of the Pharisees.

Herod slew some of them.

Herod

Herod having punished the *Pharisees*, called a Councill of his Friends, and before them began an accusation against the wife of his brother *Pherorus*, and when *Pherorus*, tho to grasie his Brother, would not forsake her, he forbad *Antipater Pherorus* his company: and *Antipater*, that he might remove all suspition from himself, procured by his friends that his Father should send him immediately to *Augustus*: and accordingly *Herod* sent him with great presents, and his *Will*, in which he declared that *Antipater* should succeed him in the Kingdom: but if he died before him, then his Son that he had by *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon* the High Priest. *Herod* sends his Son to *Cæsar.*

In the sixth moneth after *John* was conceived, the Angel *Gabriel* was sent to *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, to the blessed Virgin *Mary*, betrothed to *Joseph*, of the same Tribe with her: *viz.* of the stock of *David*, and declared to her that she should bring forth the Son of God, and call his name *Jesus*, and she being more fully taught of his admirable conception by the power of the Holy Ghost overshadowing her, with great Faith, said, *Be it to the handmaid of the Lord according to thy word*, Luk. 1. 26, 38. and presently after she went into the Hill-Country, into a City of *Judah* (viz. *Hebron*, a City of the Priests, scituated in the mountains of *Judea*, Josh. 21. 10, 11.) where, when she entred into the House of *Zachary*, and saluted her Cousin *Elizabeth*, the babe sprang in her womb, and she, being filled with the Holy Ghost, declared that *Mary* was blessed, *&c.* Luk. 1. 39, 56. The Angel appears to *Mary.*

Herod banished his Brother *Pheroras* into his *Tetrarchy*, because he would not part with his wife, who swore that he would never return till he heard of *Herods* death, so that a little after, *Herod* falling sick, and often sending for him to receive some private instructions, he refused to come for his oaths-sake. *Herod* banishes his Brother.

When *Elizabeths* time was come, she brought forth a Son, who was called *John*, and *Zacharies* speech being restored to him, he propheſied, saying, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel*, &c. *Luk.* 1. 57, 68. and *Joseph* finding his betrothed wife to be with child, thought of putting her away privily, but *John* Baptist is born.

but being warned by God in a dream, he took her to wife, *Mat.*1.24.

Pheroras dieth. *Pheroras* falling sick, and *Herod*, beyond expectation, being recovered, went to visit him, and very kindly sought help for him, but he died within a few dayes after, whose body was brought to *Jerusalem*, and interred by *Herod*, who honoured him with publick mourning.

At this time two of *Pheroras*'s freed men, declared to *Herod* how he was killed by poyson, given him by *Doris*, the Mother of *Antipater*, which whilest *Herod* enquired into, by little and little he found out greater Villanies, and the manifest treasons of his Son *Antipater*, who, when he went to *Rome*, had delivered a deadly poison to *Pheroras*, that was sent him out of *Egypt* from his Uncle *Theodore*, the brother of *Doris*, wherewithall to make away his Father, that so the suspition of the Parracide should not lye upon him, being so far absent.

Antipaters Treason.

Hereupon *Herod* put *Doris* out of the Pallace, and took from her Jewels that were worth many Talents: He also put from him his wife *Mariamne*, the daughter of the High Priest, as a partner of all these secrets, and blotted her son out of his *Will*, and deprived her Father of the High Priesthood, and substituted in his room *Matthias*, the Son of *Theophilus*, that was born at *Jerusalem*.

Presently after came *Bathyllus*, *Antipaters* freed-man from *Rome*, who being tortured, confessed that formerly he had brought poison, and given it to *Doris*, and *Pheroras*, that if the first proved too weak, they should be sure to dispatch *Herod* with the second. There came also letters from his Friends at *Rome*, to the King, written by the entreaty of *Antipater*, in which *Archelaus* and *Philip*, *Herods* sons, were accused for often complaining of the death of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, pitying the misfortune of their murthered brethren: For these young men were studying at *Rome*, and their Father had now commanded their return: whereupon *Antipater* by great gifts corrupted those friends, that by their letters they might make the young men suspected to their Father, who if they lived, might be an hindrance to his hopes.

Antipaters Craft.

About

About this time *Auguſtus* taxing all the *Roman* world, our Lord Chriſt was born, *Luk.* 2.4,5. Chriſt is born.

Shortly after there came wiſe men from the Eaſt, the Star being their guide, to *Herod* at *Jeruſalem*, and there, being taught that the birth place of Chriſt, was *Bethlehem* of *Judea*, thither they went, and entring into the houſe, which was ſhewed them by the Star that ſtood over it, they found the Child, and fell down, and worſhipped him, *&c.* Mat. 2.1,12.

After the Angel of the Lord appeared unto *Joſeph* in a dream, warning him to fly into *Egypt*, where he remained till the death of *Herod*, Mat. 2.13,14,15. *Joſeph* flies into *Egypt.*

Herod thinking that the Child was ſtill at *Bethlehem*, that he might deſtroy him amongſt the reſt, killed all the children which were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the Coaſts thereof, from two years old, and under, according to the time (of the Star firſt ſeen in the Eaſt) that he had enquired of the wiſe men, *Mat.* 2 16. *Herod* kils the children.

Herod receiving letters from *Antipater* from *Rome*, in which he ſignified, that having diſpatched all his buſineſs according to his own mind, he would ſhortly return into his own Country, he wrote back to him again, diſſembling his anger, that he ſhould make haſt, leſt any thing ſhould befall him in his abſence that he ſhould not like of; and alſo gently complaining of his Mother, he promiſed that he would remit all differences after his return. *Herod* enſnares his Son.

Antipater heard no news all this while either of the death of *Pheroras*, or of thoſe things that were on foot againſt him, though there were ſeven moneths ſpace between the wickedneſs proved againſt him, and his return. For in his journey at *Tarentum*, he met with a letter of the death of *Pheroras*, and in *Cilicia* thoſe letters of his Father that called him back ſo haſtily; and when he came to *Celenderis*, a Town of *Cilicia*, he began to doubt of his return, hearing of, and being extream ſorrowfull for the diſgrace of his Mother, yet ſailing forwards, he came to *Sebaſte*, a Port of *Caſarea*, where, being ſaluted by none, he went to *Jeruſalem*. *Antipaters* return.

It happened that *Quintilius Varus*, was the same time at *Jeruſalem*, being ſent as Succeſſor to *Saturninus* into *Syria*, and then called thither by *Herod* to aſſiſt him with his counſell in thoſe his weighty affairs. As they were ſitting both together, in comes *Antipater* not knowing any thing, and in his purple garment that he uſed to wear, entring the Pallace; but himſelf being entred, the Guards ſuffered none of his followers to come in with him: As he was coming near, his Father thruſt him from him, reproaching him with the murther of his Brethren, and his intention of poiſoning his Father, telling him that the next day *Varus* ſhould hear, and determine all things betwixt them, and accordingly the next day, *Varus*, and the King, ſitting in Judgement, his Father himſelf firſt began the accuſation, and left the proſecution, and confirmation thereof to his old Friend, *Nicholas Damaſcene*, one that knew all the buſineſs, and when *Antipater* could not clear himſelf from the crimes objected againſt him, *Varus* commanded the poiſon that he had prepared for his Father to be brought forth, which being given to a condemned man, killed him immediately: after which *Varus* roſe from the Council, and the next day went to *Antiochia*: but *Herod* caſt his Son into priſon, and ſignified ſo much by letters to *Cæſar*: ſending alſo meſſengers, who by word of mouth might acquaint him with the curſed treaſon of *Antipater*.

Antipater accuſed by his Father.

As theſe meſſengers were poſting to *Rome*, *Herod* fell ſick, and made his *Will*, leaving his Kingdom to his youngeſt Son, *Herod Antipas*, being exaſperated againſt his two elder Sons, *Archelaus*, and *Philip*, by the falſe accuſations of *Antipater*.

Herods ſickneſs.

Judas the ſon of *Sariphæus*, and *Matthias*, the ſon of *Margalothus*, two of the moſt learned of the *Jews*, and beſt Interpreters of the Law; knowing that the Kings ſickneſs was incurable, perſwaded ſome young men, that were their Scholars, to throw down the Golden Eagle that was ſet up by *Herod*, over the great gate of the Temple; who accordingly, going up at noon-day, pulled and hewed down with their axes the Eagle, a great multitude being in the Temple,

The Golden Eagle hewn down.

Temple, and beholding it: which as ſoon as it was told the Captain, he came with a ſtrong band of ſouldiers, and laid hold upon ſome forty of the young men, together with their Maſters, and brought them to *Herod*: Theſe conſtantly defending what they had done, *Herod* commanded them to be bound, and ſent them to *Jericho*: Then calling for the Rulers of the *Jews*, into whoſe Aſſembly he was brought in a Litter, by reaſon of his weakneſs, he complained to them, not ſo much of the injury done to himſelf, as to God (as he ſaid) Theſe denying that it was done by their order, ſomewhat pacified him, only he took away the High Prieſthood from *Matthias*, whom he ſuſpected not to be a ſtranger to that fact, and made his ſucceſſor *Jazer*, the Brother of his Wife *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon* the High Prieſt; but he burned alive the other *Matthias* that was the author of this ſedition, and his companions.

Herod puts them to death.

Herods diſeaſe began now to grow worſe: for he was burned with a ſlow fire, which was not perceived ſo much by the outward touch, as by the inward effects of it, which burnt up his very bowels: He had alſo the diſeaſe called the *Bulemia*, or Dog-like appetite, which provoked him to a continuall deſire of eating, and yet nothing would ſatisfie him: He was alſo continually tormented with ulcers in his bowels, and pains of the collick: His feet ſwelled with a moiſt phlegm, and his thighs alſo: His members rotted and were full of worms, which occaſioned an intollerable ſtink: He was no leſs troubled with a *Priapiſme*: and moreover was vexed with grievous convulſions, and difficulty of breathing.

His ſickneſs encreaſeth.

And though he was ſo grievouſly tormented, that every one judged that he could not be able to endure it long, yet he hoped that he ſhould break through it, being very carefull to ſend for the ableſt *Phyſicians*, and ſought medecines from every place: He went alſo beyond *Jordan* to the hot Baths at *Callirhoe*, which run into the *Aſphaltite* lake, which beſides the medecinal vertue, are pleaſant, and good to be drunk: There being, by the advice of his *Phyſicians*, ſet into a bathing tub of oil, he ſeemed to them to be giving up the Ghoſt, yet by the ſudden crying out, and lamentations of his Friends, he came to himſelf again, and now ſeeing no hope of recovery, he commanded fifty *Drachmaes* to be given to every ſouldier, and having ſhewed much liberality to his Captains, and Friends, he returned again to *Jericho*.

All means of cure fail him.

Auguſtus

Augustus being told that amongst the children which *Herod* had caused to be slain at *Bethlehem*, there was a son also of his own slain, He said, *That it was better to be* Herods *hog than his Son.*

Herod by an edict called together to *Jericho*, all the most Noble of the *Jews*, and when they came, he shut them all up together in a place called, the *Hippodrome*, giving command to his sister *Salome*, and her husband *Alexus*, that as soon as he was dead, they should cause his souldiers to slay them all, that so the people might have cause of sorrow, who otherwise (he feared) would rejoyce at his death

His cruelty.

At this time letters came from *Rome* from the Ambassadors whom he had sent to *Cæsar*, wherein they certified him that the Emperor left *Antipater* to his Fathers pleasure, either to banish, or to put him to death. *Herod* hearing this, was a little cheared: but presently his torments returning, and being greedy of meat, he called for an apple and a knife to pare it, intending with the knife to have stabbed himself, which also he attempted: but *Archelaus*, his Nephew, prevented him, and holding his right hand, called for help. This accident caused much sorrow, fear, and tumult through the whole Pallace, as if *Herod* had been dead.

He attempts to murther himself.

Antipater perceiving the noise, thought verily that his Father was dead, and thereupon began to tamper with his Keeper about letting him out, promising him great rewards, both for the present, and for the future when it would lye in his power amply to reward him: This his practice the Keeper told to the King, who for indignation cryed, and though he was so near death, yet did he raise up himself on his Bed, and commanded one of his Guard to go presently and kill *Antipater*, and to bury him in the Castle of *Hyrcanion* without any honour, which was done accordingly.

Antipater slain.

Then did he make a new Testament: for *Antipas*, whom before he had made successor to his Kingdom, he made *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, and *Petrea*: To his son *Philip* he assigned the regions of *Gaulanith*, *Trachonitis*, *Batanea*, and *Pancada* in the name of a Tetrarchy, but he gave the Kingdom to his Son *Archelaus*: To his sister *Salome* he gave *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phasaelis*, with five hundred thousand *Drachmaes*: To the rest of his kindred he gave money, and yearly Pensions. To *Cæsar* he gave ten Millions of *Drachmaes* of silver, and all his Plate, as well of Gold as of Silver, and a great quantity of precious moveables: and To *Livia*, *Cæsars* wife, and some certain friends, he gave five Millions of *Drachmaes*.

Herods Will.

Having thus ordered these things, five dayes after *Antipater* was put to death, he dyed himself, having enjoyed the Kingdom 34 years after the death of *Antigonus*: but from the time that he was declared King by the *Romans*, 37 years, about the 25th of our *November*, in the year of the world 4001, and after the birth of Christ, about two years. *FINIS.*

His Death

THE LIFE & DEATH OF HANNIBAL THE GREAT CAPTAIN OF THE CARTHAGINIANS,

Who maintained Wars againſt all the power of ROME for eighteen years together in ITALY.

AS ALSO

The LIFE and DEATH of EPAMINONDAS the GREAT CAPTAIN of the THEBANS,

Who was famous both for his Virtues and Valour.

By S A. CLARKE, ſometime Paſtor in St *Bennet Finck*, London.

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LONDON,
Printed for William Miller at the Sign of the Golden Acorn in St. Pauls Churchyard, near the little North door. 1683.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF HANNIBAL THE GREAT.

Hannibal, the Son of *Amilcar* was about tweenty six years old, when he was chosen Generall of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army as soon as *Asdrubal* (their late Generall) was dead, and the election was approved, and confirmed by the Senate of *Carthage*, whitherwith *Hanno*, and his faction was nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* Family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose surname was *Barca*) that commanded in chief over the men of War. *Hanno* therefore and his Partizans, being not able to hurt the Vertue of their enemies, nor to perform the like services to the Common-wealth, had nothing

Hannibal chosen Generall.

thing left whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehensions of War, and cautelous advise of not provoking the *Romans*: but they were little regarded. For the *Carthaginians* saw apparently, that the Oath of the *Romans* to the Articles of Peace, was like to hold no longer, than till the *Romans* could find some good advantage to renew the War. It was therefore rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst they were in a fit condition, the War should begin, rather than in some unhappy time of Famine or Pestilence; or after some great losse in their Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yeild to the impudent demands of their insulting enemies.

This disposition of his Citizens *Hannibal* well enough understood. Neither was he ignorant that, in making War with the *Romans* it was no small advantage to get the start of them. Could he but bring his Army into *Italy*, he hoped to find Friends and assistance, even from those People, that helped to encrease the Armies of the *Romans*. But his design must be carried privately, or else it would be prevented. He resolved therefore to lay Siege to *Saguntum* in *Spain*, where he now was with his Army, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*.

Having resolved hereupon, nevertheless he went orderly to work, beginning with those that lay next in the way. First therefore he entered into the Territory of the *Olcades*, and besieging *Althaea*, in a few dayes he became Master, not only of it, but of all the other Townes in their Country; and the Winter coming on, he rested his Army in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*, imparting liberally to his Souldiers of the Spoiles that he had gotten in his late Conquests.

He besieges, and takes many Townes.

In the Spring he made War upon the *Vaccai*, and with little difficulty won first *Salamanca*, and after *Arbucala*, though not without a long Seige and much difficulty. But in his return he was put to the hazard

both of his Valour, and Prudence. For all such of the *Vaccai* that could bear Armes, being made desperate by the Spoile of their Country, with diverse others that had escaped in the late overthrow, ioyning with the *Toletans*, made up an Army of one hundred thousand able men, waiting for *Hannibal* on the Banks of the River *Tagus*. They knew that he was very adventurous, and had never turned his back upon any enemy, and therefore hoped, that having him at such an advantage, they should easily have foiled him. But at this time our Great man of War, knew as well how to dissemble his Courage, as at other times to make good use of it. For he withdrew himself from the River side, as seeming fearfull to passe over it, aiming thereby to draw over that great multitude from their Banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, as *Hannibal* expected and desired, thinking that he retreated out of feare, thrust themselves in a disordered manner into the River, to pursue him. But when *Hannibal* saw them well neare over, he turned back his Elephants to entertain them at their landing, and thrust his Horsemen, both above and beneath them into the River, who by the advantage of their weapons slew almost all of those in the River without resistance, and then pursued the rest, who being amazed, fled, and so he made a very great slaughter of them.

His Valour, and Policy.

His Victory.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the storme drawing neare to them, hastened their Ambassadours to *Rome*, who complained that they were like to be undone, onely for their Friendship to the *Romans*. This so moved the Senate, that some would have War presently proclaimed, both by Sea, and Land, and the two Consuls sent with Armies, one into *Spain*, the other into *Affrick*: But others went more soberly to work (according to the *Roman* gravity) whereby it was concluded, that Ambassadours should be sent into *Spain*, to view the State of their Confederates.

These Ambassadours found *Hannibal* at *Carthagena*, where

where they had Conference with him, who carried himself so reservedly, that they departed, as doubtfull as they came. But whilst they were passing to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared, not only his Forces, but some *Roman* pretences against *Saguntum*. For the *Tudetani*, who were neighbours to the *Saguntines*, complained to him of sundry wrongs that they had received from them of *Saguntum*: Probably *Hannibal* himself had hatched some of them. Having therefore such an occasion, he sat down with his whole Army before *Saguntum*. The *Romans* were glad of the Quarrel, as hoping that *Carthage*, with all belonging thereto, would in short space become their own. Yet were they not hasty to threaten before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize untill they had an Army in readinesse to be sent into *Spain*, where they intended to make *Saguntum*, the seat of War.

He besieges *Saguntum*.

In the beginning of *Hannibals* Siege, his *Carthaginians* were much discouraged by reason of the brave Sallies which the *Saguntines* made upon them, in one of which *Hannibal* himself received a dangerous wound in the thigh that made him unable to stir for many dayes. Yet in the meantime he was not unmindfull of his businesse, but gave order to build certain movable Towers that might equall those upon the City walls, and to prepare to batter the Curtaines, and to make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soon wrought their desired effect. A large breach was made by the fall of some Towers, whereat a hot assault was given: But it was so gallantly defended by the besieged, that the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the City, which in the first fury they had wan, but they were pursued even to their own Trenches and Camp. Yet at length the *Carthaginian* Army, (wherein were one hundred and fifty thousand men,) did so tire out the Townsmen by their continuall Allarms, that at length it got into the Town, and had been Masters of it, but that they

were

were hindred by some Counter-works which the Besieged had raised.

In this extreamity there was one *Alorcus*, that came out of the City to treat with *Hannibal*, who would give no other tearmes but these hard ones. That they should deliver up to him all the Gold, Silver, and Plate, and other Riches which they had in the City. That the Citizens should leave the City, and take up such other habitations as he should appoint them. Neither should they carry any more out with them, save the cloaths on their backs. These tearmes seemed so unreasonable to *Alcon*, that he durst not returne into the City to propound them to the Citizens. Yet might they far better have submitted thereto, how hard soever, because thereby they might have saved their lives, and the honour of their wives and Daughters, whereas, the City being shortly after taken by storm, they saw their Wives and Daughters defloured before their faces, And all put to the Sword that were above fourteen years of age. The Treasures found in *Seguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* reserved, therewith to pay his Army. The Slaves, and other booty, he divided amongst his souldiers, reserving some choise things, wherewith to present his Friends at *Carthage*, to encourage them to the War.

Seguntum taken.

This news exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, being angry at their own slowenesse to send help to *Saguntum*, which held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, but in vain. Then did the *Romans* send Ambassadors to *Carthage*, to demand whether this act were done by their consents, or whether it were *Hannibal* presumption alone? If they granted the latter, they were to give them defiance. Answer was made them in the Senate of *Carthage* by one of the Senators, to this effect, That by this Message the Commonwealth of *Carthage* was urged to plead Guilty, or not Guilty. That it belonged to them to call their own Commanders to question, and to punish them according to their faults; but the

Roman Ambassadors sent to *Carthage*.

The *Carthaginians* answer.

the *Romanes* to challenge them if they had done any thing contrary to their late League and Covenant. *Yes true* (said this Speaker) *when in our negotiations with* Luctatius *your Ambassador, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended; but the* Saguntines *were not then your Allies, and therefore no parties to the Peace then made. For of your Allies for the future, or of ours, there was no question. As for the last agreement between you and* Asdrubal, *wherein you alledge that the* Saguntines *were comprehended, 'tis you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever was found in the Treaty, between us and* Luctatius, *to your dishonour, you said it was his presumption, as promising those things for which he had no Commission from your Senate. If then it be lawfull for you to disavow the Actions of your Ambassadors and Commanders, concluding any thing without precise Warrant from you; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour to perform the contract that* Aſdrubal *made for us, without our Command and Consent.*

In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Romane* Ambaſſadors to tell them plainly the purposes of those that sent them; whereupon *Q. Fabius*, gathering up the ſkirt of his Gown, as if ſomthing had been in the hollow thereof, made this ſhort reply; *I have herein my Gown-skirt both Peace and War; Make you (my Masters of the Senate) election which of the two you will have.* All anſwered, even which of them you have a fancy to offer us. Then (quoth *Fabius*) *take War, and ſhare it amongſt you.* Which all the Aſſembly willingly accepted.

War denounced by the *Romanes.*

War being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* reſolved not to put up his Sword which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*, till he had therewith opened his paſſage to the Gates of *Rome*. So began the ſecond *Punick* War, indeed ſecond to none that ever the People of *Rome* met with. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthagena*, giving licenſe to his *Spaniſh* Soldiers to viſit their Friends, and to be at their rendezvous againſt the Spring. In the mean while, he gave inſtructions to his Brother *Aſdrubal* for

the Government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order to send many Troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to supply the rooms of those *Africans* which he had drawn into *Spain*, as also that the one Nation might remain as Pledges for the other. He selected also four thousand Foot, all young men, and Persons of quality, out of the best Cities of *Spain*, which were to be Garrisoned in *Carthage* it self, not so much to strengthen it, as that they might serve for Hostages. He also left with his Brother, to guard the Coasts, and Ports, fifty seven Gallies, whereof thirty seven were ready Armed. Of *Africans* and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Hannibal prepares for Italy.

Having thus taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*, he sent some to discover the Passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains that part *Spain* from *France*; and of the *Alps*, that part *France* from *Italy*. He sent Ambassadors to the inhabitants of the *Pyrenees*, and to the *Gauls* to obtain a quiet passage, that he might bring his Army into *Italy*. These being returned with good satisfaction; In the beginning of the Spring he passed over the River of *Ebrus* with an Army of ninety Thousand Foot, and twelve Thousand Horse.

All those parts of *Spain* which had not before been entered, he now subdued, and appointed one *Hanno* to Governe *Spain* on the East side of *Ibrus*, with whom he left ten Thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse. When he came to the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Soldiers returned home without asking leave; which, that others also might not attempt, he courteously dismissed such as were willing to be gone: Hereby the journey seemed the less tedious to such as accompanied him voluntarily. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty Thousand Foot, and nine Thousand Horse, he passed the *Pyrenees*, and entered into

He Conquers much of *Spain*.

His passage through *France*.

Gaul (now *France*:) But he found the *Gauls* bounding upon *Spain* ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Country: but with gentle Speech, and rich Presents, which he sent to their Leaders, he won them to favour his expedition. So without any other molestation, he came to the Banks of *Rhodanus*, where dwelt on each side of the River a People called *Volcæ*. Their being unacquainted with the cause of his coming, fought to stop his passage over the water: But he was greatly assisted by those of *Vivarets*, and *Lionois*: for though many of them had transported themselves, and their goods into *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the Banks against him; yet such as remained, being willing to free their Country from such unwelcome Guests, they helped him to make Boats: informed him of a better passage higher up the River, and sent him Guides.

He is opposed.

When his Boats were ready, he sent *Hanno* the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River to the Foard, and himself in the meantime made a shew of entering the Foard below; that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* on their own side, and himself at the same time passing the River in their faces, might win the further Bank, which was done accordingly, though with some difficulty, and thereby the enemies were dispersed.

His Victory in *France*.

Having passed this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River and those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Cisalpine-Gauls*, that inhabited *Piemont*, and *Milan*, who had lately revolted from the *Romanes*. These informed him that the passage over the *Alps* was not so difficult as report made it, and gave him Guides, with many other encouragements. Yet found he himself extreamly encombred by the *Savoyards*, and lost more of his Carriages and *Carthaginians* than he could well spare. For he was twice strongly assaulted by them before he could recover the plaines on the other side. He was fifteen dayes passing over the *Alps*, wherein, besides the trouble of his enemies,

Some *Gauls* incourage him.

He passeth the *Alps*.

mies, he was much aſſaulted by ſoule weather, and Snow, it being now the beginig of Winter. But the fair and fertile plaines which they now were entring into, with the aſſiſtance, and encouragment of the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, gave them much comfort, having nothing elſe of difficulty remaining, but that which from the begining they made account to overcome by their proper valour and reſolution, namely the *Romane* Armies and reſiſtance.

The *Romane* Ambaſſadours who had denounced War at *Carthage*, in their return homewards, took *Spain* in their way, with a purpoſe to draw into their Alliance as many Cities, and Princes as they could: The firſt that they attempted were the *Volcians*, from whom they received this anſwer: that they would never joyn with them who had forſaken the *Saguntines* in their greateſt need; and that themſelves had found the *Carthaginians* ſuch good neighbours, that they meant ſtill to adhere to them. From *Spain* the Ambaſſadours paſſed through *Gaul*, perſwading them not to ſuffer *Hannibal* to paſſe through their Countery, and gloried much in their own ſtrength: But the *Gauls* laughed them to ſcorn, and had ſcarce patience to hear them ſpeak: Telling them that they meant not to ſet their own Houſes on Fire to ſave the *Romanes* from burning; That the *Carthaginians* had never offended them as the *Romanes* had done, who had already forced ſome of them out of their habitations, and made others Tributaries, who were as free as themſelves.

With theſe unpleaſing anſwers the Ambaſſadours returned home; carrying no good newes of friends like to help them, but rather that the *Gauls* intended to take part with their enemies. And accordingly when the *Ciſalpine Gauls* heard that the *Carthaginians* had paſſed *Iberus*, and were marching towards *Rome*, the *Boij*, and *Inſubrians* roſe up againſt the *Romans*: Their quarrel was the late planting of *Roman* Colonies at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore

The *Gauls* riſe againſt the *Romans*,

fore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they thought to be at hand, laying aside all regard of those Hostages that they had lately given to the *Romans*, they fall upon those Colonies. The Towns they could not win, but they forced the *Romane* Comissioners, which were abroad, to fly into *Modena*, where they besieged them. But the *Gauls*, having little skill in besieging Cities, grew weary, and were desirous of Peace: This they did on purpose to draw on some meeting, that laying hands on the *Romane* Deputies, they might with them redeem their Hostages; and it fell out in part according to their wish: For Ambassadours comming to them from *Rome* to treat with them, they made them Prisoners. *Manlius* the *Prætor*, hearing of this outrage, marched with his Army to relieve the besieged. But the *Gauls* laid an Ambush in his way, that falling upon him, utterly routed him, and slew most of his Army except a few that escaped into a defensible place upon the River *Po*. This being heard of at *Rome*, *Caecilius*, the other *Prætor*, hasted with an other Army to relieve the besieged.

They besiege *Modena*.

But as the *Gauls* were too hasty, so the *Romans* were too slow in the begining of this War. For they could not believe that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities from them in the late peace, durst be so bold on a suddain as to attempt the Conquest of *Italy* itself. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make War in *Spain*, and the other in *Africk*. *Titus Sempronius* went into *Africk*, with one hundred and sixty Gallies of five to an Oare, which preparations seemed to threaten *Carthage*: her self *Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, hasted towards *Spain*, and by the way, touching at *Massilia*, he was there informed, that *Hannibal* had passed the River *Rhodanus*, whom he had thought to have found busy in *Spain*. *Hannibal* also heard of the Consuls arrival, with whom he meant to have nothing to do. Yet both sent forth Scouts, *Hannibal* sent out five hundred Numidians,

The *Romans* send an Army into *Spain*.

[It]alians, and *Scipio* three hundred of his beſt Horſe. They met, and fought, and the *Romans* had the better of it. But when *Scipio* drew neer, thinking to have met with the *Carthaginians*, he found that they were gone three dayes before with an intent to ſee the Walls of *Rome*.

Scipio hereupon ſent his Brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* into *Spain*, with the greateſt part of the Army againſt *Aſdrubal*, and himſelf with the choiſeſt, returned back, and landing at *Piſa*, he marched through *Tuſcany*, and *Lumbardy*, where he drew together the broken Bands of *Manlius*, and *Atilius*, who were lately beaten by the *Gauls*, intending therewith to oppoſe the enemy, thinking to find them tired with their long Journey.

Hannibals loſſes in his march.

Five moneths *Hannibal* had ſpent in that tedious march from *Carthagena*. When he had paſſed *Rhodanus*, he had in his Army but thirty eight thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, the reſt having periſhed with Diſeaſes, Enemies, Rivers, and Mountaines. Having newly paſſed the *Alps*, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearied Army in *Piemont*, he ſought the friendſhip of the *Taurini*, who being at this time in War with the *Inſubrians*, (his good Friends) the *Taurini* refuſed it, whereupon he beſieged their chiefe Town, and in three dayes wan it, the ſpoil whereof did much incourage his Army, and the others Calamity terrified their Neighbours. Moſt of thoſe parts would willingly have joyned with *Hannibal*, but when the Conſul *Scipio* came amongſt them, they began to be better adviſed. This wavering affection amongſt the People, made the Generals to haſten a Battle. Their meeting was at *Ticinum* [now *Pavia*] where each of them wondred at the others expedition.

The Senate at *Rome* were much amazed at *Hannibals* arrival in *Italy*, wherefore they ſent preſently for *Sempronius* the other Conſul, now in *Sicily*, to give him notice what had [illegible], requiring him ſpeedily to re-

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Hannibal prepares to fight.

turn with his Army for the safegard of *Italy*, which accordingly he did. *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were now so near, that fight they must ere they could part, and therefore each of them encouraged their Souldiers by the best arguments they had: *Hannibal* assuring his men that there was no mean betwixt *Victory* and *Death*.

A Battel.

When the Armies approached near each to other, *Scipio* sent forth his Horsemen of the *Gauls* to begin the fight, joining them with his Darters for their assistance; himself with his men at Armes followed slowly in good order. The *Gauls*, being in their Generals sight, behaved themselves gallantly, and were as bravely opposed; but their Darters at the very first ran cowardly away without casting a Dart, for fear of being trodden down by the enemies Horse. Yet did the *Gauls* maintain it stoutly, and did more hurt than they received: neither was *Scipio* unmindfull to relieve them; wherefore he adventured himself so far, that he received a dangerous wound, and had there perished if his Son (afterwards called *Africanus*) had not brought him off. Whilst the *Romans* were busy in helping their Consul, an unexpected storm assailed them at their backs: *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* Horsemen to charge the *Romans* in their Flank, and to compass them about, whilst he, with his men at Armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed it well, cutting in pieces the scattered Foot that ran away at the first encounter, and then falling on the backs of those that charged *Hannibal*, by this impression the *Romans* were shuffled together and routed, betaking themselves to their heels, and leaving to their enemies the honour of the day.

The *Romans* beaten.

Scipio perceiving how things were like to go, almost stole the Retreat with most of his Footmen yet unbroken, and recovered the Bridge over *Tiber*: but notwithstanding his hast, he lost six hundred of his men which brought up his Rear, and should have [illegible] down

down the Bridge. It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the River: *Scipio* in the mean time refreshing his men, and easing himself of his wound in *Placentia*: But when *Hannibal* presented them Battel again, and they durst not accept of it, the *Gauls*, which before assisted the *Romans* out of fear, took courage and left them, and thinking that now the time was come for the recovery of their liberty, that night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp, wounded and slew many, especially of those that kept the Guard, with whose Heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their service: *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteously, and sent them to their own homes that they might perswade the rest of the Nation to become his confederates.

The *Gauls* forsake the *Romans*.

The same night the Consul stole a retreat as he had done before, but not with the like successe: For *Hannibal* had an eye upon him, and ere he was gone far, he sent his *Numidians* after him, and himself followed with the Body of his Army. Then had the *Romans* received a great blow, but the *Numidians*, greedy of prey, fell to ransacking their Camp, and thereby gave them liberty of escaping, only some in the Reare were either slain or taken Prisoners. *Scipio* being unable to travel by reason of his wound, and judging it meet to stay for the coming of his fellow Consul, entrenched himself strongly upon the Banks of the River *Trebia*; which so diminished his reputation, that every day more of the *Gauls* fell to *Hannibal*, amongst whom came in the *Boij*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commissioners: Hitherto they had kept them as pledges wherewith to recover their own Hostages; but now they delivered them to *Hannibal* as tokens of their affection to him.

Hannibal beates the Consul.

Hannibal being in great want of victuals, he attempted the taking of *Clastidium*, wherein the *Romans* had laid all their Store, and Amunition, and a *Brundusian*, that had the keeping of it, surrendred it to him for a little money.

He wins *Clastidium*.

The newes of theſe diſaſters coming to *Rome*, filled the Senate, and People with a deſire of revenge, their Foot wherein their greateſt ſtrength lay, being yet entire: they therefore haſted away *Sempronius* with his Army, who by ſpeedy marches came to *Scipio* upon the Banks of *Trebia*. The Conſuls took counſel what was fitteſt to be done, now that their Armies were conjoyned: *Sempronius*, was eager to fight before *Scipio* recovered of his wound, that he might get the whole glory of the Victory: He alſo feared the election of new Conſuls, his time being almoſt expired: But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrary by many arguments: yet would not *Sempronius* be taken off, wherewith *Hannibal* was exceedingly pleaſed, who feared nothing ſo much as delayes. To further the deſire of *Sempronius*, the *Gauls* that inhabited near to *Trebia*, complained of injuries done to them by the *Carthaginians*. Indeed they neglected to ſupply *Hannibal* with neceſſaries, and therefore he was bold to be his own Carver. Hereupon *Sempronius* ſent forth a thouſand Horſe, which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibals* Forragers, who were heavy laden, they cut many of them in pieces, and chaſed the reſt even to their Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* to ſally out, who cauſed them to retire faſter than they came: *Sempronius* relieved his own men, and *Hannibal* did the like: So that at length the *Roman* Army was drawn forth, and Battel offered, if the *Carthaginians* had not refuſed it.

Hannibals Forragers beaten.

This Victory (for ſo the Conſul would name it) made the *Romans* very deſirous to try it out in open Field, notwithſtanding *Scipios* diſwaſion from it. This *Hannibal* was informed of by the *Gauls* that were in the *Roman* Camp: therefore he reſolved to ſecure the Victory by adding a Stratagem to his forces. He found in a hallow place overgrown with Reeds, a fit trench to cover an Ambuſh: Therein he caſt his Brother *Mago* with a thouſand choiſe Horſe, and as many Foot. The reſt of his Army, when he had well fed, and refreſh-

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ed them, he led into the Field and marched towards the Conſuls. Early in the morning he had ſent over the River ſome *Numidian* Horſmen to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad Dinner before he had broken his Faſt. *Sempronius* readily embraced the oportunity of fighting, and forthwith ſent over the River, in a miſerable cold day, his Footmen, who were almoſt to the armeholes, which together with the want of food, did much enfeeble them: The *Romans* were ſtrong in Foot, having in all thirty ſix thouſand: the Maſſe of thoſe were ranged in a groſſe Battalion, guarded on the Flanks with three thouſand Horſe, thruſting their light-armed and Darters in looſe Companies before the reſt in the nature of a Vauntguard. The *Carthaginians* equalled them in Foot, and exceeded them in Horſe: when therefore the *Roman* Horſe were broken by the *Numidians*: when their Foot were charged, both in Front and Flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and Elephants, and when all were preſſed in the Reare by *Mago* and his men out of the Ambuſh, then fell the *Romans* by heaps under their enemies Swords, and were beaten down as well fighting as flying, ſo that of thirty ſix Thouſand, there eſcaped no more than ten thouſand of all ſorts.

Another Battel.

The *Romans* beaten.

The remainder of this broken Army was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*, ſtealing away the ſame night, which was very rainy. *Sempronius* eſcaped with great danger, and fled to *Rome*, where he did his Office in chooſing new Conſuls for the year following, and then returned to his Province with a freſh ſupply againſt *Hannibal*.

The Winter proved very ſharp, and unfit for ſervice, which well pleaſed the *Romans*, who lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet did not *Hannibal* ſuffer them to lie very quiet, but vexed them with continual Alarms, aſſaulting divers places, and taking ſome. He alſo wan the *Lygurians* to him, who, to teſtifie

Hannibals Policy.

their faithfull love, presented him with two *Roman Questors*, [Treasurers,] two Collonels, and five young Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators. These and all his other Prisoners, *Hannibal* held in streight places, loaden with Irons, and misserably fed. But their followers he intreated courteously, and sent them to their own Countries without ransome, protesting that he undertook the War in *Italy* to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these meanes he drew many to his party, and assistance. But some of the *Gauls*, fearing that their Country should be made the seat of War, conspired against his Life: others discovered the danger to him, who yet, soon after, were ready to practice the same; which enforced *Hannibal* to use Perukes and false Beards the better to conceal himself from them.

Treacheries against him.

At length when Summer was come, he resolved to leave these giddy Companions and so passed the *Appenine* Hills that he might approach nearer to *Rome*. So away he went having his Army much recruted with *Lygurians* and *Gauls*; and to prevent the obstructions in the ordinary way, he chose to travel through the *Fennes* of *Tuscany*. In those Marshes and Bogs he lost all his Elephants save one, with one of his own eyes, through the moistnesse of the Aire, and by lodging on the cold Ground: Yet at last with much ado, he recovered the firme and fertile Plaines, and Quartered about *Arretium*, where he somwhat refreshed his weary Army, and heard newes of the *Romane* Consuls.

His dangerous march.

C. Flaminius and *Cn. Servilius*, were newly chosen Consuls for this year: The first a tractable man, wholly governed by the Senate; the other a hotheaded man, who fearing some obstruction, gat him out of the City before the day of Election, that he might, as soon as he was chosen, take possession of his Office: fearing least he should lose his Honour, which he hoped to gain in the War. The Senators were so displeased at this, that they sent for him back; but he neglected their Command,

mand, and hasted to meet with the *Carthaginians*, whom he found at *Arretium*.

Hannibal was well pleased with the fiery disposition of this Consul: and therefore provoked him by many indignities, hoping thereby to draw him to fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. For which end he put to Fire and Sword all the Country round about him, even under the Consuls nose. By this *Flaminius* thought his Honour to be much empaired, and therefore advanced towards the enemy. Many advised him to stay for his Colleague, but he would not be perswaded: Then he commanded the Army to march.

All the Territory of *Cortona* as far as to the Lake of *Thrasymene* was on a light fire, which, whilst *Flaminius* thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell, with his whole Army into an Ambush: from thence he was charged unaware from all sides, so that he knew not which way to turne, nor how to make resistance. There was he slain in that place, accompanied with the carcasses of fifteen thousand of his Countrymen: About six thousand of his Vantguard took courage out of desparation, and breaking through their enemies, they recovered the tops of the Mountains: but being discovered there, *Maharbal* was sent after them, who overtook them by night in a Village, and surrounded them with his Horse, and so they yielded, rendering up their Armes upon promise of life and liberty. This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme, and so made them all Prisoners.

The *Romans* beaten again.

At this time he had about fifteen thousand Prisoners: all that were not *Romans* he set free without ransome, still portesting, that for their sakes he came into *Italy*: But the *Romans* he kept in streight Prison, and held them to hard meat.

Presently after the Battell of *Thrasymene*, *C. Sempronius*, with four thousand Horse came neere to *Hannibals* Camp.

Camp. He was ſent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius*, the other Conſul, to encreaſe the ſtrength of *Flaminius*, but coming too late, he only encreaſed the miſadventure. *Hannibal* ſent out *Maharbal* to intercept him, who finding them amazed at the ill newes of the late loſſe, charged, and brake them, killing almoſt half of them, and drew the reſt ſimply to yeild to mercy. *Servilius* hearing of the overthrow and death of his Colleague, haſted to *Rome* for the defence of it.

The *Romans* beaten.

Great fear at *Rome*.

Greatly were the *Romans* amazed at theſe diſaſters, and their aproaching danger. Wherefore they had recourſe to a remedy which had been long out of uſe, and that was, to chooſe a *Dictator*, whoſe power was above the Conſuls, and ſcarcely ſubject to the Controll of the whole City: And now they choſe *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the beſt reputed man of War in the City, and *Fabius* choſe *M. Minutius Rufus*, Maſter of the Horſe, who was as the *Dictators* Leiutenant.

A *Dictator* choſen.

The firſt act of *Fabius* was the reformation of ſomewhat that was amiſſe in matter of Religion: then were the Walls and Towers of *Rome* repaired, and fortified, the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down, and all care taken for the defence of *Rome* it ſelf. Four Legions the *Dictator* raiſed in haſt, and from *Ariminum* he received the Army which *Servilius* had conducted thither. With theſe he marched apace after *Hannibal*, not to fight, but to affront him. He always lodged upon high grounds, and of hard acceſſe, knowing that the *Roman* Horſe were far inferior to the *Numidians*. *Hannibal* in the mean while purſued his Victory, and ranged over all the Countries, uſing all manner of cruelty towards the Inhabitants, eſpecially thoſe of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he put all to the Sword that were able to bear Armes. Paſſing by *Spoletum*, and *Ancona*, he encamped upon the *Adriatick* ſhores, refreſhing his diſeaſed and over traveled Army: and armed his *Africans*, after the *Roman* manner, and made his diſpatches for *Carthage*, preſenting his Friends,

Fabius his warineſſe.

(which

which were very many) with part of the Spoils that he had gotten.

Having refreshed his Army, cured his wounded, and fed his Horses, he followed the course of the *Adriatick* Shore towards *Apulia*, a Northen Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, spoiling all that lay in his way. Yet took he not one City in all those Countries. Indeed he assaied *Spoletum*, but finding it well defended, he presently gave it over. All his care was to weaken the *Romans* in force and reputation; knowing that when he was absolute Master of the Field, it would not be long before the walled Cities would open their Gates to him. To this end he presented *Fabius* with Battel, and provoked him with all manner of bravado's; but *Fabius* would not bite: His design was to attend the *Carthaginians* so neere as to keep them from straging, and to preserve the Country from utter spoil. Thus by degrees he inured his men to dangers, and brought them first to look on the Lion afar off, that at length they might adventure to sit on his taile.

Hannibals Policy.

Fabius his wildom.

But *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*, taxing *Fabius* with cowardlinesse and fear; yet nothing moved this wary *Dictator*: He suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the *Apennine* Mountaines, and to fall upon the rich and pleasent Territories of *Campania*: *Fabius* still keeping upon the Hils, and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw that he could by no means draw him to fight, and that the Winter drew on, he resolved to rest his Army that was loaden with spoil, in some safe and plentiful Country till the Spring came again. But before he could do this, he must passe along by the *Dictators* Camp, that hung over his head: For there was no other way for him to get out of this fertile Country which he had already wasted. But by the errour of his Guid he was brought (as it were) into a pinfold. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to be admired, and aplauded, as if he had caught the *Carthaginians* in a trap. But *Hannibal* freed himself by a fine inven-

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Hinnibals Strata-gem.

on: He had gotten about two thouſand Kine, upon whoſe Hornes he tied dry Fagots, and in the dark night ſeting them on fire, he cauſed them to be driven up the Hill. The ſight was ſtrange and terrible to the *Romans*, and *Fabius* himſelf thinking it to be a deviſe to circumvent him, kept within his Trenches. So *Hannibal* and his Army eſcaped the danger, and gat into a ſafe Country. Then did he make ſemblance of marching towards *Rome*, the *Dictator* coaſting him after the wonted manner; and keeping ſtill on the high grounds betwixt him and the City, whilſt the *Carthaginians* waſted all the plain Countries, and taking *Geryon* in *Apulia*, he turned it into Barnes and Storehouſes for the Winter, and encamped under the broken Walls. Thus little was done till the *Dictator* was called home to *Rome* about ſome buſineſſe of Religion; and when he went, he left the Army in charge with *Minutius*, the Maſter of the Horſe.

Minutius was glad of this oportunity to ſhew his ſufficiency. He was perſwaded that the *Romans* in plain field would beat the *Carthaginians*, who had got the former Victories by ſubtilty, and ambuſhes. All the Army was of his opinion, and therefore they perferred his forwardneſſe before the cold warineſſe of *Fabius*: Hereupon he reſolved to fight, though he had been peremtorily forbidden by the *Dictator*, and the breach of whoſe command was Death: But *Minutius* thought that the honour of the Victory, and love of the Army, would ſecure him. *Hannibal* on the other ſide was very glad that he ſhould play with a more adventurous Gamſter: therefore he drew neer, and provoked the *Romans*, ſending forth a third part of his Army to waſt the Country. There was a piece of high and advantageous Ground between the two Armies: *Hannibal* ſent two thouſand Horſe to ſeize upon it: but *Minutius* by fine force, won it from them, and encamped upon it, whereby he became a nearer neighbour to *Hannibal*.

Minutius

Minutius for many dayes not ſtirring, *Hannibal* ſent forth many of his men to fetch in Harveſt. This advantage *Minutius* wiſely eſpied, and therefore drawing forth his Army, preſented Battel to *Hannibal*, but he was not now in caſe to accept of it; wherefore *Minutius* ſent out ſome againſt the Forragers, who were ſcattered all over the Fields, and loaden with Booty, and ſo were eaſily overthrowne. It angred *Hannibal* that he was not able to help them, but it angred him worſe when the *Romans* tooke heart to aſſault his Trenches. But in the heat of this buſineſſe *Aſdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thouſand Horſe, which emboldned *Hannibal* to iſſue forth againſt the *Romans*, to whom he did not ſo much hurt as he had received.

Hannibal Forragers beaten.

For this piece of ſervice *Minutius* was highly honoured by the Army, and more cryed up by the People at *Rome*, all judging him more worthy of Command than *Fabius*. But the *Dictator* was not ſo joyfull of the newes, as angry that *Minutius* had diſobeyed his command. He ſaid, that he knew his own place, and that he would teach the Maſter of the Horſe to know it alſo; and that he would make him give an account for what he had done in his abſence. The People much diſliked theſe his ſpeeches, and made an Act, that *Minutius* ſhould be joyned in equall authority with the *Dictator*.

Minutius made equal with *Fabius*.

Before this Buſineſſe was effected, *Fabius* ſeeing how things were like to go, diſpatched the election of a new Conſul in the roome of *Flaminius*, and having finiſhed his buſineſſe, went out of the City towards his Army. But the newes of *Minutius* his advancement was at the Camp as ſoon as he, ſo that his Lieutenant treated with him now as his Colleague, asking him how they ſhould devide their authority: *Fabius* briefly told him, that ſeeing the Citizens had made the Maſter of the Horſe equal with the *Dictator*, he would divide the Legions with him by Lot, according to the cuſtome:

Minutius was ill pleaſed with this, for with half the Army he could not work ſuch wonders as he hoped for. Yet meant he to do his beſt: and ſo taking half the Army, he encamped about a mile and a half from *Fabius*.

It behoved the Maſter of the Horſe to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him; therefore he ſought good occaſion to fight, to which *Hannibal*, was as forward as he. The Country between them was open and bare, yet *Hannibal* found meanes to lay an ambuſh in it: For the ſides of the valley had many ſpacious Caves, and *Hannibal* in the night, thruſt into them five hundred Horſe, and five thouſand Foot: and leaſt they ſhould be diſcovered, he made offer betimes in the morning to ſeize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other ſide from the Caves, thereby turning all their eyes that way. *Minutius* hoping to increaſe his honour as he had gotten it, ſent firſt his light Armuture, then his Horſe, and at length he followed in perſon with the *Legions*. He was ſoon caught, and ſo invironed on all hands, that he neither knew how to make reſiſtance, nor a ſafe retreate. In this dangerous caſe, whilſt the *Romans* defended themſelves, they loſt many of their beſt men. But *Fabius* drew neer in good order to relieve them, and doing therein the office of a good Citizen, regarding more the good of his Country, than the diſgrace which he had wrongfully ſuſtained.

A Battel.

The *Romans* beaten.

Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: *Fearing* (as he ſaid) *to be well wet with the cloud that had hung ſo long upon the Hil-tops*. *Minutius* forthwith ſubmitted himſelf to *Fabius*, by whoſe favour he acknowledged, that his life was preſerved. Thence forward the War went on ſlowly whilſt *Fabius* his *Dictatorſhip* laſted, and the year following alſo when he had delivered up his charge to the Conſuls, that followed his inſtructions.

With little pleaſure did they of the poorer ſort in *Rome* hear

hear the great commendations which were given to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens, because the War was not finished, nor much done tending thereto: And this affection was very helpfull to *Terentius Varro* in his suit for the Consulship; and farther to help him, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, Tribune of the People: He boldly affirmed that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered there to range at his pleasure by the Noblemen; that without a Plebeian Consul the War would never be ended, *&c.* By which perswasions the multitude were won to be wholly for *Terentius*, to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure such an upstart: But nothing could hinder the choise of *Terentius*: Wherefore the Nobles, (to ballast this hot-headed man) set up *L. Æmilius Paulus*, a gallant man and a brave Captain, to stand for the other Consuls place, and he easily carried it.

These new Consuls, *Varro*, and *Paulus*, omitted no diligence in preparing for the War, wherein, though *Varro* made the greater noise, boasting what wonders he would do if he could but once see *Hannibal*, yet the care, and Prudence of *Paulus* did tend much more towards the effecting of it. He wrote to the two old Consuls to forbear fighting, and yet to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily Skirmishes, and so to weaken them by degrees, that when he and his Fellow Consul came with the new Army, they might find the four old Legions well accustomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakned. These new Consuls raised an Army of above eighty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse.

Hannibal all this while lay at *Geryon*, where all his provision, and store was. The *Romanes*, to be neer him, lodged about *Cannusium*, laying up most of their provisions in the Castle of *Canna*. This place *Hannibal* won, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many necessaries: Hereby he also enabled himself to stay in that open Country, fit

Canna Castle taken.

fit for the ſervice of the Horſe. Of this miſhap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, it then ſeemed needfull to them to adventure a Battell with the *Carthaginians*, rather than to ſuffer him thus to root himſelf in *Italy*.

When all things were ready in the City, and the ſeaſon of the year commodius, the two Conſuls, with their Army ſet forward againſt *Hannibal*. This was done with great ſolemnity: Sacrifices and ſolmne Vowes were made to *Jupiter* and the other Gods, for good ſucceſſe and Victory: and the Generals were accompanied with a great number that brought them out of the City, and diſmiſſed them with Friendly leave-taking, and good wiſhes.

Theſe new Generals arriving at the Camp, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt years Conſuls, becauſe of his age, and retained *Servilius* with them, as their Aſſiſtant. *Æmilius* laboured to encourage his men, telling them, that the enemy had ſtole all the former Victories by his Ambuſhes; that otherwiſe the *Romans* were far beyond them in Valour *&c.* and therefore he exhorted them to play the men and to do their beſt. This ſet them on fire to be dealing with the *Carthaginians*, and herein *Varro* concurred with them, longing for an oportunity to get the honour which he promiſed to himſelf, having now ſuch a numerous Army By this means the *Romans* fell into a great inconvenience by the diſagreement of of their Generals; *Varro* would fight, and *Æmilius* would not for the preſent, hoping for better advantage ere long, when the enemy ſhould be forced to diſlodge out of the plain Country. The Conſuls command in in turnes every day. *Æmilius* lodged ſix miles from *Hannibal* where the ground was uneven. *Terentius* the next day deſcended into the plaines, his Colleague beſeeching him to ſtay, but could not prevaile. He ſat down neer to the *Carthaginian*, who yet gave him but a rude welcome, and intertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horſe, and light Armature fell upon the *Roman* Vant-Courriers,

Varro makes haſt to fight.

Courriers, and put the whole Army into a tumult, whilſt it was yet in its march; but the *Carthaginians* were beaten off, though not without loſſe. The next day *Æmilius*, who could not ſecurely draw back the Army, encamped upon the River *Aufidus*, ſending part of his Forces over the River where they encamped themſelves, with the reſt he fortified and kept within his Trenches. *Varro* was perſwaded that it concerned him in honour to make good his word to the People of *Rome*. When therefore it was his turne to Command, at the break of Day he began to paſſe the River, without ſtaying to bid his Colleague good morrow: But *Paulus* came to him, labouring by all meanes to diſſwade him. *Terentius* had nothing to anſwer but that his honour was engaged. *Hannibal* had twice or thrice braved them, which muſt not be endured. When *Æmilius* perceived that he could not prevaile, he was carefull that what muſt be done, might be done well. Ten thouſand Foot he cauſed to be left behind in the Camp, oppoſite to the *Carthaginians*, to the intent that *Hannibal* might be forced to do the like, or elſe when they were in fight, theſe might fall upon his Camp, and take it, with all the wealth therein, which would much diſtract the *Carthaginians*. This done the Conſuls drew forth their Army over the Water, and ranged them in order of Battell.

They prepare to fight.

This *Hannibal* was very glad of, and therefore without any delay, paſſed over the River alſo, leaving in his own Camp enow to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men, he told them how fit the ground was wherein they were to fight; and that therefore they were to thank the Gods who had ſo infatuated the enemies as to chooſe ſuch a place where the ſtronger in Horſe was ſure to pervail. Beſides (ſaid he) *Theſe are the men whom you have beaten as often as you have ſeen them: and now you are to fight for their Cities, and all the Riches that are in them, and ere many houres paſſe ye ſhall be Lords of all that the* Romans *enjoy*. This ſet his men on fire to be at it;

it; and at the ſame time came his Brother *Mago*, whom he had ſent to view the countenance of the enemy, to whom he ſaid, *What newes? What worke are we like to have?* Work enough, anſwered *Mago*, for they are a horrible company; As horrible a many as they be, ſaid *Hannibal*, I tell thee that amongſt them all, there is not one man whoſe name is *Mago*, and therewith he fell a laughing, which all the Souldiers alſo took for a good Omen.

The great Battel at *Canna.*

In this great day the *Carthaginian* excelled himſelf, expreſſing abundance of Military skill, and of greatneſſe of ſpirit, and courage. He ſo marſhalled his Army, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do the beſt ſervice. His Darters, and Slingers he ſent before to encounter the *Roman Velites*: His *Africans* Armed after the *Roman* manner, made the two Wings, very deep in File. Between theſe he ranged the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* armed, the firſt with broad Swords, and the other with ſhort and well-pointed Blades. The *Gauls* were ſtrong of Body, and furious in giving the Charge, but ſoon wearied, ſpending their violence at the firſt brunt. The *Spaniards* were leſſe eager but more wary. Theſe *Hannibal* cauſed to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had ſtood, and into which they might fall back, if they were overhardly preſſed. Between the left Batallion by the River ſide, were the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* Horſe under *Aſdrubal*: On the right Wing was *Maharbal* with the *Numidian* Horſe. *Hannibal* himſelf with his Brother *Mago*, led the Rear. His Army this day was ten Thouſand Horſe, and fourty Thouſand Foot: His enemies had two to one againſt him in Foot, and he five to three againſt them in Horſe.

The *Roman* Army was marſhalled after their uſuall manner. On the right hand were the *Roman* Horſemen under the Conſul *Paulus*: On the left Wing was *Varro* with the reſt of the Horſe which were of the *Latines* and other aſſociates, and *Servilius* had the leading of the battel.

Battel. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part, the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, and the *Romans* Southward.

After some light Skirmishes between the two Forlorns, *Asdrubal* brake in upon the Consul *Paulus*, and after a rough charge, and much execution done, the *Roman* Horse were overborn, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoil. When the Battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and more than enough to break that Body upon which at first they fell; yet at last *Hannibals* men were forced to a hasty retreat. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed Victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, and thereby engaged themselves deeply within the principal strength of the enemy, the two *African* Battalions on either side, advanced so far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they almost wholly inclosed them. *Asdrubal* having broken the Troops of the *Roman* Horse, followed them along upon the River side, beating downe, and killing most of them without regard of taking Prisoners. The Consul *Paulus* left his Horse, and cast himself amongst the Legions, as hoping by them to make good the day. But he failed of his expectation: Yet did he cheer up his men as well as he could both by Words, and Example, slaying many with his own hands. The like did *Hannibal* amongst his *Carthaginians* in the same part of the Battel, but with better successe. For the Consul received a blow from a Sling that wounded him much, and though a Troop of *Roman* Gentlemen did their best to save him from further harm, yet was he so hardly laid at, that by wounds and weakness he was compelled to forsake his Horse: whereupon all his company also alighted.

Hannibal being near, and seeing this, said, pleasantly, *I had rather he would have delivered them to me bound hand, and foot*, meaning, that he had them almost as safe as if they had been so bound. All this while *Varro*, with his associates

ates in the left Wing, was marvelously troubled with *Maharbal*, and his *Numidians*; who beating up and down upon the great Sandy plain, raised a foul dust, which by a strong South wind, was driven into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. These using the advantage both of their number and lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly, neither giving nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers and then wheeling about. Yet at the first, they seemed to promise him a happy day of it. For when the Battels were even ready to joyn, five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their Shieldes on their backs, as was the manner of those which yeilded, and throwing down their Armes, yielded themselves, *Varro* had no leasure then to examine them, but bad them to rest quietly behind his Army till all was done. These crafty marchchants did as he bad them for a while, till they had opportunity to put their designe in execution. Under their Jackets they had short Swords, and Poniards, with which and other weapons that they gathered up of those that were slaine, they flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes were bent another way, where they did much mischief, and raised great terrour. Thus *Hannibal* in a plain ground found meanes to lay an Ambush at the back of his enemies.

Hannibals Policy. The *Romans* beaten.

The last blow that put an end to all, was given by the same hand that gave the first. *Asdrubal* having routed and slain all the *Roman* Horse, save the company of *Æmilius* that joyned themselves to the Foot, did not stay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but, fetching a compasse, he came up to the *Numidians* with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*. This fearfull cloud prognosticated a dismal storme; wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work towards than they were like to sustain, thought it their safest way

way to secure themselves by present flight. The Consul also was as carefull to provide for his own security as were they. Now he found that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*, and another to encounter him. Close at the heels of him and his flying Troops were *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* to the pursute as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself with his *Gauls* and *Spanish* Horse, fetching a compasse, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, who were almost surrounded, and much distressed before. Here began a miserable slaughter, the vanquished multitude thronging each other, not finding which way to turne. *Æmilius*, who could not sit his Horse before, whilst the spaces were open by which he might have withdrawn himself, was now unable to fly, his way being stopt by a throng of his miserable followers, and heaps of Bodies, that fell apace in that great Carnage.

In this terrible overthrow dyed all the *Roman* Foot, save two or three thousand, who escaped into their lesser Camp; and the night following about four thousand Foot and two hundred Horse fled into *Canusium*. The Camps were both yeilded to *Hannibal* by those who yet remained in them. *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia* with seventy at most in his Company; the rest of his Troops were scattered over the Fields, and gathered up by the *Numidians* and made Prisoners. There died in this great Battel of *Canna*, besides the Consul *Paulus*, two of the *Roman Questors*, twenty one Collonels, eighty Senators, or such as had born Office; amongst whom was *Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the Horse, and about eight thousand were taken Prisoners. *Hannibal* lost about four thousand *Gauls*: fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and about two hundred Horse. A losse not sencible in the joy of so great a Victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched against *Rome*, probably the War had presently been at an end. But *Hannibal* knew how to get,

not how to use a Victory: and God had otherwise determined.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* Camps, and trused up the spoils, he dislodged and marched away to *Samnium*, finding a disposition in many People thereabouts to forsake the *Romans*, and to make aliance with him. The first Town that opened their Gates to him, was *Cossag*, where he laid up his Baggage; and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, he hastened into *Campania*. He dismissed all his Prisoners that were not *Romans*, without ransome; whereby he won the affections of most of the Common People in *Italy*, to incline to him. He also gave leave to his *Roman* Prisoners to send to *Rome* to procure their ransome, with whom he sent *Carthalo*, the General of his Horse, to see how *Rome* stood affected to peace. The Senate commanded *Carthalo* to depart out of their Territories, and refused to redeem their Prisoners; probably, because they wanted Mony wherewithall to do it.

Many Towns inertain *Hannibal*

Campania is a most pleasant and fruitfull Country, and *Capua*, the chief City in it, rich and wealthy, the Citizens despised now the unfortunate virtue of the *Romans*, and sent Ambassadours to *Hannibal* with whom these Articles were agreed upon: That the *Campans* should be absolutly free, and Governed by their own Lawes: That no Citizens of theirs should be subject to any *Carthaginian* Magistrate in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* should deliver to the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* Prisoners, such as themselves should choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen that were Hostages with the *Romans*. Then did *Hannibal* hasten towards *Capua*, leaving *Naples* that he had thought to take in by *Scalado*, but found the Walls too high, and himself not fully furnished for a Siege. At *Capua* he was intertained with great solemnity and Pomp; all the Town being so earnestly in love with their new Guests that they murthered

Capua intertains him.

thered all the *Romans* that at present they could come by.

The same course with these of *Capua*, ran the other Cities thereabout, except *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Cassiline*, and *Acenæ*, which yet stood out for the *Romans*. *Rome* it self was in great fear of *Hannibals* coming at the first report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*; and the grief of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much hindred their provision against apparent danger. All the Senators found work enough to quiet the Peoples lamentations. Courriers were sent forth to bring them certain tidings how things went, whereof when letters from the Consul *Varro* had fully informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into Barbarous Superstition, and by the advise of their Southsayers, they buried two men, and two women alive in the Ox-market. Ambassadours also were sent to the Oracle at *Delphi*, to enquire with what Prayers and Supplications they might pacifie the Gods, and obtain an end of their calamities.

The *Romans* mourn.

Their Superstition

In the midst of these extremities they called home their Consul *Terentius* that he might name a *Dictator*, and all sorts of people went forth to meet him, and welcome him home, which was done to hold up their reputation. *Manlius* was chosen for the *Dictator*, and *Fabius Sanpronius* Master of the Horse. These fell presently to the mustring of Forces, and raised four Legions and a thousand Horse, yet were they faign to take some that were very Boyes, and they encreased their number by adding to them eight thousand sturdy Slaves, to whom liberty was promised if they would deserve it by their manly service. The *Dictator* also Proclaimed, that whosoever were in debt and could not pay it, or that had committed any capitall offence, should be pardoned if they would serve in the War; and to Arme those they were faign to take out of their Temples the spoiles of their enemies that had been there hanging up.

A Dictator chosen.

The *Dictator* having dispatched all needfull businesses in the City, took the Field with twenty five Thousand men, with whom he marched into *Campania*, and did little more then to keep *Hannibal* from spoiling the Country. *Marcellus*, one of the *Roman Praetors*, lying at *Ostia* with a Legion and fifteen hundred Souldiers newly taken up, with whom he should have gone into *Sicily*, hearing of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, sent his new levied men to *Rome* for the defence of it, and with his Legion marched to *Nola* to help the Citizens there: *Hannibal* had many Friends in *Nola* amongst the common People, and therefore brought his Army thither; and on a day seeing the Walls unmanned, he bad his Souldiers bring their Ladders and scale them: But whilst they did it, and were in confusion, *Marcellus* with his men, issued out at three several Gates, and set upon the *Carthaginians*, expecting no such thing, and did such execution amongst them, that this was accounted a Victory, and reputed the bravest act in all those Wars, from whence they concluded that *Hannibal* might be overcome.

Hannibal beaten.

From thence *Hannibal* went to *Acerra*, where being refused entrance, he laid Seige to it on every side, wherewith the Citizens being terrified, before his works were finished, they stole out by night, and left the Town empty; which *Hannibal* sackt and burnt, then hearing that the *Dictator* was about *Cassiline*, thither went he, but found him not; only many companies of the *Roman* Confederats were gotten into the Town, and kept it: The Citizens were affected to *Hannibal*, and would faign have been free from their Guests, who finding their intent, in a night slew all the Citizens, and fortified a part of the City against the enemy. *Hannibal* gave diverse assaults to it, but was still repelled with losse, and many sallies they made with variable successe. *Hannibal* mined, and they countermined, so that he was driven to enclose them, that he might win it by Famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, Master of the

Acerræ taken by *Hannibal*.

Cassiline besieged.

the Horse lay up the River with the *Roman* Army, and would faign have relieved the Besieged, but durst not venture. Barrels of Corn he sent floating down the River to relieve them, which, being discovered, came into *Hannibals* hands. *Gracchus* cast abundance of Nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the Besieged. At length when all their food was spent, and whatsoever green thing grew under the Walls, the *Carthaginians* plowed up the ground, and the besieged presently sowed it with Rape-seed. *Hannibal* admired their patience, and said, *That he meant not to stay there till the Rapes were grown*, and therefore, whereas he had intended to have made them an example for their obstinacy, he was now content to grant them their lives upon an easie ransome, and so quietly dismissed them. This time of the year now being come, *Hannibal* retired into *Capua*, where he wintered, and where (as some say) his Army was corrupted with the pleasures and plenty there, and made more effeminate than before.

About this time *Hannibal* sent his Brother *Mago* to *Carthage* with the joyfull newes of this great Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his Brother had fought, how many Consuls he had chased, wounded, or slain. How the *Romans*, who never used to shun a Battel, were now grown so cold that they thought their *Dictator Fabius* the only good Captain. That not without reason their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain above two hundred and six Thousand of them, and taken above fifty Thousand Prisoners. He told them how many States in *Italy* followed the Fortune of their great Victories. He told them that the War was over out of *Italy*, if they would follow it close and give them no time of breathing. He wished them to consider that the War was carried into an enemies Country, that so many Battels had diminished his Brothers Army, that the Souldiers that had deserved so well, ought to be well rewarded, and that it was not good

Mago sent to *Carthage.*

to burden their new *Italian* Friends with exactions of mony, Corn, *&c.* But that theſe muſt be ſent from *Carthage.* Laſtly he cauſed the Gold Rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were ſlain, to be powred out before them, which being meaſured, filled three Buſhels.

Large ſupplies promiſed to *Hannibal.*

This errand of *Mago* for the preſent found extraordinary good welcome; And large ſupplies were voted to be ſent to him: But his old enemy *Hanno*, obſtructed them, and the too much Parſimony, of the Citizens was the cauſe that there was very little done, and that which was done came too late. However, *Mago* brings the news of the great ſupply which was decreed to be ſent; which much rejoyced *Hannibal* and his new confederats. The Spring drew on when the ſupply was expected, but there came no more than a few Elephants, and *Hannibal* was forced to reſt contented with them. Then did he take the Field, and ſought to make himſelf maſter of ſome good Haven Town that might ſerve to intertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet when it ſhould arrive with the ſupplies. For this end he ſent *Himilco*, who by the help of his good Friends the *Brutians*, won *Petilia*; he won alſo *Concentia* and *Crotan*, and the City of *Locri*, and many other places; only the Town of *Rhegium*, over againſt *Sicily*, held out againſt him.

Diverſe Cities taken.

The *Romans* at this time were in ſuch a caſe, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them to great extremity. But his own Citizens ſuffered him to languiſh with expectation of their promiſed ſupplies, which being ſtill deferred from year to year, cauſed as great opportunities to be loſt, as a Conquerer could have deſired. But whatſoever *Hannibal* thought, he was faign to apply himſelf to his *Italian* Friends, and to feed them with Hopes; and to trifle away his time about *Nola, Naples* and *Cumæ*, &c. being loath to weaken his Army by a hard Siege; that was to be reſerved for a work of more importance.

The promiſed Supplies come not.

rance. Many offers he made upon *Nole*, but alwayes with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a Battel with him there, under the Walls of the City, having the Citizens to assist him, wherein *Hannibal* lost a thousand men; which was no great marvil, his forces being then divided, and imployed in sundry parts of *Italy* at once.

At this time *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous *Dictator*, were chosen Consuls. But *Fabius* was detained at *Rome* about matters of Religion, or Superstition rather, wherewith the City was commonly, especially in the times of danger, very much troubled, so *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* amongst the *Campanes*, not able to meet him in the Field, yet attentive to all occasions that should be presented. The Slaves, that lately had been Armed, were a great part of his followers. These and the rest of his men *Gracchus* continually trained, and had not a greater care to make his Army skilfull in the exercises of War, than in keeping it from quarrels that might arise by their upbrading one another with their base condition.

Gracchus his Prudence.

Gracchus at this time had a bickering with the *Capuans*, upon whom he came at unawars, and slew above two thousand of them, and took their Camp, but staid not long to rifle it for fear of *Hannibal*, that lay not far off. By this his Providence he escaped a greater losse, than he brought upon the *Capuans*: For when *Hannibal* heard how things went, he presently marched thither, hoping to find these young Souldiers and Slaves busied in loading themselves with the Booty: But they were all gotten safe into *Cuma*, which so angred *Hannibal*, that at the earnest request of the *Capuans*, he assailed it the next day. Much labour, and with ill success he spent about this Town. He raised a woodden Tower, and brought it close to the Walls thereby to assault it, but they within built a higher Tower, whence they made

The *Capuans* beaten.

Cuma besieged.

made resistance, and found meanes to set *Hannibals* Tower on fire, and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busy in quenching the fire, they issued out, charged them valiantly and drove them to their Trenches. The Consul wisely sounded a retreat in time, or *Hannibal* had requited them. The day following, *Hannibal* presented Battel to them, but *Gracchus* refused it: Seeing therefore no likelyhood to prevail, he raised his Siege and departed.

The Siege raised.

About this time *Fabius*, the other Consul, took the Field, and recovered some small Towns that *Hannibal* had taken, and punished the Inhabitants severely for their revolt, the *Carthaginians* Army was too small to Garrison all the Towns that had yeilded to them, and with all, to abide (as it must do) strong in the Field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from *Carthage* that would enable him to strik at *Rome* itself, was driven in the mean time to alter his course of War; and instead of making (as he had formerly done) a general invasion upon the whole Country, he was faign to wait upon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. When *Hannibal* was gone to Winter in *Apulia*, *Marcellus* wasted the Country of the *Hirpines*, and *Samnites*: the like did *Fabius* in *Campania*.

Hannibal delaies.

The People of *Rome* were very intentive upon the work they had in hand, they continued *Fabius* in his Consulship, and joyned with him *Cladius Marcellus*. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*, and *Marcellus* the *Roman Sword*. The great Name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which they made, put the *Campans* in fear that *Capua* it self should be besieged, wherefore at their earnest request *Hannibal* came from *Arpi*, and having comforted his Friends, on a sudden he fell upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*, about which he spent three dayes in vain, there being six thousand in Garrison, wherefore he left it, and

and marched to *Terentum*, wherein he had great intelligence.

In the mean time *Hanno* made a journy against *Beneventum*, where *T. Gracchus* met him. *Hanno* had with him about seventeen thousand Foot, *Brutians*, and *Lucans*, besides twelve hundred Horse, most of them *Numidians* and *Moors*. Four hours he held the *Romans* work ere it could be perceived to which side victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his Souldiers, which were most of them Slaves, had received from him a peremptory denunciation, that this day or never they must purchase their Liberty, by bringing every man an enemies head. The sweet reward of Liberty was so desireable, that they feared no danger in earning it, though the cutting off their enemies Heads troubled them exceedingly, which *Gracchus* perceiving, proclaimed that they should cast away the Heads, assuring them that they should have their liberty presently after the Battel, if they wan they day. This made them run headlong upon the enemy, whom their disparate fury had soon overthrown, if the *Roman* Horse could have made their party good against the *Numidians*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and presled so hard upon the *Roman* Battel, that four thousand of the Slaves retired to a ground of strength, yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight with two thousand Horse, all the rest being either slain or taken. *Gracchus* preformed his promise to the Slaves, making them free: only on those four thousand, that went aside in the Battel, he inflicted this slight punishment, that as long as they served in the Wars, they should eat standing, unlesse sickneese forced them to break this order. So *Gracchus* with his Army returned into *Beneventum*, where they newly-enfranchised Souldiers, were Feasted in publike by the Townsmen, some sitting, some standing and all with their Heads covered, as the manner of such was, with white Caps. This was the first Battel worthy of note, that the *Carthaginians* lost since the comming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*.

A Battel

The *Carthaginians* b:aten.

The *Romans* poverty, how supplyed.

Thus the *Romans* by degrees began to get heart, and repair their breaches, only their Treasury was very empty, whereupon the People were called together, and were plainly told, that in this exigent, there must be no taking of mony for victuals, weapons, apparel, or other necessaries for the Souldiers, but that they must trust the Commonwealth with the loan of these things till the Wars were ended. This was willingly assented to, and the Armies were well supplied both at home, and abroad.

Cassiline taken by the *Romans.*

In the mean time the *Roman* Generals omitted no part of industry in seeking to recover what had been lost. *Cassiline* was besiged by *Fabius*, unto whose assistance *Marcellus* came. The Town was well defended by a *Carthaginian* Garrison for a long time, but at length, the Inhabitants grew fearfull, craved a Parlee, and agreed to deliver it up, so as all might have liberty to depart whither they pleased. This was consented to, yet as they were issuing out, *Marcellus* seizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army and put all to the Sword: only about fifty that had gotten out, ran to *Fabius*, who saved them, and sent them to *Capua*.

Hannibal was this while about *Tarentum*, but after long expectation of having it delivered to him, he was faign to depart without it. So he went to *Salapia*, which he intended to make his wintring place, and began to Victual it.

The new Counsuls chosen at *Rome*, were, *Q. Fabius*, the Son of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant to his Son; and on a time when the old man came to the Camp, his Son rode out to meet him. Eleven of the twelve *Lictors*, let him passe by on Horseback, which was against the custome: but the Son perceiving this, bad the last of the *Lictors* to take notice of it, who thereupon bad old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on Foot: the Father cheerfully did so, saying, *It*

was my mind, Son, to make tryall, whether thou didſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul. *Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, came to *Fabius* and offered to deliver the Town into his hands. *Hannibal* hearing of it, was glad, and ſent for the Wife and Children of *Altinius* into his Camp, he examined them by torment, and being aſſured of the Treaſon, he commanded them to be burnt, and ſeized upon all *Altinius* his wealth. *Fabius* ſhortly after came to *Arpi*, which he took by *Scalado* in a ſtormy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the Town, and of the *Arpines* there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, who ſuſpected them, and therefore thought it no wiſdom to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over the fight, and Parlied with the *Romans*, and the *Arpine Prætor*, going to the *Roman* Conſul, received his Faith for the ſecurity of the Town, wherefore they preſently made head againſt the Garriſon, yet did the *Carthaginians* make ſtout reſiſtance, till it was agreed that they ſhould paſſe ſafely, and returne to *Hannibal*.

Arpi taken by the *Romans*.

About this time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Inditanus*, one of the *Roman Prætors*. Alſo one hundred and twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſervice to *C. Fulvius*, the other *Prætor*, only upon condition to have their goods reſtored to them: which ſhewed that their affections were turned from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*. The *Conſentines* alſo and the *Thurines*, which had yeilded to *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe great ſuccours which were promiſed from *Carthage*, returned to their old allegiance again. Others would have done the like, but that at this time *Hanno* met with, and ſlew *L. Pomponius*, and a great multitude that followed him.

The *Romans* beaten.

Hannibal in the mean time had all his care about *Tarentum*, which if he could take, it would be very commodius for the Landing of the ſupplies, which he yet

Tarentum take by Hannibal.

expected. Long he waited for an opportunity, and at last by the help of his Friends within it, he one night entered at the two Gates that were opened for him, and presently made to the market place; which the Governour perceiving, fled to the Port, and taking Boat, got into the Citadel that stood at the mouth of the Haven. *Hannibal* having gotten the spoil of the *Roman* Souldiers goods, he addressed himself against the Citadel, which stood upon a *Peninsula*, and was joyned to the Town by a causway, which was fortified with a Wall and a ditch. Against this *Hannibal* raised some works, hoping in a short time to take it, but whilst he was thus busied, there came in a strong supply by Sea to them, which made his attempt hopelesse. The *Tarentins* Fleet lay in the Haven and could not go forth by reason of the Citadel, whereby the Citizens were likely in a short time to suffer want: To help this, *Hannibal* caused their ships to be drawn up, and carried through the streets, which were long and plain, and lanched them into the Sea without; which done, they so cut off all supplies, that the Citadel began to suffer want.

Now this while the *Roman* Forces grew strong, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, the new Consuls, prepared to besiege the great City of *Capua*, having now armed twenty three Legions, though to fill them up, they had listed many Boyes, and they made a Law for their encouragement, that their years should go on from that time, as if they had been of lawfull age.

Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Capuani*, through their own wretchlesnesse, began to feel want of Victuals, they sent therefore to *Hannibal*, desiring him to succour them before they were closed up, and he sent *Hanno* with an Army to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day to bring store of Carriages to convey in the provisions which he should make, but when the day came, they brought only

fourty

fourty Waggons, with a few pack horſes. *Hanno* was much vexed at it, and appointed them another day when they ſhould come better provided: But in the mean while Q. *Fulvius* the Conſul, came privatly to *Beneventum*, and having learned that *Hanno* was gone abroad a Forraging, he marched all night, and by the break a day, aſſaulted his Camp, which for a long time was gallantly defended, but at laſt, though with great loſſe, he won it, in which ſix thouſand were ſlain, ſeven thouſand taken Priſoners, beſides a great Booty that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederats. This miſadventure, and the neer approach of the *Roman* Conſuls, made them of *Capua* to ſend a pitifull meſſage to *Hannibal*, intreating him to haſten to their relief, conſidering how faithfull they had been to him. *Hannibal* anſwered them with fair promiſes, and ſent away two thouſand Horſe to keep their lands from ſpoile, whilſt himſelf was intent about taking the Citadel, and ſome other Towns in theſe parts.

The *Carthaginians* beaten.

The Conſuls, fortifying *Beneventum*, to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves to the ſiege of *Capua*. Many diſaſters befell the *Romans* in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *Gracchus*, a brave ſouldiers, and lately twice Conſul, was ſlain. He was honourably interred by *Hannibal*, ſome of whoſe ſtraglers had ſlaine him, the *Manumiſſed* Slaves that ſerved under him, took this opportunity to go every man whither he pleaſed, ſo that it was long ere they could be got together again. Yet the Conſuls proceeded in their work. *Mago* and the Citizens gave them but bad welcome, ſallying out, and ſlaying fifteen hundred of their men. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* himſelf came, fought with them, and cauſed them to diſlodge. They removed by night and went ſeverall wayes: *Fulvius*, towards *Canna*, and *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed *Claudius* but could not reach him. Yet by the way he met with one *Penula*, a ſtout man that

Capua beſieged by the Conſuls.

The Seige raiſed by *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* beaten.

that had the charge of neer sixteen thousand men, with him he fought, and slew him, and almost all his men, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Then was *Hannibal* informed that *Cneus Fulvius*, a *Roman Prætor*, was in *Apulia* with about eighteen Thousand men. Coming to *Fulvius*, so forward he was, that needs he would have fought with him that night. *Hannibal* set *Mago* with three thousand men in an Ambush, then offering Battel to *Fulvius*, he soon had him in the Trap, whence he was glad to escape himself, leaving all, save two thousand of his men, dead behind him

Another victory.

These two great blowes much astonied the *Romans*. Yet when they had gathered they remainders of those Armies, the Consuls fell hard again to the Seige of *Capua*. At the first sitting down of the Consuls they proclaimed, that whosoever would come out of *Capua* by such a day, should be pardoned, and enjoy his estate, if not, no grace was to be expected: the *Capuans* relying on their own strength, and the assistance of *Hannibal* rejected this offer with scorn: And before they were wholly closed up, they sent to *Hannibal* requesting his help: He gave them good words, and dismissed them. But he, thinking that they were well able to hold out for a long time, staid to dispatch his business, before he went, by which means the Consuls had time enough to entrench and secure themselves.

Capua besieged again.

When the Consulship of *Claudius* and *Fulvius* was expired, they were continued in their charge of the Army as Proconsuls, and their designe was to take *Capua* by Famine. But *Hannibal* came before he was expected by the *Romans*, and took one of their Forts, and fell upon their Camp; the *Capuans* also at the same time sallyed out but were beaten in again; Yet did *Claudius* in pursuing them, receive a wound, that ere long brought him to his Grave. *Hannibal* followed his business better and had almost taken the Camp, yet at length was repelled.

Hannibal comes to relieve them.

This

This extreamly angred *Hannibal* and made him intertaine a haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*, which accordingly he purſued, and becauſe that work muſt be done with celerity, he cauſed his men to provide victuals for ten dayes, and ſo marched forward. This newes coming to *Rome*, they ſent to acquaint their Generals with it, wiſhing them to do what they judged beſt for the ſafety of the City. And thereupon *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thouſand choiſe Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, and with them haſted towards *Rome*.

As *Hannibal* drew neer, making wofull havock as he went, all the ſtreets and Temples in *Rome* were filled with women, crying, and praying, rubbing the Altars with their haire, the Senators were all in the Great market place, ready to give advice upon all emergencies. But *Fulvius* and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome* neer together. The Conſuls and *Fulvius* encamped without the Gate of *Rome*, attending *Hannibal*, who coming within three miles of the City, advanced with two thouſand Horſe, and rode along a great way under the Wals, viewing, and conſidering how he might beſt approach them. Yet went he back without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults were at this time raiſed in the City, and the multitude were ſo affrighted, that they would have run out of the Gates if they could have done it with ſafety.

Hannibal intends for *Rome* and leaves it.

The day following *Hannibal* brought up his Army and preſented Battel to the *Romans*, who would have accepted it, had not a terrible ſhower of rain cauſed both the Armies to return into their Camps and this happened two dayes together, and the weather cleered up preſently after. But *Hannibal*, who had brought but ten dayes proviſion with him, could not ſtay any longer, he therefore made all the ſpoil he could in the *Roman* Territories, paſſing like a Tempeſt over the Country, and run towards the eaſtern Sea ſo faſt, that he had almoſt taken *Regium* before his arrival was ſuſpected. As for *Capua* he gave it for loſt, and curſed the faction

on

on of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relive that fair City

Fulvius returned back to the Siege of *Capua*, which now began to suffer want. And faign they would have sent again to *Hannibal* but that all wayes were intercepted. The truth is, *Hannibal* had already done his best, and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein (as he afterwards protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partizans in the Senate of *Carthage*, rather than by any force of the *Romans*. *Capua* being now brought to extremity, the multitude forced the Senators to consult about the delivering of it up to the *Romans*: The bravest of the Senators foresaw what the issue would be, and therefore one of them invited the rest home to supper, telling them that when they had Feasted themselves he would begin to them such a Health as should for ever free them from the malice of their enemies, the *Romans*: Twenty seven of the Senators imbraced the motion, and when they had supped, drank Poison, whereof they died: The rest, hoping for mercy, yeilded to discretion. So a Gate was opened whereat a *Roman* Legion entred, disarmed the Citizens, and made the *Carthaginians* Prisoners; The Senators were laid in Irons; and presently after, *Fulvius* caused all the *Campane* Prisoners to be bound to stakes, and scourged a good while with Rods, after which he struck off their heads. The like rigor *Fulvius* used to all the Towns of the *Campanians*: most of the Inhabitants, with their Wives and Children he sold for Slaves, the rest were banished; after which the Glory of *Hannibal* began to shine more dimme, and most of *Italy* by the terrible example of the *Capuans*, had a generall inclination, upon good conditions, to return to the *Roman* side.

Capua taken.

The Consuls cruelty.

Marcellus and *Levinus*, being chosen Consuls, *Levinus* went into *Sicily*, and *Marcellus* was to make War with *Hannibal*: They were busy in raising Souldiers, but wanted mony extreamly; many wayes were proposed how

how to supply that want. At last the Consuls said, that no perswasions would be so effectual with the People, as good examples; wherefore they propounded and it was presently resolved, that every one should bring and put into the Treasury all the mony, Jewels, and Plate that they had, and none reserve more than one Salt, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings to the Gods: as also a Ring for himself: and some other small Ornaments for his Wife and Children: and this was accordingly done by all, with much cheerfullnesse. The publick wants supplied.

Then went forth *Marcellus* against *Hannibal*, whose Army was now greatly diminished by long and hard service. His credit also amongst his *Italian* Friends was much weakened by the losse of *Capua*: This put him upon pillaging those Towns which he could not keep, thinking that the best way both to enrich himself, and to preserve it from his enemies: but this farther alienated them from him, whereupon *Salapia* yeilded to *Marcellus*, and betrayed to him a gallant Regiment of *Numidians*, the very best that *Hannibal* had. After this the Consul took two Cities of the *Samnites*, wherein he slew above three thousand of *Hannibals* men; which *Hannibal* could not prevent, the *Romans* being grown stronger in the Field than he. But now came newes that *Massanissa* was at *Carthage*, with five thousand Horse, ready to set sail for *Spain*, whither, when he came, he was to accompany *Asdrubal*, the Brother of *Hannibal* into *Italy*. This did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than it terified the *Romans*. *Salapia* yeilded to *Marcellus*

At this time *Hannibal* was informed that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman Prætor*, lay neer to *Herdonea*, to get the Town by practice: *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward, and when he came, offered Battel to *Fulvius*, who readily embraced it. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* Horse: then fell they to rout, and a great slaughter was made of them; *Fulvius*, with The *Romans* beaten.

twelve Collonels, and about thirteen thouſand were ſlain, and *Hannibal* ſet *Herdonea* on fire becauſe it was appointed to be delivered up to the *Romans*.

A Battel

Marcellus hearing this, haſted thither: At *Venuſia* they met, and fought a Battel from morning till the night parted them, and ended with uncertain Victory. Many more skirmiſhes they had, but none of importance.

Then *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius* were again choſen Conſuls: and *Fabius* reſolved to beſiege *Tarentum*, which if he could win, like it was that ſcarce any one good City would remain true to *Hannibal*, and in the mean time he deſired *Fulvius*, and *Marcellus*, with their Army, to preſſe *Hannibal* ſo hard that he might have no leaſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was glad of this opportunity, judging that no *Roman* was ſo fit to deal with *Hannibal* as himſelf: He followed him therefore from place to place, deſiring ever to come to Battel, but upon unequall tearmes. *Hannibal* only intertained him with skirmiſhes, meaning to keep his Army intire, till *Aſdrubal* came to him. But *Marcellus* was ſo importunate, that he could not be rid of him, wherefore *Hannibal* bad his men to beat ſoundly this hotſpur *Roman* Captain of whom he could not be rid till he had let him bloud. Then followed a Battel wherein *Hannibal* had the victory, took ſix Enſigns and ſlew about three thouſand of the *Romans*. *Marcellus* rated his men exceedingly, and called them cowards, which did ſo ſhame them, that they asked pardon, and deſired him to lead them forth again againſt the enemy. *Hannibal* was angry to ſee that nothing would make them quiet, and ſo they fought again, and though the *Romans* had the better of it, fighting very deſparately, yet they loſt ſo many men that they had little cauſe to boaſt of the Victory: Only this advantage they had, that hereby *Fabius* got time to proſecute his Siege at *Tarentum* without diſturbance. *Fulvius* the other Conſul this while took in diverſe Towns of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*

A Battel.

The *Romans* beaten.

cans, and *Volſcentes*, that willingly rendred themſelves and betrayed *Hannibals* Garriſons to him.

Fabius, by the Treaſon of a *Bruſian* Captain in *Tarentum* had the Town delivered into his hands, and yet when he was entered he put all to the Sword, *Brutians* as well as others, whereby his credit was much empaired. All the Riches of the Town he ſought out, which was very great, and ſent it to the Treaſury at *Rome* where there was much need of it. *Hannibal* having gotten cleer of *Marcellus*, fell upon thoſe that beſieged *Caulonia*, all whom he ſlew or took Priſoners, and then he haſted to relieve *Tarentum*; But when he came within five miles, he heard that it was loſt. This grieved him, yet he ſaid no more than this, *The* Romans *have alſo their* Hannibal: *We have loſt* Terentum *in like ſort as we got it.* But leſt he ſhould ſeem to retreat out of fear, he encamped there four or five dayes, and thence departing to *Metapont*, he bethought himſelf how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He cauſed the chief of *Metapont* to write to *Fabius*; offering to betray it into his hand. Theſe Letters were ſent by two young men of the City, who did their errand ſo well, that the Conſul wrote back, and appointed the day when they ſhould expect him. *Hannibal* being glad of this, at leaſure made ready his Ambuſhes for the wary *Fabius*; but ſomething hindred him from coming, and ſo all was fruſtrated.

Tarentum taken.

The *Romans* beaten

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Criſpinus* were choſen Conſuls, who had a ſtrong deſire to make War upon *Hannibal*, aſſuring themſelves of Victory. *Criſpinus* had alſo a deſire to make his Conſulſhip Famous by taking ſome good Town, as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had done by taking of *Capua*, and *Tarentum*: wherefore he went and beſieged *Locri*, the beſt City in *Italy* that held for the *Carthaginian*, bringing all ſorts of Engins to promote the work. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieve the City, at whoſe approach, *Criſpinus* roſe and retreated to his fellow Conſul. Thither followed

Locry beſieged.

Hannibal, to whom the Consuls offered Battell: He refused it, yet dayly intertained them with Skirmishes, waiting for some advantage, and reserved his Army to a time of greater imployment when his Brother *Asdrubal* should come into *Italy*. *Marcellus* was not well pleased with this, and therefore sought to force him to fight; for which end, he comanded a Navy by Sea, and the Garrison of *Tarentum* again to besiege *Locri*: But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him, and by the way, laid an Ambush for those of *Tarentum*, slew three Thousand of them, and made the rest to fly back into *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, *Hannibals* desire was to wast them by little, and little. Betwixt him and them was a little Hill, overgrown with bushes, amongst them he hid some *Numidians*, willing them to attend every advantage. To this Hill the Consuls thought fit to remove their Camp, thither therefore they rode to view the place, taking with them the son of *Marcellus*, a few Collonels, and other principal men, and about two hundred Horse. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach, and the other discovered not themselves till they had surrounded the Consuls and their Company. The Consuls defended themselves hoping to be quickly releived from their Camp that was neer at hand: But all their Horse save four, forsook them and fled. *Marcellus* was slain with a Lance; *Crispinus* had his Deaths wound, and young *Marcellus* was wounded, yet got to the Camp, the rest were all slain. *Hannibal* gave an honourable Funeral to *Marcellus*, bestowing his ashes in a Silver pot, covered with a Crown of Gold, and sent it to his Son to be interred where he pleased.

The *Romans* beaten.

The Consuls slaine.

Then *Licinius* the *Roman* Admiral laid hard Siege to *Locri*, wherefore *Hannibal* went thither again, but as soon as his Vant-couriers appeared, the *Romans* ran in confused heapes to their Ships, leaving all their Engins, and whatsoever was in their Camp to *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* beaten.

C. Claudius Nero, and *M. Livius* were chosen Consuls

ſuls, at which time *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and was approaching towards *Italy*. *Livius* would not ſtir againſt him but with a conſiderable Army, and thoſe of the choiſeſt men: and *Claudius* with an other Army, was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. By this time newes came that *Aſdrubal* was paſſing the *Alps*, and that the *Ligurians*, and thoſe about *Genoa* were ready to joyn with him. When all was ordered according to the Conſuls minds, they went forth of the City, each his ſeverall way. The Citizens were full of fears, there being an other Son of *Amilcar* come into *Italy*, and one that in this expedition ſeemed to be of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal*. For whereas in that long and dangerous march through ſo many Barbarous Nations, over great Rivers, and Mountains, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army, *Aſdrubal* in the ſame journy had increaſed his, deſcended from the *Alps* like a rowling Snowball, far greater than when he came over the *Pyrenes*. This made the People wait upon their Conſuls out a Town, like a penſive train of Mourners.

Great fear at *Rome*.

Aſdrubal at his firſt coming into *Italy* ſet upon *Placentia*; but there he loſt a great deal of time, and yet was faigne at laſt to leave it, whereby he gave the *Roman* Conſuls leaſure to make ready for him, and cauſed his Brother *Hannibal* to make no haſt to meet him, knowing that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſt.

Aſdrubal comes into *Italy*.

Nero made what ſpeed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from joyning with his Brother. He had with him fourty thouſand Foot, beſides Horſe, with which he oft offered *Hannibal* Battel, and in diverſe Skirmiſhes had the better of him. At *Grumentum Hannibal* fought with him, but was worſted. yet gat he off and marched away to *Venuſia*, with *Nero* ſtill at his heels. Thence he went to *Canuſium*, and ſat down there neer the place where he had obtained his moſt memorable Victory. There alſo *Nero* ſat down by him,

him, thinking it enough to hinder him from joyning with his ſuccours. There was he advertiſed of *Aſdrubals* approach by letters that were going to *Hannibal* which he intercepted: wherefore he reſolved that it was better to run ſome deſparate adventure than to ſuffer them to joyn together. He therefore took ſix thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe, all of his choiſeſt men, and away he poſted as faſt as he could to aſſiſt his Fellow Conſul. *Livy* at that time lay encamped neer to *Sena Gallica*, and *Aſdrubal* within half a mile of him. In ſix dayes *Nero* finiſhed his journy thither, and by the way his company was encreaſed by ſome voluntaries. The next day after his coming, they conſulted together, and reſolved to fight the enemy, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that both the Conſuls were now together, and thereupon feared that *Hannibal* was ſlaine, and though before he was forward to fight, yet now he thought it no ſhame to retreat farther from them. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*: but being miſled by his Guids, he had not gone far before: *Nero* was at his heels with all the Horſe, which hindred him from going any farther, and the other Conſul followed with the Legions in order of Battel. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing a neceſſity to fight, omitted no care, or circumſpection. His *Gauls* he placed in the left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy could not aſcend without much difficulty. In the right wing he ſtood himſelf, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*: His *Lygurians* he placed in the midſt, and his Elephants in the Front of the Battel. On the *Romans* ſide *Nero* had the right Wing, *Livius* the left, and *Portius* led the Battel, *Livy* and *Portius* found ſtrong oppoſition, and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. *Nero* laboured much in vain againſt the ſteep Hill, where the *Gauls* ſtood out of his reach: wherefore taking part of his Forces, he led them round behind *Livy* and *Portius*, and charged *Aſdrubal* in the Flank, which made the Victory incline to the *Romans*: For *Nero* ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubals* Battel,

A Battel.

tel, and put it to rout. Of the *Spaniards* and *Africans* the greateſt part were ſlaine: the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* ſaved themſelves by flight: Of the Elephants only four were taken alive: the reſt were ſlaine, moſt by their riders: the Guid having in readineſſe a mallet and a chiſſel wherewith he gave a ſtroke between the ears in the joynt next the Head, wherewith he killed the Beaſt upon a ſudden.

Aſdrubal ſtrove with great Patience againſt many difficulties, and performed all the duties of a worthy Generall, and ſtout Souldier, and when he ſaw the loſſe irraparable, he rode manfully into the thickeſt of the Enemies, where fighting bravely, he was ſlain. The number of the ſlain on both ſides is variouſly reported, the Camp and all the Riches in it fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* ſlaine.

When it was known at *Rome* how *Nero* had left his Army, they were much amazed and full of fears: The People filled the Market place, the Women ran to the Temples with Vows and Prayers, and all were filled with melancholly: therefore the newes of this Victory was intetained with exceeding joy, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*. *Nero* returning to his Camp, threw the Head of *Aſdrubal* before the *Carthaginians* and brought forth his *African* Priſoners bound, ſending two of them to give *Hannibal* notice what had happened.

Hannibal having in this unhappy fight, loſt, beſides his worthy Brother, all hope that had ſo long ſuſtained him in *Italy*, withdrew himſelf into the Country of the *Brutians*, and thither he cauſed all the *Lucans*, his Friends, to remove, as likwiſe all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend ſo many places as he held, lying ſo far aſunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſſe in the utmoſt corner of *Italy*; it being a Country of much faſtneſſe, and the People exceedingly devoted unto his ſervice. This was in the thirteenth year after his coming into *Italy*: and from thence to the eighteenth year *Hannibal* retires into *Bruſia*.

year wherein he departed, there was no memorable thing done. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength wherewith to make any great attempt, the *Romans* had little minde to provoke him, but thought it well that he was quiet. This commendation is given him by the *Roman* Hiſtorians themſelves. That making War upon a People, of all others the moſt Warlike, he obtained ſo many Victories by his own good conduct: And that leading an Army compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to an other, yet he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition amongſt themſelves, or againſt their General. And here we muſt leave him till he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*.

His Prudence.

P. Cornelius Scipio having Conquered *Spain*, returned home to *Rome*, where he made ſuit for the Honour of a Triumph, which was denied him, becauſe he only had the place of a Proconſul: Yet to make him amends, they choſe him Conſul, together with *P. Licinius Craſſus*, who being High Prieſt alſo, might not go far ſom the City, as being to attend the matters of their Superſtition: which made well for *Scipio*, who was deſirous to be ſent into *Africk*, to tranſfer the War thither. Some there were of the Senators, eſpecially *Q. Fabius Maximus*, that oppoſed him therein: yet at length he obtained to have the Iſle of *Sicily* for his Province, with leave to paſſe into *Africk* if he found it expedient.

Scipio coms from *Spain*. Is choſen Conſul.

The Treaſury at *Rome* being extreamly exhauſted, no mony was given to *Scipio*, neither was he allowed to preſſe Souldiers for his *African* Voyage: But the People made up the backwardneſſe of the Senate with their forwardneſſe: For beſides his *Roman* Souldiers, he had about ſeven thouſand Voluntaries that came to him from ſundry parts of *Italy*. Severall Towns alſo furniſhed him with Corn, Iron, Handmils, and all other neceſſaries, ſo that

that having his Navy in readineſſe, he tranſported his Army into *Sicily*, where he found, beſides other Forces, two gallant Legions of old Souldiers that had ſerved at *Canna*. For encreaſing his number of Horſe, he preſſed three hundred young and rich Gentlemen of *Sicily*, and then diſcharged them again, upon condition that they ſhould deliver their Horſe and Armes to as many *Roman* Gentlemen whom he had brought along with him for the ſame purpoſe. He goes into *Sicily*.

Then did *Scipio* imploy *Lelius* into *Africk*, rather to make diſcovery than to do any thing, who yet took a great Booty, and ſtruck no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*, who ſaw their affaires now to be upon the tearmes of change. He alſo procured King *Maſſanaſſa* to revolt from the *Carthaginians* and to joyn with the *Romans*. Sends into *Africk*.

Then did *Scipio* embark his Army for *Africk*, where he landed neer the *Faire Promontory*, and preſently after encamped before *Utica*. And goes himſelf.

The *Carthaginians* at this time had no Captain of note in their City, nor a better Army than of raw Souldiers that were levied in haſte. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, that was lately chaſed out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their beſt man of War. But before he was ready to take the Field, *Scipio* had beaten the Troop of *Carthaginian* Horſe that were ſent to impeach his landing, and ſlaine *Hanno* their Captain; he had alſo ſacked one of their Towns, and taken eight thouſand Priſoners, and ſent them into *Sicily*. He took alſo *Salva* which he fortified. Then paſſed he to *Utica* and beſieged it fourty dayes with all ſorts of Engines, but prevailed not. By this time *Aſdrubal* had gotten thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, but all raw Souldiers, and King *Syphax* brought to their help fifty Thouſand Foot and ten Thouſand Horſe, with which they marched bravely towards *Scipio*, who ſaeing upon left the Siege, and encamped upon the Shore in a place of advantage which he ſtrongly fortified, and Winter drawing on, *Maſſaniſſa* brought in great ſtore of Corn, Cattel, and other Pro- *Utica* beſieged.

visions to him. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neer unto him: their Souldiers covered their Huts with Mats and Reeds, and dry Boughs, and being held in hand about a treaty of peace, they grew remisse, and carelesse in keeping their Guard, which *Scipio* being informed of, took his oportunity in the night to set their Camp on fire, and in the confusion slew, and took Prisoners most of them.

The *Carthaginians* beaten.

Yet did the *Carthaginians* make shift to raise another Army of neer thirty thousand, reckoning in *Syphax* and his men, and four thousand *Spaniards*, Mercenaries, that were lately come to them: *Scipio* went to meet them, and another Battel was fought, and the Victory easily obtained by *Scipio* against those raw and untrained men. Thus *Scipio* became Master of the Field, and took in diverse Cities, and sent *Massanissa* and *Lelius* after *Syphax* into his Kingdom, whom they beat again, took him Prisoner, and partly by fair meanes, and partly by foule, became Masters of most of his Kingdom, which *Scipio* bestowed upon *Massanissa*. And this was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to make Kings.

And a second time.

The *Carthaginians* were extreamly dismayed, when they heard this newes, and for the calamity which had befaln their good Friend *Syphax*, and when they understood that *Massanissa*, their immortall enemy, had gotten possession of his Kingdom. This made them send forth Ambassadours to *Scipio* to make suit for Peace. When these came into *Scipios* presence, they basely prostrated themselves on the ground, and kissed his Feet, and made as unworthy a Speech, beseeching him to passe by their offences, and to grant them Peace.

They sue for Peace.

Scipio knew well in what a poor case *Rome* then was, and how unable to defray the charge of the War if it should be continued, and therefore he was willing to grant them Peace upon these conditions: That they should render up all the Prisoners, and all their Renigadoes, and slaves; That they should withdraw their Armies out of

Italy

Italy and *Gaul*: That they should not meddle with *Spain*, nor with any Islands betwixt *Italy* and *Africk*: That they should deliver up all their Ships of War, save twenty: That they should pay him a great summe of Money, with some hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat and Barley: All these they assented to, whereupon he granted them a Truce that they might send their Ambassadors to the Senate of *Rome*. But the truth was, they desired only to get time till *Hannibal* might come back, in whom they reposed all their confidence: And therefore they took occasion to pick new quarrels with the *Romans*, which they were the rather encouraged to, hearing newes that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, by whose meanes they hoped either to drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to procure better tearms of Peace.

They deale deceitfully.

Hannibal departed out of *Italy* no lesse passionate then men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countries to go into Exile. He looked back to the shore, accusing both Gods and men, and cursing his own dulnesse in that he had not led his Army from *Cama*, hot and bloudied as it was, to the Walls of *Rome*.

Hannibal leaves *Italy*.

Arriving in *Africk* he disembarked his Army at *Lepti*, almost one hundred miles from *Carthage*. He was ill provided of Horse, which he could not easily transport out of *Italy*. From thence he passed through the inland Country, gathering Friends by the way. *Tychæus*, a *Numidian* Prince that had the best Horses, he allured to joyn with him: and one *Mezetallus*, an other Prince brought him a thousand Horse. The *Carthagians* in the mean time neglected to make those preparations that would have secured the Victory and yet they sent to *Hannibal*, requiring him without delay to do what he could. *Hannibal* answered, that they were his Lords, and therefore might dispose of him and his Army, but since he was Generall of their Forces, he desired that he might have leave to make choise of his own time. Yet to please them, he made long marches to *Zama*, and there encamped.

Comes into *Africk*.

From *Zama* he sent forth his Scouts to learn where the *Romans* lay, and what they were doing. Some of these were taken and brought to *Scipio*, who shewed them all his Camp and so dismissed them. *Hannibal* admired at his Generosity, and had a very great desire of an Interview that he might talk with him: and this he signified by a Messenger. *Scipio* imbraced the motion and sent him word when and where he might meet with him. Accordingly the two Generals rode forth, with each of them a Troop of Horse till they met, and then their men were bid to stand off: Each of them had his Interpreter, and when they met they stood silent for a while, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then began *Hannibal* to salute the *Roman* to this effect. That it had been better both for *Carthage* and *Rome*, if they could have contained their ambition within the shoars of *Africk* and *Italy*: for that the Countries of *Sicily* and *Spain*, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and so much bloud as had been shed, in making those costly purchasses: But since what was past could not be recalled, he said, *That it was time for them at the length to put an end to these contentions, and to Pray the Gods to endue them with more wisdom for hereafter. To which peaceable disposition his own years, and long tryall of Fortune, both good and bad, made him inclineable. But he feared that* Scipio, *for want of such experiences, would rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereunto all humane affairs are subject: Yet* (said he) *my own example may peradventure teach thee moderation. For I am that same* Hannibal *that after my Victory at* Cannæ, *won the greatest part of* Italy, *and devised what I should do with your City of* Rome *which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought my Army to your Walls, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of* Carthage: *But see the change, I now stand hear intreating thee for Peace. This may teach thee Fortunes instability. I fought with thy Father* Scipio. *He was the first* Roman *General that I met with in the Field: I did then little think that the*

time

An interview of the Generals.

Hannibals Speech to *Scipio.*

time would come when I should hove such buſineſs with his Son: and thou maiſt have experience of the like in thy ſelf, who knowes how ſoon? What ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou be content that we leave to you Spain, *and all the Iſlands between* Italy *and* Africk? *By effecting this thou ſhalt have Glory enough, and the* Romans *may well be glad of ſuch a bargain: and we will be faithfull in obſerving the Peace with you. If thou refuſeſt this, conſider what an hazzard thou muſt run to get a little more: If thou ſtaieſt but till to morrow night, thou muſt take ſuch Fortune as the Gods ſhall allot. The iſſue of Battels is uncertain, and oft beguiles expectation. Let us therefore without more ado make Peace. Say not that ſome falſe-hearted Citizens of ours, dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treaty. Its I* Hannibal *that now deſire Peace, which I would never do but that I think it expedient for our Country: and judging it expedient I will alwayes maintaine it.*

To this *Scipio* anſwered, That he was not ignorant of the mutability of Fortune: That without any note of inſolence he might well refuſe the conditions offered: *But* (ſaid he) *if thy Citizens can be contented, beſides what I propoſed and they formerly aſſented to, to make ſuch reparation for theſe late injuries as I ſhall require, then I will further adviſe what anſwer to give you, otherwiſe prepare for War, and expect the iſſue.* *Scipios reply.*

Hereupon they brake off, and each returned to his own Camp, bidding their Souldiers to prepare for Battel, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrel between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the Field, each of them ordering their men as they judged moſt convenient. After which *Scipio* rode up and down his Army, biding them remember what they had atchieved ſince they came into *Africk*. He told them, that if they wan the day, the War was at an end, and this Victory would make them Lords of all the World, for after this, none ſhould be able to reſiſt them: But if they were beaten, there was no poſſibily of eſcaping; they muſt *They prepar to fight.*

must either Conquer or die, or be miserable slaves under most merciless enemies.

Hannibal was far the weaker in Horse and a great part of his Army were raw Souldiers, yet his Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay. He encouraged therefore his men as was most suitable to their qualities. To the Mercenaries he promised bountifull rewards. The *Carthaginians* he threatned with inevitable servitude if they lost they day: but especially he animated his old fellow Souldiers by the many Victories which they had gotten over those that far exceeded them in number. He bad them looke on their Enemies and see whether they were not by far fewer than that huge Army they had slaughtered at *Canna*. He bad them remember that it was the Father of this *Scipio* whom they had made to run away, *&c.* Wherefore he intreated them, upon whose virtue he meant wholy to repose himself, that they would strive that day to make good their honour, and to purchase the fame of *Men Invincible.*

A Battel.

When the Armies drew neer, the *Numidian* Horsemen on both sides began to Skirmish: the Trumpets, and other instruments sounded to Battel. *Hannibals* Elephants (which were alwayes an uncertain kind of help) were to break upon the *Romans*: But some of them ran back upon their own Horse, which they so disordered, that *Massanissa*, taking the advantage, before they could re-ally, charged them, and drave them quite out of the Field. The rest of these Beasts, made a great spoile amongst the *Roman Velites*, but being wounded, they ran back upon the right point of their own Battel, and disordered the *Carthaginian* Horse that were in that wing: which gave such advantage to the *Roman* Horse, that charging them when they were in disorder, they drave them away likewise. Then did the Battels of Foot advance, and ran one at the other, and the Mercenaries at the first seemed to have the better of the *Romans*: But at length the *Roman* Discipline prevailed against boisterous strength. And whereas the *Romans*, were second-

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ed by their Friends, these Mercenaries received no help from those that should have seconded them. For the new raised *Africans*, when they saw the Mercenaries give back, they retired also, which made the hired Souldiers think themselves betrayed, whereupon they declined the fight. The *Carthaginian* Battel was herewith more terrified then before, so that refusing to give way to the Mercenaries they fell out amongst themselves, and forbore to make head against their Enemies. Thus were many of them beaten down and slain through their own indiscretion: And this gave the *Romans* such advantage that the made a great slaughter both of the *Carthaginians* and Mercenaries, who could neither fight nor easily fly. Such as could, ran towards *Hannibal*, who kept his ground and would not stir to help these run-wayes.

Then did *Scipio* advance against *Hannibal* who intertained him after an other manner than ever he had been received in his life before. All the former dayes work, seemed but a Pastime in comparison of this. The *Romans* were incouraged because they had prevailed all the day before; they were also far more in number: But *Hannibals* old Blades were fresh and the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution that no man gave back one foot, but rather chose to die than to lose their ground, so that for a long time the Victory was uncertain: But the return of *Massanissa* and *Lelius* with the Horse from the pursute of the Enemies, was to the *Romans* most happy and in a needfull time. These upon a suddain charging *Hannibal* upon the Reer, overbore them with meer violence and put them to rout.

Hannibal beaten.

Hannibal with a few Horse saved himselfe by flight, and staid not till he came to *Carthage*; where, coming into the Senate, he told them plainly, that there was no other way left but to make such a Peace as could be procured. Amongst other things it was agreed, that the *Carthaginians* should pay to the *Romans* two hundred Talents a year for fifty years together. Which mony, when

He flies to *Carthage*, and perswades them to seek Peace.

when it came to be collected, there was pitious lamentation amongst the People, the *Roman* yoak begining to pinch them already, that some of the Senators could not forbear weeping; but *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter: For which *Asdrubal Hædus* (one of *Hanno's* faction) checked him, saying, that it ill becommed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep. He answered, that laughter did not alwayes proceed from joy, but sometimes from indignation. *Yet* (said he) *My laughter is more seasonable, and lesse obsurd, than your teares. For you should have wept when you gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when you bound up your hands from use of Armes without the good leave of the* Romans. *This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude. But of these things you had no feeling: Now when a little mony is wrung from you, you are very sensible of that, God grant that the time come not, wherein you shall acknowledge, that it was the least part of your misery for which you have shed these teares.*

His Civil imploy ment.

Afterwards *Hannibal* in the Civill administration of the City, gave an overthrow or two, to the Judges which at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*, having all the lives, goods, and fame of the rest in their power. Shortly after *Hannibal* was chosen *Prætor*, by virtue of which Office, he was superiour to them for that year. He sent upon an occasion for one of the Treasurers to come to him, but he proudly refused, wherupon *Hannibal* sent a Pursevant for him, and brought him in Judgment before the People, accusing, not only him, but the rest of the Judges for their insolency, and unbridled power, withall, propounding a Law that the Judges should be chosen from year to year. He found also that they had robbed the Treasury, which caused the Taxes to be laid upon the common People, whereof he made such plain demonstration, that they were compelled to restore with shame what

what they had gotten by knavery. This ſo irritated his Enemies, who were of the *Romans* Faction, that they complained to the *Roman* Senate that the *Bachine* Faction grew ſtrong again, and that *Hannibal* would ſhortly be in Armes: For he was like a wild Beaſt that could never be tamed: that he held ſecret intelligence with King *Antiochus*, who was an enemy to the *Romans*, *&c.*

He is complained of to the *Romans.*

Hereupon the Senate ſent three Ambaſſadors to *Carthage* to demand *Hannibal*, but he kept ſuch good eſpiall upon the *Romans* that he was informed of their intentions, againſt which he was never unprepared: And therefore when night was come, he ſtole out of the City, accompanied with two Friends whom he could truſt, and having Horſes in a readineſſe, he rode all night, and came to a Tower of his own by the Sea ſide, and having provided a Ship in readineſſe, he bad *Africk* farewel, lamenting the misfortune of his Country more than his own, and ſhaped his courſe to *Tyre* which was the Mother City of *Carthage*: There he was intertained Royally, in whoſe worth and honour the *Tyrians* thought themſelves to have intereſt because of the affinity between the Cities. Thence went he to *Antiochus*, who was exceeding glad of his coming, intending War againſt the *Romans*.

He flies from *Carthage* to *Tyre.*

He goes to *Antiocus.*

To him *Hannibal* gave excellent advice how he might carry on his War againſt the *Romans*, with beſt advantage; but *Antiochus* hearkned more to his Courtiers than to him, and ſo was ſhamfully beaten by the *Romans*: at which time he admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea as a Prophet, who long before had foreſeen, and foretold him what now was come to paſſe, and when it was too late, wiſhed that he had followed his Counſel. To be brief, *Antiochus* was forced by the *Romans* to ſue for Peace, which at laſt the *Romans* yeilded to: Provided a-

His counſel neglected.

mongſt other things, that *Hannibal* might be delivered into their hands. *Hannibal* getting an incling of this, fled to *Gortina* in *Creet*, where he lived a long time very quietly, but at length he fell into the envy of many by reaſon of his great wealth, whereupon he filled certain great cheſts with Lead, and depoſited them in the Temple of *Diana* there, as if he kept the Treaſure for a dead lift: and thereupon the People, having ſuch a Pledge as that of him, looked leſſe after him: But he in the mean time ſtole away to *Pruſias*, King of *Bythinia*, having firſt molten his Gold, and powered it into ſome hollow Statues of Braſſe, which he carried away with him.

He flies to *Pruſias.*

Shortly after there fell a War between *Pruſias*, and *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, *Pruſias* being encouraged to break his League and to make War upon him, by his confidence in *Hannibal*, whom he had there to mannage his War for him. The War therefore grew hot betwixt them, both by Land and Sea. But *Eumenes*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, overpowred *Pruſias* in both: And whereas *Pruſias* was but weak of himſelf, *Hannibal* procured him the aſſiſtance of ſome other Kings and States, and thoſe of very Warlike Nations: and amongſt them the aide of *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, who ſent him *Philocles* his General, with a very conſiderable Army to help him.

When *Pruſias* had received an overthrow from *Eumenes* by land, he ſought to try his Fortune by Sea, wherein yet he was too weak for him: wherefore *Hannibal* adviſed him to try whether he could not do that by Policy, which by plain force he was not able to effect. He put therefore a multitude of all ſorts of Serpents into Earthen Pitchers, to be hurled aboard the Enemies Ships when they were in fight: giving order to the Souldiers and Sea-men to ſet all upon the Ship wherein *Eumenes* himſelf was, and to defend themſelves from the reſt as well as they could:

could: and that he might the more certainly know in which Ship *Eumenes* was, he ſent an Herauld beforehand with a Letter, containing nothing but a meer flout to *Eumenes*, and full of abuſes to his perſon. Whenas therefore *Pruſias* his men came to it, they fought neither againſt great nor ſmall, but onagainſt the Ship wherein *Eumenes* was, whereupon he he was fain to ſeek his ſafety by flight; yet had he periſhed had he not thruſt in upon the next ſhore, where he had placed, for a relief upon all occaſions, a company of his men.

As for *Eumenes* his other Ships, when they preſſed hard upon the Enemy, they let fly amongſt them their Earthen Pitchers full of Snakes, which at firſt ſeemed to them a ridiculous thing: but when the Pitchers, falling upon the Decks, brake in pieces, out flew the Snakes, ſo that they could ſtir no where in the Ships by reaſon of the Serpents, whereby they found themſelves no leſſe annoied by their ſtings, than with the Arrowes of their Enemies, which cauſed them to give over fighting, and to fly to their Camp which was upon the Shoar.

Thus *Hannibal* by this trick, got the better of *Eumenes* in that fight. Nor then only, but alſo in ſundry other encounters; and by one Stratagem or other, he ever put *Eumenes* to the worſt. And once when he adviſed *Pruſias* to fight, and he durſt not, becauſe the entrailes of the Beaſt (ſaid he) forbid me. *What* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *will you rely more upon a litle piece of fleſh in a Calfe, than upon the Judgment of an old experienced Captain in the Field?*

Now as ſoon as newes of theſe things came to the Senate at *Rome*, they ſent *T. Quintius Flaminius* Ambaſſador to *Pruſias*, not ſo much to withdraw him from proſecuting the War againſt *Eumenes*, as to intreat him to deliver to them *Hannibal*, the moſt ſpitefull enemy they had in all the world.

Pruſias, to gratifie the *Romans* reſolved either to

Who betrays him.

kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive into the hands of *Flaminius*, for which end he sent a Troop of Souldiers to environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. But *Hannibal* having before found cause to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had made some secret sallies under ground to save himself from any Treasonable, or sudden assault. But finding now that all passages were shut up against him, he had recourse to his last remedy, which he was constrained to put in practice, as well to frustrate his enemies from their Triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and mercilesse hands, who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his Honour, nor his Age. When therefore he saw no other way of escaping, he took the poison, which he alwayes had in readynesse for such an exigent, and being ready to swallow it down, he uttered these

His last Speech.

Words, *I will now* (said he) *deliver the* Romans *from the fear which hath so long possessed them: that fear which makes them impatient of attending the Death of an old man. This Victory of* Flaminius *over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbred in the rest of his Heroicall deeds, No: it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how far the Antient* Roman *virtue is degenerated, and corrupted. For such was the Noblenesse of their fore-fathers, as when King* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them Battel at their own doors, they gave him intelligence of the Treason intended against him by Poyson: whenas these of a later race, have imployed* Flaminius, *a man who heretofore hath been one of their Consuls, to practice with* Prusias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given for my safety, and contrary to the Lawes of Hospitality, to slay, or deliver up his own Guest.* Then drank he off that poison, and

He poysons himself.

died.

P. Scipio

P. Scipio Africanus in a diſcourſe which he had with *Hannibal*, asked him, which of all the famous Captaines that ever lived, he judged moſt worthy? *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* the great, the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challedged to himſelf. But *Scipio*, who thought his own Title better, then that it ought to be forgotten, asked yet further, *What then wouldeſt thou have ſaid,* Hannibal, *if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me?* The *Carthaginian* replyed, *Then would I not have given the firſt place to* Alexander, *but have claimed it as due unto my ſelf.*

When the Conditions of Peace granted by the *Romans* to the *Carthaginians* were reported to the Citizens, they were very unpleaſing, whereupon one *Geſco*, ſtood up to ſpeake againſt them, perſwading the People not to yeild to ſuch intollerable demands: But *Hannibal* obſerving what favourable audience was given to this vain Orator, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike multitude, he was bold to pull him down from his ſtanding by plain force: Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Captain: Which *Hannibal* perceiving, roſe up and ſpake unto them, ſaying; That they ought to pardon him if he had done otherwiſe than the Cuſtoms of the City would allow, for as much as he had been thence abſent ever ſince he was a boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of five and fourty. Having thus excuſed himſelf, he exhorted them to embrace the Peace, as wanting ability to defend themſelves, had the demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous.

His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did Sacrifize, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, called his Son *Hannibal*, being than but nine years old,

old, caused him to lay his hand upon the Alter, and to swear, that being come to mans estate, he should pursue the *Romans* with immortall hatred, and that he should work them all the mischief that possibly he could.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF EPAMINONDAS, THE GREAT CAPTAINE OF THE THEBANS.

THE Father of *Epaminondas* was *Polymnis*, who was descended of one of the most ancient, and renowned Families amongst the *Thebans*, the most part of which Noble linage had upon their Bodies for a naturall Birthmark, the resemblance of a Snake. This *Polimnis* had two only Sons, *Caphisias*, and *Epaminondas*, whom he educated very carefully, and had them very well instructed in all the liberall Arts, and honest Sciences: especially *Epaminondas*, who had the more stayed witt, and was most inclined to Virtue, desirous to learne, humble, obedient, and wonderfull docible: and of one *Dyonisius* he learned to be very skilfull in Singing, and Musick. And for Philosophy it happened well for him that he fell into an excellent Masters hands by this means.

His Parentage and Education.

His parts.

The

The Colleges of the *Pythagorian* Philosophers that were dispersed through the Cities of *Italy*, were banished by the faction of the *Cylonians*, yet such as still kept together, met in a Councel at *Metapont* to consider of their affairs: But some seditious Persons rose up against them, and set the House wherein they were on fire, and burnt them all; onely *Philolaus* and *Lysis*, being lusty young men, escaped through the fire. *Philolaus* fled into the Country of the *Lucanians*, and resided there with his Friends: But *Lysis* got to *Thebes*, where *Polymnis* intertained him, intreating him to undertake the Tuition of his Son *Epaminondas*, who, though he was but a young Boy, yet was he of good capacity, and of very good Hopes. This Philosopher accordingly applyed himself to manure this noble and quick wit of *Epaminondas*, and in a short time made him perfect in all Sciences and Virtue, so that it was hard to find a more wise, grave, and virtuous Person than he was.

He exercises and studies.

When he was but fifteen years of age, he gave himself to all manner of exercises of the Body, as to run, wrestle, use his Weapons, and all feats of Arms: and having quickly attained to skill in these, he applied himself to his Book. He was naturally silent, fearfull to speak, but never aweary to hear and learn; whereupon *Spintharus*, the *Tarentine*, being familiarly acquainted with him in *Thebes*, used to say, *that he never knew any man that knew so much, and spake so little as* Epaminondas. If he fell into any company that discoursed of Philosophy, or of State matters, he would never leave them, till the matter propounded was at an end. He was of a pleasant disposition, and so witty that he could break a jest as well as any man.

His Discourse with a Phylosopher.

Lysis after he had lived long in *Thebes*, died, and was honourably buried by his Scholar *Epaminondas*. Not long after, *Theanor*, one of the *Pythagorians* in *Sicily*, was sent to bring *Lysis* thither, but when he came to *Thebes*, he found him dead and buried, therefore going to *Epaminondas*, after salutations, he told him that his

Companions

companions, who were rich, willed him to give *Polymnis*, and his children, a good ſumme of mony in recompence of that curteous entertainment which they had given to *Lyſis*: *Epaminondas*, after pleaſant excuſes made, told him that none could be received, ſaying further, *Jaſon*, a Captaine of the *Theſſalians* thought that I gave him a rude and uncivil anſwer, when he, having earneſtly entreated me to receive a good ſumme of Gold, I ſent him word that he did me wrong, and began to make War with me: for that he, aſpiring to make himſelf a Lord, would corrupt me with mony, who am a plain Citizen of a free Town, and living under the Law. But for thee *Theanor*, I commend thy good will, becauſe its honeſt and virtuous, but I tell thee thou bringeſt Phyſick to them that are not ſick. Admit that thou, hearing we had been in Wars, hadſt brought us Armes to defend us, and when on the contrary thou hadſt found us quiet, and at peace with all our neighbours, thou wouldſt not have thought fit to beſtow theſe Armes, and leave them with thoſe that had no need of them. Even ſo, thou art come to relive our poverty as though it were a burden to us, whereas on the contrary, its an eaſy and pleaſant thing to us to carry, and we are glad we have it in our Houſes amongſt us, and therefore we have no need of Armes, or mony againſt that which doth us no hurt at all. But tell thy brethren that they uſe their goods very honeſtly: and alſo that they have Friends here which uſe their Poverty as well: and as for the intertainment, and burial of *Lyſis*, he hath himſelf fully recompenced us, having taught us, amongſt many other good leſſons, not to be afraid of Poverty, nor to be grieved to ſee it amongſt us. *Theanor* having made ſome reply about the good and evill of Riches, and told him that as Poverty was not evil in it ſelf, ſo neither was Riches to be had in contempt and diſpiſed: No truly (ſaid *Epaminondas*) yet conſidering with my ſelf that we have a World of covetous deſires, ſome naturall that are born with us, and bred in our fleſh by the

lusts pertaining to it: Others strange to us, grounded upon vain opinions, which taking setling, and becoming an habit in us by tract of time, and long use through evil education, oftentimes do draw us down, and weigh our Souls with more force and violence, than those that be connaturall to us. For reason, through daily exercise of virtue, and practice thereof, is a meanes to free us from many of those things that are borne, and bred with us. Yet we must use continuall force and opposition against our concupiscences which are strangers to us, to quench them, and by all possible meanes to represse, and subdue them in us.

And when this is done, there is also (said he) an exercise of justice against greedy Covetousnesse, and a desire of getting, which is not, not to go rob our neighbours Houses, nor, not to rob men by the high way, nor not to betray our Friends, or Country for mony: for such an one opposeth, not covetousnesse, but possibly, its Law, or feare that bridleth his covetous desire to offend: But that man that oftentimes willingly abstaines from just gaines, he it is that by exercise keeps himself far from unjust, and unlawfull taking of mony. For it is impossible in great pleasures that are wicked and dangerous, the Soul should contain it self from lusting after them, unlesse formerly, being oft at his choise to use them, he had contemned them. Its not easy to overcome them, nor to refuse great Riches when they are offered, unlesse a man long before hath killed in him this covetous desire of getting, the which, besides many other habits and actions, is still greedily bent shamefully to gaine, pleasing himself in the pursuit of unjustice, hardly forbearing to wrong an other so he may benefit himself. But that man that disdaines to receive gifts from his Friends, and refuseth Presents offered him by Kings, and that hath rejected the bounty of Fortune, puting by all covetous desires of glistering Treasures laid before him, he shall never be tempted to do that which is unjust, nor shall his mind be troubled, but he will con-

tent

tent himself quietly to do any thing that is honest, having an upright heart, finding nothing in it but that which is good and commendable. Yet was the Life of *Epaminondas* far mor excellent than his discourse, as will appear by that which follows.

Diomedon, the *Cizicenian*, at the request of *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, promised to winne *Epaminondas* to take the *Persians* part. To effect this, he came to *Thebes*, and brought a great masse of Gold with him, and with three Thousand Crowns of it, he bribed a young man called *Mycethus*, who was greatly beloved by *Epaminondas*. This young man went to him and told him the occasion of the other mans coming to *Thebes*: But *Diomedon* being present, *Epaminondas* said to him, I have no need of mony: If the King of *Persia* wish well to the *Thebans*, I am at his service without taking one penny: If he hath any other meaning, he hath not Gold nor Silver enough wherewith to corrupt me: For I will not sell the love which I bear to my Country for all the Gold in the World: and as for thee that dost now tempt me, not knowing me, but judging me like unto thy self, I pardon thee for this time, but get thee quickly out of the City lest thou corrupt others, having failed to prevail over me: and for thee *Mycethus*, deliver him his mony again, which if thou dost not presently, I will send thee before a Justice. His contempt of Riches.

Hereupon *Diomedon* besought him that he would let him go away in safety, and carry that with him which he brought thither: Yea (said *Epaminondas*) but it shall not be for thy sake, but for my honour-sake, lest thy Gold and Silver being taken from thee, some man should accuse me that I had a share in that privately which I had refused openly. Saying further, whither wouldst thou that I should cause thee to be conveyed? To *Athens*, said *Diomedon*: This was done accordingly, and he had a strong convoy sent with him, and that he might not be troubled by the way, betwixt the Gates of *Thebes* and the Haven wherein he was to imbark himself, *Epaminondas* gave *Chabrias* the *Athenian* charge of him.

that he ſhould ſee him ſafe at his jorneys end.

His Poverty.

Though *Epaminondas* was very Poor, yet would he never take any thing of his Citizens or Friends: and being ſo inured to poverty, he was enabled to bear it the more patiently by his ſtudy of Philoſophy. For on a time, having the leading of an Army of the *Thebans* into the Country of *Peloponneſus*, he borrowed five Crownes of a Citizen for the defraying of his neceſſary chatges in that Journey. *Pelopidas* being a man of great wealth and his very good Friend, could never poſſibly force upon him any part of his Goods, but he rather learned of him to love Poverty. For *Epaminondas* taught him to think it an honour to go plainly in his Apparrel, to eat moderately, to take paines willingly, and in War to fight luſtily. Yet when he had occaſion to relieve others, he would make bold with his Friends goods, which in ſuch caſes were common to him. If any of his Citizens were taken Priſoners by the Enemy, or if any Friend of his had a Daughter to be married, and was not able to beſtow her, he uſed to call his Friends together, and to aſſeſſe every one of them at a certain ſumme, after which he brought him before them who was to receive the mony, and told him how much every one had beſtowed upon him, that he might returne thanks to them all.

His Charity.

But once he went far beyond this: For he ſent a poor Friend of his to a Rich Citizen of *Thebes* to aſk of him ſix hundred Crownes, and to tell him that *Epaminondas* deſired him to let him have them. The Citizen being amazed at his demand, went to *Epaminondas* to know what he meant to charge him ſo deeply, as to make him to give ſix hundred Crowns to the other? It is (ſaid *Epaminondas*) becauſe this man, being an honeſt man, is poor, and thou who haſt robbed the Commonwealth of much, art rich.

His Sobriety.

He lived ſo ſoberly, and was ſuch an enemy to all ſuperfluity and exceſſe, that being on a time invited to Supper to one of his Neighbours, when he ſaw great preparation of dainty meats, made diſhes, and perfumes, he ſaid

said unto him, I thought thou hadst made a Sacrifice by this excesse and superfluity, and so immediatly went his way. The like also he spake of his own Table, saying, that such an Ordinary, was never guilty of Traytors, and Treason. On a time being at a Feast with some of his Companions, he drank Vinegar, and when they asked him what he meant by it, and whether he drank it for his health? I know not (said he) but this I am sure of, it puts me in remembrance how I live at home. Now it was not that his stomach was an enemy to dainty meats, or that he lived so penuriously at home, for he was marvelous noble minded: But he did it, that by his strict and unreprovable life, he might bridle and restraine many insolencies and disorders which then raigned amongst the *Thebans*, and to reduce them to the former temperance of their Ancestors.

Upon a time, a Cook giving up an account to him and his Fellows of their ordinary expences for certain dayes, he could find fault with nothing but the quantity of Oyle that was spent: which his Companions marvelling at; Tush (said he) it is not the expence which offends me, but because we have powred in so much Oyle into our Bodies. The City of *Thebes* upon an occasion made a publick Feast, where they were very merry, and jolly: But on the Contrary, *Epaminondas* went up and down without Oyle and perfumes, or decked with brave apparrell, seeming very sad: Some of his Familiar Friends meeting him in this posture, and wondering at him, asked him why he walked so alone, and ill apparrelled through the City? Because (said he) you may in the meane time freely and safely drink your selves drunk, and make merry, taking thought for nothing. His Vigilance.

His modesty also was such, that it would in no wise suffer him to seek advancement, but on the contrary he withdrew himself from Government, that he might with the more quiet apply himself to the study of Philosophy. It happened upon a time that the *Lacedemonians* intreated aide of the *Thebans*, who at that time were in League

League with them, and acordingly they sent them certain Foot Companies: at which time *Epaminondas* being about thirty five years old, Armed himself and went along with them. At this time it was, that that intimate Friendship began betwixt *Pelopidas* and him, which continued even to the end of their lives. These two being in a Battel the one by the other against the *Arcadians*, whom they had in front against them in the plaines of *Mantinea*, it fell out that one of the points of the Battel of the *Lacedemonians* in which they were, retired, and many fled: But these two resolved rather to dy than fly, and accordingly they stood to it gallantly, till *Pelopidas* being wounded in seven places, fell down upon a heap of dead Bodies. Then did *Epaminondas* (though he took him for dead) step resolutly before him to defend his Body and Armes, he alone fighting against many, resolving rather to die in the place than to leave *Pelopidas* amongst the dead men, until that himself being thrust into the breast with a Pike, and wounded in the Arme with a Sword, was ready to faint: at which time Providence so ordered it, that King *Agesipolis* came on with the other point of the Battel, and saved them both.

His Valor.

Not long after the *Lacedemonians* by a stratagem, won the strong Castle of *Thebes* called *Cadmea*, and put a strong Garrison into it, and gave the Government of the City of *Thebes* unto *Archias*, *Philippus*, and *Leonidas*, authors of all the mischief: whereupon, to avoid their Tyranny, *Pelopidas*, and many others were fain to save themselves by flight, upon which they were banished by sound of Trumpet. But as for *Epaminondas* they as yet said nothing to him, but let him alone in the City: for he was contemned as a man of no account, because he was so much given to his Book: and if he should have any mind to stir against them, yet they judged he could could do nothing because of his Poverty.

Tyrants in *Thebes*.

Whilest *Pelopidas* and his Companions were at *Athens*, they laid a plot to free *Thebes* from those Tyrants: But *Epaminondas* not making a shew of any thing, had devised

sed an other way to effect it, by raising the hearts and courages of the young men of the City. For when they went out to play, and exercise themselves, he alwayes found out a way to make them wrestle with the *Lacedomonians*; and when he saw the *Lacedomonians* throw them, and give them shrewd falls, they being the stronger, he would privately rebuke the *Thebans* and tell them, that it was a shame for them to suffer the *Lacedæmonians* to set their feet upon their throats for want of courage, who yet were not half so strong, and boisterous as themselves were. All this while *Pelopidas* and his followers went on in their Plot, and had such good success, that one night they got privily into the City of *Thebes* and met at *Charons* House about forty eight in number. *Epaminondas* knew all this well enough, and at night some took him aside and endeavoured to perswade him to joyn with them in delivering their City from these Tyrants, to whom he answered, that he had taken order with his Friends, and *Gorgidas*, to put themselves into a readiness upon any such occasion, but for his own part he would not have a hand in putting any of his Citizens to death, unless they were legally condemned; yet (said he) if you will make an attempt for the delivery of the City so as that it be without murther or blood-shed, I will joyn with you with all my heart: But if you will persevere in your former determination, pray you let me alone, pure, and not defiled with the blood of my Citizens, that being blameless I may take hold of another occasion which may tend more to the good of the common wealth. For the murthers that will be committed in this way, cannot be contained within any reasonable bounds. I know indeed that *Pherecides*, and *Pelopidas* will especially set upon the Authors of the Tyranny: but *Eumolpidas*, and *Damocrates*, being fierce and Cholerick men, taking the liberty of the night, will never sheath their swords, till they have filled the whole City with murther, and slain many of the chief Citizens. Besides, its very convenient for

His prudence.

for the People of *Thebes*, that ſome be left free, and blameleſſe of theſe murthers, and guiltleſſe of all that ſhould be done in the fury of this action.

The Tyrants ſlain.

Notwithſtanding all that was ſaid, the enterpriſe was executed, and the Tyrants put to death, the City was reſtored to her ancient liberty, the Caſtle of *Cadmea* was rendred up by compoſition, and *Lyſandrada*, the *Lacedemonian*, and other Commanders that were in it, were ſuffered ſafely to depart, with their goods and Souldiers. This was the occaſion of the long Wars which followed between the *Lacedomonians* and *Thebans*, with whom the *Athenians* joyned in League.

His Modeſty.

Epaminondas ſtill applyed himſelf to his Book: yet at laſt he was put forwards by *Pammenes*, a chief man amongſt the *Thebans*, and he began to follow the Wars very eagerly, and in divers encounters gave good proof of his prudence, hardineſſe, and valour, inſomuch as by degrees he attained to the higheſt charges of Government in the Commonwealth: and his Citizens, who before made ſmall account of him till he was fourty years old, after, when they knew him better, they truſted him with their Armies, and he ſaved the City of *Thebes*, that was like to be undone, yea, and freed all *Greece* from the ſervitude of the *Lacedemonians*, making his virtue, as in a cleer light, to ſhine with Glory, ſhewing the effects when time ſerved.

He is advanced to Honour.

Upon a time *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacademon* entered into *Bœotia* with an Army of twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, wherewith he harraſed and ſpoiled all the plain Country, and preſented Battel to the *Thebans* in the open Fields, which yet they would not accept of, finding themſelves the weaker: Howbeit, they defended themſelves ſo well by the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, and the wiſe conduct of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, that they cauſed *Ageſilaus* to return home with his Army. But when he was gone, the *Thebans* went with their Companies before the City of *Theſpies*, which they ſurprized, and put to the Sword two hundred of the Garriſon

The *Spartans* beaten.

riſon, a nd afterwards returned back with their Army to *Thebes*; and *Phœbidas*, the *Lacedemonian*, who was then Governour of that City, ſallyed out of the Town, and charged upon the *Thebans* in their retreat; who intertained him ſo hotly, that he loſt five hundred of his men, and himſelf was ſlain in the fight.

Not long after, the *Lacedemonians* returned with their former Army to make War with the *Thebans*, who having ſeized upon certain ſtraights, and places of advantage, ſo blocked up the way, that they could not over run the Country, and ſpoile it as they had done before; yet did *Ageſilaus* ſo moleſt, and trouble them, that at laſt it came to a main Battel that held long, and was very cruel: and though at the firſt *Ageſilaus* had the better, yet the *Thebans* charged him ſo furiouſly, that at the length he himſelf was wounded and forced to retire, being well paid for teaching the *Thebans* Millitary Diſcipline. And this was the firſt time that the *Thebans* knew themſelves to be as ſtrong and luſty as the *Lacedemonians*, whereupon they Triumphed in ſigne of Victory, and from that time forward, they grew more courageous to make head againſt the Enemy, and to preſent them battel. But that which moſt encouraged them, was, the preſence of *Epaminondas*, who counſelled, commanded, and executed very wiſely, valiantly, and with great ſucceſſe.

A Battel.

At another time they went with a great number of choſen men before the City of *Orchomene*, where yet they prevailed not, becauſe there was a ſtrong Garriſon of the *Lacedemonians* that ſallied out upon them, and the fight was very ſharp betwen them: yet, though the *Lacedemonians* were far more in number, the *Thebans* gave them the overthrow, which never happened to them before. For all other Nations thought that they had done excellent well, if with a far greater number they had overcome a ſmall number of the *Lacedemonians*. But this Victory, and an other, which fell out ſhortly after under the conduct of *Pelopidas*, did ſo lift up and encourage the *Thebans*, that they became more famous than ever they were before.

The Spartans beaten.

The year following, *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, intending to make War against *Ægypt*, and therein to intertain diverse strangers, laboured to make Peace amongst the *Grecians*, in hope that they, being at Peace amongst themselves would be the more willing to have Souldiers leavied amongst them. For which end he sent Ambassadours to all the Townes of *Greece*, to prefwade and intreat them to be at Peace amongst themselves. The *Greeks* were very willing to harken hereto, being wearied on all sides with such long Wars, and so were easily drawn to make Peace; wherein it was especially agreed, and concluded, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be free, and use their own Lawes: and Commissioners were sent abroad to withdraw all the Garrisons where any were kept. Unto this the *Thebans* only refused to agree, that every Town should severally capitulate for it, requesting that the Towns in the Country of *Bœotia* should be comprehended under the City of *Thebes*: but the *Athenians* mightily opposed themselves against this, and *Calistratus*, one of their Orators, made a notable Oration about it before all the States of *Greece*. *Epaminondas* on the contrary, made an excellent and vehement speech in defence of the right of the *Thebans*, insomuch as this controversy was left undecided, and the Treaty of Peace was universally agreed to amongst all the other *Grecians*, the *Thebans* only excepted, who were not comprised in it.

Peace among the *Greeks*.

The *Thebans* are excepted.

At this time the *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians*, who had long contended amongst themselves about the Principality of *Greece*, now agreed, that the one should command by Sea, and the other by Land: And therefore they could not endure that the *Thebans* should aspire to be chief, which made them seek to dismember the other Towns of *Bœotia* from them, the rather, for that the *Thebans*, being strong and lusty of Body, and much encouraged by their late Victories over the *Lacedemonians*, would now contend with them for their superiority, having a wonderfull confidence in the Wisdom and Prowesse

weſſe of their Captaines, eſpecially of *Epaminondas*.

Matters reſting thus doubtfull, the Citizens of *Plataes*, a Town of *Bœotia*, were deſirous to enter into League with the *Athenians*, promiſing that if they would ſend them Souldiers, they would put the Town into their hands: But the Governours of *Bœotia* having intelligence of it, and being deſirous to prevent the *Athenians*, brought a party of Souldiers againſt it, who came before *Plataes* before the Citizens heard any newes of them, ſo that part of them were ſurpriſed in the Field by the Horſmen, and the reſt fled into the Town: where having no aid, they were faign to accept of ſuch tearmes as it pleaſed the *Thebans* to grant them, which were, preſently to depart the Town with bag and baggage, and never to returne again into the Country of *Bœotia*. Then did they raze the City to the ground, and ſaked the Town of *Theſpies* which alſo was at enmity with them. *Plataes* deſtroyed.

The Ambaſſadours of *Perſia* again ſolicited the *Greeks* to a Generall Peace, and Commiſſioners from every Town were to meet at *Sparta* about it. *Epaminondas* was yet ſcarce known, having laboured to conceal himſelf, and in all his exploits of War, had ever preferred the advancement of his great Friend, and Companion in Armes, *Pelopidas*, before himſelf. He was now choſen by the *Thebans* to go to *Sparta*, where, finding that the other Commiſſioners did much comply with *Ageſilaus*, he ſpake boldly, and plainly, not only in behalf of the *Thebans*, but for all *Greece* alſo: making it evident to all, that War ſtill encreaſed the greatneſſe of *Sparta* only, which kept all the other Towns of *Greece* under. He therefore adviſed them to eſtabliſh a firme Peace, which wou'd laſt the longer, when all comprized in it, ſhould be equals. His wiſdom.

Ageſilaus perceiving all the Commiſſioners to be very attentive to and well pleaſed with this ſpeech, he asked him aloud, if he thought it juſt, and equal, that all *Bœotia* ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Epaminondas* preſently, and boldly asked him, if he thought it not alſo iuſt and reaſonable that all *Laconia* ſhould be ſet at liberty? Thereupon *Ageſilaus* And courage.

silaus, in great anger, stood up, and commanded him to answer plainly, if they should not restore all the Towns in *Bœotia* to their Liberty? and *Epaminondas* answered him as before. This so displeased *Agesilaus* (who had an old grudge to the *Thebans*) that immediatly he put their Name out of the List of those that should be comprized within the Treaty of Peace, and proclaimed open War against them, and now there was no remedy but the *Thebans* must bear the whole brunt alone, for there was no one Town that durst send them any aid, because they were all sworn to the Peace, insomuch as all judged them to be utterly undone. Friends pitied there estate, and their enemies rejoyced, verily believing that they could never stand before the *Lacedemonians*.

Then did the *Lacedemonians* send King *Cleombrotus* with an Army towards *Thebes*, who being come neer to *Cheronea* with ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, he pitched his Camp there staying for his Allies. The *Thebans* being informed of the approach of the enemy, chose *Epaminondas* to be their Captain Generall, giving him the charge of this War, with six other Counsellers to be assisting to him. Now there came Oracles to *Thebes* from all parts; some promising Victory, and others threatening their overthrow; and *Epaminondas* commanded them to set those on the right hand of the chaire for Orations, that promised Victory, and the other on the left hand, which being so disposed of, he gat up into the chaire, and said to his Citizens, *If you will be obedient to your Captains, and valiant against your enemies, these Oracles on the right hand belong to you: But if through faintnesse of heart, ye refuse dangers, these on the left hand shall be your Portion.*

His Prudence.

Then did he list the Names of all the *Thebans* which were able to bear Armes, and chose out of some parts of *Bœotia*, such as he thought fittest for the Wars. His Presence exceedingly cheered up his Army, and all the time that he was Captain, the *Thebans* never saw in their Campany of those which they call *sudden feares*. He used to

to say, that there was no Death more honest and desirable than to die in the Wars, and that the body of a Souldier should be hardened to endure any labour or paines. He could not abide fat men, and therefore cashired a whole Company of them as unprofitable burdens in his Army. He had in all, but six thousand fighting men: and as they marched forwards, they met with some unlucky signes, as many esteemed them; but he valued them not, thinking that a resolution to fight in a good cause, ought to be much stronger, and of more force to raise up in him good Hope, than these evill signes that appeared, to make him fear the worst.

Fat men cashired.

As he was marching towards the *Lacedemonians*, they heard it Thunder, and they that were neer him, asked him what that meant. He answered, that it betokened that the Enemies braines were troubled, and beclouded, who, having places of advantage hard by them, yet encamped in the plaines. Indeed the *Lacedemonians* waited there for their Allies, who yet failed them. For all of them, having at leasure considered of the speech of *Epaminondas* at *Sparta*, began to distast the ambition of the *Lacedemonians*. *Epaminondas* seeing his advantage, caused his Army to march with speed, and wan the straights by the City of *Coronea*, and encamped there: *Cleombrotus* understanding that the *Thebans* had possessed themselves of that passe, despairing to recover it, he made his Army to march a great compasse about the Country of *Phocide*, going along the Sea Coast through a dangerous, and troublesome way, and so at the last he entered into the Country of *Bœotia*: and as he went, he took in some little Towns, and certain Gallies that lay upon the Coast, and at the last arrived at *Leuctres*, and there sate down to refresh his men, who were overwearied with their tedious march. Then did *Epaminindas* presently advance that way to meet them, and having passed over some little Mountaines, he discovered them in the plain of *Luctres*, where his men were much amazed to see so great an Army of their Enemies.

His Prudence.

The.

The six Counsellors came together to consider whether they should go forward and fight, few against many, or else retreat, waiting for some beter advantage. In this Councel, their opinions fell out to be equall. Three judged it best to retreat, the other, whereof *Epaminondas* was one, thought it best to fight, and with these three, *Pelopidas*, who was Captain of the Sacred Band, joyned, whereupon they all agreed to give them Battel. *Epaminondas* seeing his Souldiers somewhat affrighted at the former ill signes, to put courage into them, he suborned some that were newly come from *Thebes*, to scatter a report, that no man could tell at *Thebes* what was become of the Armes that hung up in the Temple of *Hercules*; but it was commonly said, that the Demigods, their Ancestors, had taken them away, to aid their posterity, at this present time. He caused another also, who was newly come from *Trophonius* hole, to report, that the God which gives his Oracles therein, commanded him to tell the *Bœotians* that when they had overcome their enemies in the plain of *Leuctres*, they should celebrate yearly Playes to the honour of *Jupiter*: and to gain the more credit to these devices, *Leandridas*, a *Spartan*, that was banished out of his own Country, and now was assisting the *Bœotians*, being brought before the Souldiers, he encouraged them to fight valiantly that Day: For he swore unto them, that the *Lacedemonians* had many Oracles, biding them to beware of *Leuctres*.

And Policy.

Epaminondas also, assembling his Army, encouraged them with strong, and lively reasons, to shew their valour, so that at last the Souldiers being freed from their superstitious feares, longed for nothing more than to come to blowes. *Epaminondas* ever concluded his Orations to them with these Words: *O worthy men, embrace sacred Death: Advance your selves to a most honorable, and famous Fight for your Country, for the Tombes of your Ancestors, and for your Holy things.* Just at this very time there came to the *Thebans* an aid of five hundred Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, all *Thessalians*, conducted by *Jason*. This *Jason* endeavored to

to have made peace with both parties, but could not prevail.

Also as *Cleombrotus* retired with his Army out of *Bœotia*, he met a great supply of *Lacedemonians*, and their Allies, brought to him by *Archidamus*, the Son of *Agesilaus*. These he sent before, thinking to daunt the courage of the *Thebans* with the sight of them, and himself with the rest of his Army suddenly returned into the plain of *Leuctres*, being fully resolved to fight: and the *Bœotians* for their part shrunk not an inch back, and so on both sides they set their men in Battel array. *Epaminondas* ordered his Battel after a new fashion never before practised by any Captain: For having chosen out of his Army the best, and most valiant Souldiers, he placed them together in one of the Points of his Battel, where himself meant to fight in Person, seconded by *Pelopidas*, and his three hundred chosen men, called the *Holy Band*: In the other Point he placed his weaker men, commanding them expressly not to abide the charge of their enemies that should assaile them in Front, but fair, and softly retire when they saw them come near them: and it fell out as he wished: and he hoped to determine the Battel by the virtue, and prowess of those where he had placed all the flower, and choice of his Army. A Battel

Now the sign of Battel being given, the *Lacedemonians* advanced with the two Horns of their Battel, ordered in the form of a Crescent. On the contrary, one of the wings of the Battel of the *Bœotians* began to give back, and the other with great fury ran to charge the enemy in the Flank, and soon they were come to the Swords point. At the first, because either side fought desperately, the Victory for a time stood doubtfull, But at last *Epaminondas* his Troop brake in amongst the *Lacedemonians*, and slew most of those that were about *Cleombrotus*. Yet while the King was alive, he kept back the *Thebans* from the victory, being accompanied with all the flower of his Army, who fought very valiantly about him: But after he fell dead to the ground, having received

received and given an infinite number of wounds, then thronged they together on all sides, and there was a bloody and cruell fight about his Body, where were heaps of men slain one upon another, and though *Epaminondas* did all that possibly he could, yet the *Lacedemonians* made such resistance, that at last they forced the *Thebans* somewhat to give back, whereby they conveyed the Body of the King out of the presse: But this continued not long: For *Epaminondas* both by his words and example, did so raise up and encourage the hearts of his men, that they fought like Lyons, and gave so fierce a second charge upon their enemies, that they wholly routed them and made them fly for life, and *Epaminondas* fiercely pursuing the flying enemy, made a great slaughter of them, and obtained the most glorious victory that ever Captain won, having in a pitched Field overcome the most Noble, and warlike Nation of all *Greece*, and that with a far smaller number of men than his enemies had. He also rejoyced more in this, than in all his other victories, because it happened to him in his Fathers life-time: and he often used to say, that of all the honest and happy Fortunes that befell him, nothing joyed his heart more, than that he had vanquished the *Lacedemonians* at *Leuctres*, his Father and Mother living to see it: and indeed, he that day, did not onely preserve their lives, but of all his Citizens besides, the *Lacedemonians* having fully resolved utterly to destroy the *Thebans*.

The Spartans beaten.

His Humility.

Epaminondas used at all other times to come abroad fine and neat, and with a pleasant countenance: but the next day after this Battel, he came out very sad, heavy, and pensive, and when his Friends asked him, whether he had heard any ill news which occasioned this posture, he said, *No: but* (said he) *I perceive by my self yesterday, that being overjoyed with the victory I obtained, my heart was more elevated than it ought, and therefore to day I correct that joy, which yesterday exceeded its due bounds.* He knowing that it was the manner of the *Spartans*, as much as possible, to conceal their losses, he suffered them not to

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carry away all their dead Bodies together, but every City one after another, by which it appeared that there were four Thousand of them slain: But of the *Boetians* there were not found above three hundred dead. This Battel was fought in the beginning of the second year of the hundred and second *Olympiade*.

The *Lacedemonians* having by this overthrow lost the greatest part of their honour, which they had maintained so long, yet lost not their courage; but to keep their youth still in heart, and to take away all fear from such as had escaped, they sent *Agesilaus*, with an Army into *Arcadia*, who was contented to take a few small Towns of the *Mantineans*, and so to return home again. Some say that *Lycomedes*, Captain of the *Arcadians*, making an inrode neer to *Orchomene*, slew in an encounter, *Polytropus*, Captain of the *Lacedemonians*, and two hundred *Spartans* with him, which provoked the *Lacedemonians* against them: and thereupon the *Arcadians*, finding themselves too weak for them, they sought alliance and aid from the *Thebans*. Sure it is that these two States were now at enmity, which occasioned the *Arcadians* and *Thebans* to joyn together, who, with their Allies being led by *Epaminondas* entered into *Laconia*, with an Army of fourty thousand men, besides thirty thousand others that followed the Camp. At this time the *Athenians* sent Captain *Iphecrates*, with twelve thousand men, to aide the *Lacedemonians*: But before their coming, *Epaminondas* was entered into *Laconia*, and had lacked all the Country which had not been wasted by any enemy for six hundred years before.

He plunders *Laconia*.

The *Spartans* seeing their Country thus plundred and destroyed, were desirous to have gone out with such Forces as they had, but *Agesilaus* would not suffer them, telling them how dangerous it was for them to leave their City, and to set upon such a potent, and numerous enemy. This made them quiet: and *Epaminondas* in the mean time marched with his Army

my towards the River *Eurotas*, which at that time was risen very high, because of the Winter raines. He endeavoured all he could, to draw forth *Agesilaus* to a Battel, who beholding *Epaminondas* a great while marching with his Army in Battel aray along the River side at the Head of his Troops, he wondred at his boldnesse, and Valour, but would by no meanes adventure out of his Fort: So that when this Army had plundred all *Laconia*, *Epaminondas* led them back again laden with a very rich Booty. And though *Agesilaus* was commended for preserving his City in safety; yet *Epaminondas* had by this inrode, and especially by his Victory at *Leuctres*, so impoverished the Country, that *Sparta* could never after recover that losse, nor grow into that reputation and power which it had before. Yea, notwithstanding the aide sent by the *Athenians*, and the skill and experience of *Iphicrates*, *Epaminondas* returned with his Army intire as he came.

He braves the *Spartans*.

Epaminondas that he might keep the *Lacedemonians* still underfoot, and heape new troubles upon them, gave Counsell to the *Arcadians*, and their Allies, to re-edifie, and replenish with People the City of *Messina*, which the *Lacedemonians* had long before destroyed, and when all the whole Councel had given their consents to it, he forthwith, by diligent enquiry sought out all that had been ancient Inhabitants in that City, and in the space of eighty five Dayes, having repaired the ruined Houses, he raised again one of the most Noble, and ancient Cities of *Greece*, and left there a strong Garrison for their security. This gat him as much, if not more love and honour than any other service which he had ever done.

Messina re-edified.

The *Lacedemonians* being freed from a great fear by his departure, made an agreement with the *Athenians*, leaving to them the chief command by Sea, and reserving to themselves that by Land. And afterwards, by the assistance of the *Athenians* and that aide which

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came to them out of *Sicily*, by little and little they recovered their Towns again.

The *Arcadians*, to stop their proceedings, assaulted & City of *Pallene* in *Laconia*, and taking it by storme, put all the Garrison therein to the Sword, & then razed the Town, and plundred all the Country there abouts. And expecting that the *Lacedemonians* would seek revenge, they sent for aid to the *Thebans*, who sent *Epaminondas* and the other Counsellers to assist them with six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. The *Athenians* having intelligence hereof, sent their Army under the Conduct of *Chabrias*, who marched directly to *Corinth*, where he met with a good supply of Souldiers from the *Megarians*, *Pallenians*, and *Corinthians*, so that now he had a Brigade of ten thousand men. These intended to fortifie and stop all the passages and entrances into the Country of *Peloponesus*. The *Lacedemonians* and their Allies joyning also with them, made up an Army of twenty thousand men: And accordingly, beginning at the City of *Cenchreæ*, unto the Haven of *Lechæum*, they blockedall the wayes from one Sea to an other with mighty great peices of Timber laid acrosse, and with a marvelous deep ditch: and this great work was followed with such speed, both by reason of the great multitude of labourers, as also through the forwardnesse of them that prosecuted it with such earnestnesse, that they had quite finished it before the *Boetians* could arrive there.

Pallene destroyed.

Peloponesus fortified.

Epaminondas when he came thither, viewing this fortification, perceiving that the easiest place to storme it, was that which the *Lacedemonians* themselves guarded, he sent to give them defiance though they were thrice as many in number as he was, yet for all this they durst not come out, but kept close under their fortification: Notwithstanding he assaulted them in it, and at last drave them out. In the heat of the fight every one doing his best, some assailing, others defending, *Epaminondas* chose out the valiantest men in

all his Army, and bravely charging the *Lacedæmonians*, he forced them to give back, and in dispite of them, he entred into *Peloponnesus*, which of all other his Noble exploites, was the most wonderfull and memorable action. From thence he marched to the Cities of *Epidaure*, and *Trœzen*; and so pilliged all the Country: But he staied not to take any of the Towns, because they had strong Garrisons in them: Yet he put *Sicyone*, *Phlionte*, and some other Towns into such fear, that they yeilded themselves to him.

He beates the *Spartans.*

This being done, he went to *Corinth*, and overcame the *Corinthians* in a set Battel, and beat them home, even to the Gates of their City: Yea some of his men were so unadvised, trusting to their own valour, that they entered the Gates of their City pel mel with those that fled, which put the *Corinthians* into such a terrible fear, that they ran with all speed possible to shelter themselves in their Houses: But *Chabrias* making head, beat them out again, and slew some, whereupon he caused a token of Triumph to be set up, as if he had given the *Thebans* an overthrow, for which *Epaminondas* laughed him to scorn. The *Bœotians* brought their Army as neer unto *Corinth* as they could, and *Chabrias* with his Army encamped without the Walls in a very strong Place of advantage, and there were many Skirmishes betwixt them, in which *Chabrias* behaved himself with such Valour that he gained great reputation even of *Epaminondas* himself, who upon a time being asked, whom he thought to be the Greatest Captain, himself, *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates? It is hard* (said he) *to judge whilst we are all alive.*

Newes was brought to him that the *Athenians* had again sent an Army into *Poloponnesus*, furnished with new Armor: Indeed this Army consisted of ten thousand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, whom *Dyonisius* the Tyrant, sent out of *Sicily* to aide the *Lacedemonians*, having paid them for five moneths: they did some reasonable ser-

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vice in this War, and at the end of Summer returned home again.

His Clemency.

It fell out in these last encounters that *Epaminondas* having forced the *Lacedemonians* that guarded the fortification before mentioned, had many of them in his power to have slain them: but he contented himself only with this Glory, that in dispite of them, he had entered into *Peloponnesus*, seeking to do them no more hurt; which gave occasion to those that envied his Glory, to blame him, and to accuse him of Treason, as having willingly spared the enemies, because they should in particular thank him only. But here it will not be improper to take notice how he behaved himself amongst his Citizens, and how wisely he defended his own Incegrity.

He is envied.

Amongst all those that envied his Glory and virtue, there was one *Menecliades*, an Orator, and an eloquent man, but with all, most wicked, and very malicious. He finding that *Epaminondas* won so much honour by the Wars, never left perswading the *Thebans* to embrace Peace, and prefer it before War, and that because hereby they should not always live under the obedience, and command of one man. But *Epaminondas* one day told him in the open Counsel: Thou wilt (said he) deceive the *Thebans* whilst thou adviseſt them to leave the Wars: and highly commending ease and Peace, thou goest about to put iron bolts upon their feet. For War begets Peace, which yet cannot hold long but amongst them that know how to maintain it with the Sword. Then turning himself to the Citizens, he said, If you will have the Principality and command of all *Greece*, you must throng your selves in your Tents, and lie in your Pavillions in the open Fields, and not follow sports and Pastimes here at home. For he knew well enough that the *Boetians* undid themselves by ease and idleneſſe, which made him endeavour continually to keep them in exercise and War upon

Upon a time when the *Thebans* were to choose Captains, they went about to choose *Epaminondas*, one of the six counsellers, whereupon he said to them: *My Masters, pray you consider of it now you are at leasure before you choose me: For I tell you plainly, if I be chosen your Captain you must to the Wars.* He used to call the Country of *Baotia*, which was a plain, and Champion Country, the Stage of War, saying, that it was impossible to keep it, unlesse the inhabitants had their Targets on their Armes, and their Swords in their hands: and this was not, because he did not love Peace, and privacy to study Philosophy, or that he was not more carefull of them that were under his charge than he was of himself, using alwayes to watch and forbear his meat, when the *Thebans* were at their Banquets, and Feasts, giving themselves over to their pleasures: but because he knew them well enough, and was never more carefull of any thing than to keep his Army from idleneſſe.

Upon a time the *Arcadians* desired him that some of his Companies might come into one of their Towns to lie dry and warm there all the winter, but he would by no means yeild to it. For (said he to his Souldiers) now they see you exercising your selves in Arms, they wonder at you as brave and valiant men; but if they should see you at the fire side parching of Beans, they would esteem no better of you than of themselves. Neither could he endure Covetousnes; for if at sometimes he gave his men leave to go a free booting, his meaning was, that whatsoever they got, should be bestowed in furnishing them with good Arms: and if any were about to fill his Purse with money he judged him unworthy to be a Souldier. Upon a time he understood that his Target bearer had received a great summe of money for the ransome of a Prisoner, whereupon he said to him: *Give me my Target, and go thy wayes home, and buy thee a Tavern wherein to spend the rest of thy life: for I perceive thou wilt no more, like an honest man, put thy self in dan-*

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ter in the Wars, as formerly thou hast done, because now thou art grown rich and wealthy.

Though *Epaminondas* was thus vertuous, and unblameable in his life, yet the aforementioned *Menecleides* would never cease contending, and reproaching of him: and one day he went so far as to upbraid him because he had no children, and was not married, and that he magnified himself more than ever King *Agamemnon* had done. To this *Epaminondas* answered, Thou hast nothing to do to counsel me to marry, and in this respect, there is never a man here whose advise I would less make use of than thine (and this he spake because the other was taken notice of to be an Adulterer) And whereas thou thinkest that I envy the fame and renown of *Agamemnon*, thou art sowly deceived. Yet let me tell thee, that whereas he was ten years in winning one City, I on the contrary, by putting the *Lacedemonians* to flight in one day, have delivered not onely our own City, but all *Greece* from their slavery. But thanks be to you, My Lords *Thebans* (speaking to all the Assembly) by your assistance I did it; and thereby overthrew the power and government of our inveterate enemies. His prudence.

Yet after all his brave deeds, both he and *Pelopidas* were ill rewarded for all their good service, by their ingratefull Citizens. For at their return from *Lacedæmon*, they, with some other of their Counsellers, were accused, that after the time that their Government was expired, they retained their power four moneths after the time appointed by the Law. With much ado *Pelopidas* was quitted: But *Epaminondas* willed all his other companions to lay the fault upon him, who by his Authority forced them so to do; and instead of excusing himself, he told them all the brave exploits which he had done at that time: Adding withall, that he was willing and ready to die, if they so pleased, provided that they wrote upon his Tomb, that *Epaminondas* was put to death because he had compelled the *Thebans* against their wills to burn the Country of *Lacedæmon*, which in five hundred He is accused and abused.

dred years before had never been plundered. That he had repeopled the City of *Messina* with Inhabitants, two hundred and thirty years after it had been laid waste by the *Lacedemonians*. That he had brought all the people and Towns of *Arcadia* to be as one Body, in League together, and had set all the *Greeks* at liberty: and all these things (said he) we did in that Journey. The Judges when they heard this worthy and true defence, they all arose from their seats, and laughed heartily, and would not take up their Balls to Ballot against him.

But for the second accusation, to wit, that he had shewed favour to the *Lacedemonians* for his own particular honour, he would make no particular answer to it before the People, but rising out of the Theater, he passed through the Assembly and went into the Park of Exercises. Upon this the people being incensed against him, refused to chuse him into Office as they had wont to do, though there was great need of him, and created other Counsellers to go into *Thessaly*: and the more (as they thought) to despite him, they commanded him to go that expedition as a private Souldier, which he refused not, but went very willingly.

Pelopidas being sent a second time into *Thessaly* to make peace between the people and *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheræ*, was by this Tyrant (not regarding that he was an Ambassadour) and a *Theban* committed to prison, together with *Ismenias*. Upon this, the *Thebans* being justly offended, sent an Army of eight thousand Foot and five hundred Horse against him, howbeit under the conduct of unskilfull Captains, who, wanting judgement to use their advantages, thought good to return home without doing any thing: But as they went back *Alexander*, being stronger in Horse than they, prossed hard upon their Rear, killing some, and wounding others; so that the *Thebans* knowing neither how to go forward nor backward, were in great distresse, and that which aggravated their misery was, that their victuals were

Pelopidas imprisoned by a Tyrant.

were almoſt ſpent. Being thus almoſt out of hope ever to get home in ſafety, *Epaminondas* being at that time a common Souldier amongſt the Foot, both the Captaines and Souldiers earneſtly intreated him to help to redreſſe this diſorder. He thereupon choſe certaine Footmen that were light armed, and all the Horſmen, and with theſe putting himſelf into the Rere of the Army, he ſo luſtily repulſed the Eenemy, that the reſt of the Army afterwards marched in great ſafety, and ſtill making Head, as occaſion ſerved, and keeping his Troops in good order, he at laſt brought them all well home. His Policy.

This brave Act Crowned him with new Glory, confounded his enemies, and made him well ſpoken of every where, and by it he obtained the love and good will of the Citizens, who ſet great Fines upon the heads of thoſe Captaines who had behaved themſelves ſo unworthily in that expedition. And now the People ſeeing that by ſo many worthy deeds he had ſtoped the ſlanderous mouths, aud confuted the accuſations of his ill willers, they choſe him again their Captain Generall to conduct a new Army into *Theſſaly*: At his coming all the Country wonderfully rejoyced, only the Tyrant with his Captaines, and Friends were exceedingly dejected, and poſſeſſed with feare, being Thunderſtruck with the fame of ſo Noble a Captaine, and his ſubjects had a good mind to riſe up againſt him, hoping that they ſhould ſhortly ſee the Tyrant fully recompenced for all the wicked and curſed deeds that he had done amongſt them.

Epaminondas when he came into *Theſſaly*, preferred the ſafety and deliverance of his Friend *Pelopidas* before his own honour and Glory, and fearing leſt *Alexander* when he ſhould ſee himſelf and his State in danger to be overthrown, ſhould in his rage revenge himſelf upon *Pelopidas*, he therefore purpoſly drew this War out in length, marching often about him, but never ſetting upon him in good earneſt, often ſeeming to make preparations, His Prudence.

and yet ſtill delaying: and this he did, to mollify the heart of this Tyrant, and not to provoke (to the danger of his Friend) the inhumane and unbridled paſſion of this cruel Bloudſucker. Yet he being a Monſter compounded of cruelty, and cowardlineſſe, was ſo afraid of the very name and reputation of *Epaminondas*, that he preſently ſent ſome to him to excuſe his fact, and to crave Peace. But *Epaminondas* was not willing that his *Thebans* ſhould make Peace and Alliance with ſo wicked a man, only he was content to grant him a Truce for thirty Dayes, upon the delivering to him *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias*.

Pelopidas releaſed.

So with them he returned back to *Thebes*, and alwayes continued a faithfull Friend to *Pelopidas* ſo long as they lieved together: Yet would he never ſhare with him in his Riches, but did ſtill perſeveare in his former ſtrict poverty and Diſcipline. He was very bold, and yet it was mingled with a winning ſweetneſſe and a livly grace, as may appear in ſundy Examples. Beſides his bold ſpeech to *Ageſilaus*, mentioned before: At another time the *Argians* having made a League with the *Thebans*, the *Athenians* ſent their Ambaſſadors into *Arcadia*, to ſee if they could gain the *Arcadians* to be their Friends. And theſe Ambaſſadors began roundly and hotly to charge and accuſe both the one and the other, and *Calliſtratus* ſpeaking for them, reproached them with *Oreſtes*, and *Oedipus*: *Epaminondas* being preſent at that Aſſembly, ſtood up, and ſaid, *My Lords, we confeſſe that in times paſt we had a man that killed his Father, and in* Argos, *one that killed his Mother, but as for us now, we have baniſhed all ſuch wicked murtherers out of our Country, and the* Athenians *have intertained them.*

His witty ſpeeches.

At another time when the *Spartans* had laid many great and grievous imputations to the charge of the *Thebans*, he ſaid, *If they have done nothing elſe, my Lords of* Sparta, *yet at leaſt they have made you forget*

to speak little. But that which was moſt excellent, and obſervable in *Epaminondas*, and which indeed did ſtop the mouth of envy it ſelf was his moderation, and temperance, knowing how to uſe any ſtate or condition, and never to rage either againſt himſelf or others, alwayes bearing this mind, that howſoever they took him, and in what place ſoever they ſet him, he was well contented, ſo that he might but advance the good of his Country: As may appear by this Example: on a time his evil-willers, thinking to bring him into diſgrace, and meerly out of ſpite, made him ſuperintendant or overſeer of all the cuſtoms, whilſt others of his inferiors, unworthy to be compared with him, were placed in the moſt honourable Offices: Yet deſpiſed he not this meane Office, but diſcharged it very Faithfully: For (ſaid he) *the Office or Authority ſhewes not only what the man is, but alſo the man what the Office is.* His Humility.

Shortly after *Epaminondas* was returned out of *Theſſaly*, the *Arcadians* were overcome by *Archidamus* and the *Lacedemonians*, who in the fight loſt not a man, and therefore they called this journey the *tearleſſe Battell*: and *Epaminondas* forſeeing that the *Arcadians* would ever have another ſtorme, he gave them counſel to fortifie their Towns, which they did accordingly, and built that City which afterwards was called *Megalopolis*, ſituated in a very convenient place. Whilſt the *Thebans* made War with the *Elians*, their neighbours, the minde of *Epaminondas* was alwayes lifted up to high enterprizes for the good of his Country, wherefore in an Oration which he made to his Citizens, he preſwaded them to make themſelves ſtrong by Sea, and to endeavour to get the principality, and to make themſelves the Lords thereof. This Oration was full of lively reaſons whereby he ſhewed and proved unto them, that the enterpize was both honourable, and profitable, which he made out by ſundry Arguments, telling them that it was an eaſy thing for them who were now the ſtronger by Land, to make themſelves alſo the ſtronger *Megalopolis* built.

ſtronger by Sea; and the rather, for that the *Athenians* in the War againſt *Xerxes*, though they had armed and ſet forth two hundred Gallyes, armed and well appointed with men, yet they willingly ſubmitted themſelves to the *Lacedemonians*. He alleadged many other reaſons, whereby he prevailed ſo far, that the *Thebans* were willing to undertake the enterprize, and thereupon gave preſent order to build an hundred Gallies, and an Arſenall with ſo many rooms that they might lay them under covert in the Dock: They ordered alſo to ſend to them of *Rhodes*, and of *Chio*, and of *Byzantium*, to deſire their furthrance in this enterprize: for which end *Epaminondas* was ſent with an Army unto theſe Cities: In his paſſage he met with *Leches*, a Captain of the *Athenians*, with a number of Ships in his Fleet, who was ſent on purpoſe to hinder this deſigne of the *Thebans*: Yet *Epaminondas* ſo affronted him, that he made him retire back again, and holding on his courſe he brought the aforenamed Cities to enter into League with the *Thebans*. Shortly after the *Thebans* fell out with the City of *Orchomene*, which had done them great hurt, and miſchiefe, and having won it by aſſault, ſlew all the men that were able to bear Armes, and made all the women and children Slaves.

The *Thebans* build a Navy.

Some time after the death of *Pelopidas*, certain private Perſons of *Mantinea*, fearing to be called to an account for their bad behaviours, and robberies which they had committed, if the *Arcadians* and *Elians* ſhould agree, they ſo brought it about, that they raiſed a new quarrel in the Country, which was divided into two Factions, whereof the *Mantineans* were the chiefe on the one ſide, and the *Tegeates* on the other. This quarrel went ſo far, that the Parties would needs try it by Armes. The *Tegeates* ſent to requeſt aid of the *Thebans*, who accordingly choſe *Epaminondas* their Captain Generall, and ſent him with a good number of men of War to aid the *Tegeates*. The *Mantineans* being terrified with this aid that came out

New Wars.

of

of *Bœotia* to their enemies, and at the reputation of their Captain, they immediatly ſent to the *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians*, the greateſt enemies of the *Bœotians*, for their aſſiſtance, which both the Cities granted. Upon this there fell out many and great skirmiſhes in diverſe parts of *Peloponneſus*: and *Epaminondas* being not far off from *Mantinea*, underſtood by ſome of the Country men, that *Ageſilaus*, and his *Lacedemonians*, were come into the Field, and that they waſted all the Territories of the *Tageates*; whereupon, judging that there were but few men left in the City of *Sparta* to defend it, he undertook a great exploit, and dangerous, and had certainly effected it, if the marvelous good Fortune of *Sparta* had not hindred it. His deſigne was this: He departed from *Tegea* by night, the *Mantineans* knowing nothing of it, and taking a by way, he had certainly ſurpriſed *Sparta* without ſtriking a ſtroak, had not a Poſt of *Candia* ſpeedily carried word of it to *Ageſilaus*, who immediatly diſpatched away an Horſman to give intelligence to them of *Sparta* to ſtand upon their guard, and he himſelf ſpeedily haſted after, and arrived there a little before the coming of the *Thebans*, who being very near the City a little before day, they gave an aſſault to them that defended it. This made *Ageſilaus* to beſt ir himſelf wonderfully, even beyond the ſtrength of ſo old a man: But his Son *Archidamus*, and *Iſadas*, the Son of *Phabidas* fought valiantly on all parts. *Epaminondas* ſeeing how prepared the *Spartanes* were to oppoſe him, began then to ſuſpect that his deſign was diſcovered; yet notwithſtanding he left not off to force them all he could, though he fought with great diſadvantage, conſidering the places wherein he was: yea, he continued fighting courageouſly, till the Army of the *Lacedemonians* came on, and till the night approched, whereupon he ſounded a retreat.

A notable atcempt.

Then being informed that the *Mantinians* came on alſo with their forces, he withdrew his Army ſomewhat further off from the Town, and there Camped. After which

which he caused his men to refresh themselves with victuals, and leaving certain Horsemen in the Camp, he commanded them to make fires in the morning, and in the mean ti me himself with the rest of his men, went to surprize *Mantinea* before any should discover that he was departed. Yet herein also he failed of his purpose, the prosperity of the *Thebans* being come to its height, and the course of *Epaminondas* his Life drawing neer to an end, whereby *Greece* was deprived of this Noble and famous Captain, from whom was taken a most notable Victory, and that twice, by strange accidents.

An other but frustrated.

For at the second time, when he was come neer to *Mantinea* that was left without guard and defence, just then, on the other side of the Town there arrived six thousand *Athenians*, conducted by their Captain *Hegelecus*, who having put sufficient force into the Town, ordered the rest of his Army in Battel array without the Walls, and immediatly also came the *Mantineans*, and *Lacedemonians* together, who prepared to put all to the hazard of a Battel, and therefore sent for their Allies from all parts: and when they were come together they were in all twenty five thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. The *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, and their partakers were thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. When they came to the Battel, first the Horse charged with great fury, and the Horsmen of the *Athenians* encountering with the *Thebans*, proved too weak for them, not because they were lesse valiant, or hardy than the other, but because they had not so good Chiefstains, and had few Archers amongst their Troops. The *Thebans* on the other side were all excellently well appointed, and had *Thessalians* amongst them, men very skilfull in their Bowes, who so plyed the *Athenians* that they wholly brake them, and put them to the rout, yet in their flight they did not run amongst their Footmen, which made them somewhat recover their Honour which they had lost by running away. On the

A Battel.

contrary

contrary part, as they fled, they met with some Companies of *Negropont*, whom the *Arcadians* had sent to take in certain Hills hard by the plain where the Battel was fought, whom they put all to the Sword.

The men at Arms of the *Thebans* seeing them turn their backs, did not pursue them at all, but presently gave charge upon a great Battalion of Footmen, forcing them all they could to break, and run through them. So the fight was very cruel and sharp, yet in the end the *Athenians* were forced to quit the place: whereupon a Colonel of Horsemen of the *Elians*, who stood as a reserve to guard the Rere, defended them, and encountering with the *Bœotians*, he resisted them, and made them give back, which reinforced the fault of the left point of their Army. But in the right point, after the Horsemen had charged one another, the fight was soon determined: For by reason of the great number of men at Armes of the *Thebans*, and *Thessalians*, the *Mantineans* and their partakers were soon put to rout, and having lost a great number of their men, they sheltered themselves under the Battalion of their Footmen, and this was the issue of the fight between the Horsemen.

As for the infantry, after they came once to the Sword, it was a marvellous bloody, and cruel fight. For never before that time was there so many Greeks in the Field one against another, nor so great and expert Captains, nor such valiant Souldiers as were now. The two Nations that at that time bare the name to be the bravest Footmen in all the world, to wit, the *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, were now set in Front one against the other, and they began to charge, neither sparing Life nor limb. The first charge they gave was with their Pikes, which being soon broken with the huge blows they gave each other, then they came to it with their Swords, and lustily laying about them, Body to Body, Death raged in every place, and there was a mighty carnage made: for neither part shrunk back, or

gave

gave over with weariness, but stood to it like undaunted men. And so continued this dangerous Fight for a long time, by reason of the valiantness of either party, the victory stood doubtfull for a great while, and it could not be judged which side was like to have the upper hand. For every one that fought, had this resolution in his heart, not to fear Death whatsoever befell them: But rather desiring to make proof of their utmost Valour, they willingly parted with their lives to lye in the Bed of Honour. By reason whereof, though the fight was sharp and cruel, yet the event remained for a long space so uncertain, that it could not be discerned to which side the Victory should fall

But at last, *Epaminondas* seeing no other remedy, but that the issue of this doubtfull fight depended upon his own virtue and valour, he resolved with himself to adventure his life upon it: and presently gathering about him all the best, and choisest men of his Army, and of them having compounded a Company of stout and resolute Blades, he ran with great fury into the thickest, and greatest press of all his enemies, marching himself the foremost man in all his Troop, with a Spear in his hand, with the which at the first blow he gave, he slew the Captain of the *Lacedemonians*, and straightway the rest of his company began to assail their enemies. But *Epaminondas* laying about him like a Lion, slew so many in the place where he stood with his own hands, that at last he opned the Battel of the *Lacedemonian*, whom he pursued & laid on them so lustily, that they being unable any longer to defend themselves against ỹ irristable fury of himself and his followers, were enforced to give back and leave the place to the *Bœotians*, who yet followed them at their heels, beating them down so eagerly, that in a short space the whole Field was covered with dead Bodies, lying on heapes one upon another.

But in the end, the *Lacedemonians* seeing that they could no way save themselves, gathered courage out of despair, and a Company of them joyning together, all set

ſet upon *Epaminondas*, throwing an infinite number of Darts at him, of which ſome he avoided, others he received upon his Target, but yet there were many that ſtuck in his Body which he pulled out, and fought with the ſame weapons againſt thoſe that had thrown them at him. At laſt, when he had done more than a man, and beyond all humane ſtrength, thereby to win Honour to his Country by gaining them the victory, a certain *Lacedemonian* called *Anticrates*, thruſt him into the breaſt with a Dart with ſuch force, as breaking the wood, he left the iron Head ſticking in his Body. Having received this deadly wound, he fell immediately to the ground: But then was there a more cruel fight about him than ever there was before, which occaſioned great ſlaughter on both ſides, till the *Thebans* by fine force made their enemies to flie for their lives, and when they had purſued them a while, they returned back to their Camp that they might keep the dead Bodies in their power, which was a certain ſigne that the victory was theirs, and then they ſounded a retreat, and ſo the Battel ended.

He is deadly wounded.

Both ſides challenged the victory and made Triumphs for it. The *Lacedemonians* did it, becauſe the *Athenians* had ſlain thoſe of *Negropont* that were ſent to ſeize upon the Hils before mentioned, and kept their Bodies in their power. The *Thebans* on the other ſide having overcome the *Spartans*, had the Bodies of them that were ſlain in the Battel, in their power, which was by far the greater number, wherefore they ſaid, that they were the Victors. Thus both ſtanding upon their termes, it was a good while before either would ſend a Trumpet or Herauld to the other for leave to bury their dead. Yet at laſt the *Lacedemonians* ſent firſt, and then they all betook themſelves to give the dead an Honourable Burial. And as for him that had killed *Epaminondas*, he was highly eſteemed and honoured for his valiant act, and the *Lacedemonians* gave him many rich Preſents, and made him and his Poſterity free from

The *Spartans* beaten.

all publick Taxes and contributions in the Commonwealth.

As for *Epaminondas* he was brought yet alive into his Tent; how beit his Physitians, and Surgeons being called together to dresse his wounds, they all concluded that so soone as they plucked the head of the Dart out of his Body, he must needs die. And truly he made a most noble and worthy end. For first he called for his Target-bearer, who was alwayes at his hand in the Battel, and asked him: *Is my Target safe?* He brought it strait. Then he asked, *who had the Victory?* The *Boeotians* answered, the Target-bearer. Then he commanded them to bring to him *Diophantus* and *Isolidas*: they told him they were both dead: Upon this he advised his Citizens to make Peace with their enemies, for that they had not any Captain of skill to lead them to the Wars. *And now* (said he) *it is time for me to die, and therefore pluck the Dart Head out of my Body.* At this word all his Friends that were about him fetched grievous sighs, and even cryed out for sorrow: and one of them weeping, said unto him: Alas *Epaminondas!* Thou diest now and leavest no Children behind thee: *Yea* (said he) *that I do: For I leave two faire Daughters behind me, whereof the one is the Victory at* Leuctres *and the other, this of* Mantinea. So they pulled out the Dart, and immediatly he gave up the Ghost, without shewing any signe that he was at all troubled at it.

His advice to the *Thebans.*

His death.

He used often to say, *That War is the Bed of Honour, and that it is a sweet Death to dye for ones Country.* He was one of the bravest Captaines that ever we read of: For whereas others excelled in some one or two Virtues by which they made their Fame great and glorious, he excelled in all the Vertues and good Parts that could be desired in a Grave, Politick and Great Captain, to make him compleat in all things that could be expected in an Heathen. In his time he advanced his Country to the Principality of all

His character.

Greece

Greece. But after his Death they soon lost it: and not long after *Alexander* the *Great*, utterly brake them in peices, made slaves of those that survived, and razed their City to the very ground. As in his life time he had alwayes detested covetousnesse, so after his Death the *Thebans* were faigne to bury him at the common charge of the City, because they found no mony in his house to defray the least part of the Funerall expences.

His poverty.

FINIS.

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LONDON.
Printed for *William Miller* at the Sign of the Gilded-Acron in St *Pauls* Churchyard near the little North door. 1665.

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April 13. 1664.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF OUR BLESSED LORD & SAVIOUR Jesus Christ.

IN the 6th moneth after *John*, sirnamed the *Baptist*, was conceived, the Angel *Gabriel* (who had in time past foretold to *Daniel*, the coming of the *Messias*, by a definite number of weeks) was sent by God to *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, to the blessed Virgin *Mary*, that was betrothed to *Joseph*, of the same Tribe of *Judah* with her self, and of the stock of *David*, who, after salutations, declared unto her that she should bring forth the Son of God, and should call his Name *Jesus*: and having more fully taught her of the admirable manner of her conception, to be performed by the power of the holy Ghost overshadowing her, with great Faith she said, *Be it to the handmaid of the Lord according to thy word.* Luk. 1. 26, 38. *Christs* conception foretold.

Christ being thus conceived, the Mother of our Lord went into the Hill Countrey, with hast into a city of *Juda* (to wit, *Hebron*, a city of the Priests, situate in the mountains of *Judea*, *Josh.* 21. 10, 11.) where, when she entred into the house of *Zacharias* the Priest, and had saluted her cousin *Elizabeth*, she, perceiving the child to spring in her womb, was filled with the holy Ghost, and declared that *Mary* was blessed which believed, and confirmed that those things should be performed that were told her of the Lord: *Mary* goes to her Cousin *Elizabeth.*

To whom for an anſwer the bleſſed Virgin (imitating that ſong of *Hannah*. 1 *Sam.* 2. 1.) reheatſed that Divine Hymn, *My ſoul doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* After which *Mary* tarried with her about three moneths. *Luke.* 1. 39,56.

Joſeph is warned not to put away his wife.

Not long after, *Joſeph* finding his betrothed wife *Mary* with child, was willing to put her away privily: but being warned of God in a dream, and informed that ſhe had conceived by the holy Ghoſt, and ſhould bring forth her Son *Jeſus*, who ſhould *ſave his people from their ſins*, he taketh his wife. *Matt.* 1. 18, 24.

Joſeph and *Mary* go to be taxed.

When the time of *Maries* delivery drew neer, there came forth a command from *Auguſtus* that all the *Roman* world ſhould be taxed, which taxing was firſt made, when *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, [*Luk.* 2. 1] whereupon *Joſeph* went up from *Galilee*, from the city of *Nazareth*, into *Judea* into the city of *David*, which is called *Bethlehem*, becauſe he was of the Houſe, and linage of *David*, that he might be taxed, with *Mary* his Wife, being great with childe. *Luk.* 2. 4, 5.

Jeſus Chriſt is born.

During their abode there, *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Son of God in the fulneſs of time was born of the moſt bleſſed Virgin *Mary* at *Bethlehem*, [*Matth.* 1. 25. & 2. 1, 5. *Gal.* 4. 4.] in the four thouſanth year of the World [ſaith the learned Primate of *Ireland*, Doctor *Uſher*] whom *Mary* rolled in ſwadling clothes, and laid him in a manger, becauſe there was no room in the Inn. *Luk.* 2. 7.

His birth is reveal-ed to the ſhepherds

Chriſt being thus born, his Nativity was revealed by an Angel of the Lord to Shepherds that were keeping their Flock by night in the neighbouring Fields, which word, a multitude of the Heavenly Hoſt receiving, prayed for *Glory to God, peace to the earth, and good will to men*; when they were departed, the Shepherds making haſt to *Bethlehem*, found *Mary* and *Joſeph*, and the child lying in the Manger, and they publiſhed that which was told them concerning the child, and ſo returned praiſing, and glorifying God. *Luk.* 2. 8, 20.

Chriſt is circumci-ſed.

The eighth day after his Nativity the child was circumciſed, and his Name was called *Jeſus*, which was ſo appointed

pointed by the Angel *Gabriel*, before he was conceived in the womb. *Luk.* 2. 21.

Presently after, the Wise men from the East, being guided by a new and extraordinary Star, came to *Herod* to *Jerusalem*, and there, having learned that the Birth-place of *Christ* was *Bethlehem* of *Judea*, they went thither, and entring into the house which was pointed out to them by the Star that stood over it, they found the little Child, and *Mary* his Mother, and falling down they worshipped him, and opening their Treasures, they offered unto him *Gold*, *Frankincense*, and *Myrrhe*. Then being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to *Herod*, they departed into their own Countrey another way. *Matth.* 2. 1, 12. Wisemen come to *Jerusalem*

The fortieth day after her delivery, *Mary* went up to *Jerusalem* to the Temple, both that she might present him to the Lord according to the Law of the first-born; and also that she might offer for her self a pair of Turtle Doves, or two young Pigeons (she being so poor that she could not offer a Lamb) according to the Law concerning Women that had lain in. *Luk.* 2. 22, 23, 24, 27. with *Levit.* 12. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8. *Mary* goes to be purified.

When his Parents, *Joseph* and *Mary* brought the Child *Jesus* into the Temple, to do for him according to the custome of the Law, their came in at the same time *Simeon* of *Jerusalem*, to whom it was revealed by God that he should not die before he had seen the anointed of the Lord, whom he took in his arms, and praised the Lord, adding Prophesies, both concerning Christ and his Mother. At the same instant also came *Anna*, a Prophetess, the daughter of *Phanuel*, who also acknowledged the Lord openly, and spake of him to all that looked for Redemption in *Jerusalem*. *Luk.* 2. 25, 38. *Simeon*, and *Anna* prophesie of Christ.

Thus when *Joseph* and *Mary* had performed all things according to the Law of the Lord, they returned into *Galilee*, to their own City *Nazareth*. *Luk.* 2. 39.

Some time after, the Angel of the Lord appeared unto *Joseph* in a dream, warning him to fly into *Egypt*, thereby to provide for the life of the Child, and to escape the malicious *Joseph* is warned to fly into *Egypt*.

cious designs of *Herod*, who having by the Wise men heard that one was born King of the *Jews*, sought to destroy him: and accordingly *Joseph*, when he awaked, took the young Child and his Mother by night, and went into *Egypt*, where he remained until the death of *Herod*. *Matth.* 2. 13, 14, 15.

The Babes of *Bethlehem* are slain.

But *Herod*, thinking that the young Child had been still at *Bethlehem* (being further provoked by the Wise mens not returning to him) that he might destroy him amongst the rest, sent forth some of his Souldiers, who killed all the children which were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the coast thereof from two years old and under, according to the time of the Star first seen in the East, concerning which he had enquired of the wise men. *Matth.* 2. 16.

Joseph returns into *Judea*.

After the death of *Herod*, who had sought the life of the young Child *Jesus*, the Angel of the Lord appeared again to *Joseph* in a dream whilst he was in *Egypt*, commanding him that he should return with the young Child and his Mother into the Land of *Israel*, for that he that sought his life was dead: and accordingly when *Joseph* awaked, he performed what was by the Angel enjoyned him. *Matth.* 2. 19, 20, 21.

But when he was come back into the Land of *Israel*, he heard that *Archilaus* raigned in *Judea* in the room of his Father *Herod*, he therefore feared to go thither: and being warned of God in a dream, he departed into the parts of *Galilee* (which *Tetrarchy Herod* had given by *Will* to *Antipas*) and there dwelt in the City of *Nazareth*, from whence *Jesus* took the name of *Nazarene*. *Matth.* 2. 22, 23. and the Primitive Christians of *Nazarenes*. *Act.* 24. 5.

He goes to the city of *Nazareth*.

Jesus is found in the Temple.

When *Jesus* was twelve years old, at the Feast of the Passover, he was brought to *Jerusalem* by his Parents, *Joseph* and *Mary*; and when the seven days of unleavened bread were ended, his Parents returning home, *Jesus* staid behind them. But so soon as they missed him, they sought him three days, and at last found him in the Temple sitting in the midst of the Doctors hearing them, and asking them questions, so that all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. *Luk.* 2. 41, 47.

Then

Then went *Jesus* down with his Parents to *Nazareth*, and was obedient to them. *Luk.* 2. 51. and during his minority, followed his Fathers trade of a Carpenter, eating his bread in the sweat of his brows, as appears by the speeches of his fellow-Citizens. *Is not this the Carpenter, the Son of Mary? Mar.* 6. 3. His private Life.

The thirtieth, and the last *Jubilee* falling in the thirtieth year of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, and in the beginning of his Gospel, *John*, his forerunner proclaimed in the wilderness: *Prepare ye the way of Lord and make his paths strait.* Mark 1. 12. and opening the acceptable year of the Lord, or the time of his Divine pleasure, in which our good God vouchsafed to manifest that Great One to the world, *Isa.* 61. 2. *Luke* 4. 19. For in the 13th year of the raign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, *Pontius Pilate* being Governour of *Judea*, *Herod Antipas Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, his brother *Philip Tetrarch* of *Iturea*, and the region of *Trachonitis*, and *Lysanias Tetrarch* of *Abilene*, under the Priesthoods of *Annas*, and *Caiphas*, came the word of the Lord unto *John* the son of *Zacharias* in the Desert [*Luke* 3. 12.] according unto whose command this *Nazarite*, both Priest and Prophet of the Lord, did Baptize in the Desert of *Judea* (in which there were many Cities which are mentioned *Josh.* 15. 16.) preaching the Baptism of Repentance for the remission of sins. *Matth.* 3. 1. *Mar.* 1. 4. *Luk.* 3. 3. endeavouring that Christ that came after him might be made known to *Israel*. *John* 1. 7, 8, 13. which that he might more certainly know, this sign was given him of God, that upon whom he should see the holy Ghost descending and remaining, he should thereby know that it was he that should Baptize others with the holy Ghost. *John* 1. 33. Its most probable (saith the learned Doctor *Usher*) that this his ministery began on that most convenient day, the tenth of the seventh moneth (about the nineteenth day of our *October*) which was both *penitential*, being joyned with a solemn Fast, in which whosoever did not afflict his soul, should be cut off from his people, and also *Expiatory*, in which the high Priest went into the Holy of Holies to expiate *John Christs* forerunner.

piate the ſins of the People with blood that was offered: and that ſame day in which by the ſound of Trumpet the *Jubilee* was commanded to be proclaimed over all the Land. *Levit.* 25. 9.

John preaches and Baptizeth.

So *John Baptiſt*, the Preacher of repentance and remiſſion of ſins, to be attained by the blood of Chriſt that was to come, paſſing through every Region round about *Jordan*, lifted up his voice like a Trumpet, ſaying, *Repent ye, for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand:* whereupon there went out to him *Jeruſalem*, and all *Judea*, and all the region round about *Jordan* (eſpecially that huge multitude which returned from *Jeruſalem*, the Feaſt of *Tabernacles* being ended about the beginning of our *November*) and were Baptized of him in *Jordan*, confeſſing their ſins. *Matth.* 3. 2, 3, 5, 6. *Mark* 1. 5.

Jeſus is Baptized.

And when all the People were Baptized, *Jeſus* came alſo from *Nazareth* of *Galilee* to *Jordan* to be Baptized of *John*. *Luke* 3. 21. *Matth.* 3. 13. *Mark* 1. 9. which office *John* denied at firſt to perform as ſtanding in need himſelf to be Baptized of Chriſt; but the Lord urging that thus it behoved that all righteouſneſs ſhould be fulfilled, he Baptized him. *Matth.* 3. 14, 15. *Jeſus* then beginning to be about thirty years old, *Luke* 3. 23.

A manifeſtation of the Trinity.

At this time there was made a moſt illuſtrious manifeſtation of the bleſſed Trinity: For the Son of God in the humane nature that he aſſumed, aſcending out of the water and praying, the Heavens were opened, and the holy Ghoſt was ſeen in a bodily ſhape like a Dove, deſcending upon him, and the voice of the Father was heard from Heaven ſaying, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.* *Matth.* 3. 16, 17. *Mark* 1. 10, 11. *Luke* 3. 21, 22.

Jeſus tempted of the Devil.

Jeſus being now full of the holy Ghoſt, returned from *Jordan*, and was driven by the Spirit into the Deſert, where for forty days and nights, being tempted by the Divel, he remained amongſt wild Beaſts, not eating any thing, and when the days were ended he was an hungry. *Luke* 4. 1, 2. *Matth.* 4. 1, 2. *Mark* 1. 12, 13. Satan taking this opportunity, ſet upon him with a threefold Temptation, all

which

which being ended, he departed from him for a season. *Matth.* 4 3, 11. *Luke* 4. 3, 13. and the Angels came and ministred unto him. *Matth.* 4. 11. *Mark* 1. 13. After which *Jesus* returned in the power of the Spirit into *Galilee*. *Luke* 4. 14. *John* the *Baptist*, the next day after Christs coming to him, when the *Jews* from *Jerusalem* sent some Priests and Levites of the Sect of the *Pharisees* to him, as he was Baptizing at *Bethabara* by *Jordan*, to ask him who he was, he professed clearly that he was not the Christ: He denied also that he was *Elias*, or that Prophet (foretold by *Moses*. *Deut.* 18. 15. the same indeed with *Christ*. *Act.* 3. 22. & 7. 37. but by the *Jews* thought to be another,) He told them also that he was, *The voice of one crying in the wilderness, make strait the way of the Lord:* and then added that testimony of Christ, *I Baptize with water, but there stands one amongst you whom ye know not, he it is who cometh after, and is preferred before me, whose shooe latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* John 1. 19, 28. with Chap. 5. 33.

John's testimony of *Jesus.*

The next day *John* seeing *Jesus* coming to him, saith, *Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.* This is he of whom I spake, there comes one after me that is preferred before me, for he was before me, &c. and I saw him, and testifie that this is the Son of God. *John* 1. 29. 34.

Simon named *Cephas.*

The day after *John* stood and two of his Disciples with him, and seeing *Jesus* walking, said, *Behold the Lamb of God*, which, when the two Disciples heard they followed *Jesus*, and tarried with him that day, for it was about the tenth hour. One of these was *Andrew*, who brought his Brother *Simon* to *Jesus*, and then *Jesus* saw him, he said, *Thou art* Simon, *son of* Jonah; *thou shalt be called* Cephas. *John* 1. 35, 42

The next day *Jesus* going into *Galilee*, commanded *Philip* (which was of *Bethsaida*, the City of *Andrew* and *Simon Peter*) to follow him. *Philip* finding *Nathanael* under a Fig-tree, brought him to *Jesus*, who declared him truly to be an *Israelite* in whom their was no guile. *John* 1. 43, &c. withal hinting, that himself was that Ladder

of Heaven foreshewen to *Jacob* in his dream. *Gen.* 28. 12. upon which the Angels of God were seen ascending and descending. *John* 1. 51.

Christs first Miracle.

On the third day their was a mariage in *Cana* of *Galilee* to which *Jesus* was invited, together with his Mother and his Disciples, where he turned water into wine, the beginning of his miracles: and his Glory being hereby made manifest, his Disciples believed in him. *John* 2. 1, 11.

After this he went down to *Capernaum*, He, his Mother, and Brethren (or Kinsmen) and his Disciples, and tarried there not many Days. *John* 2. 12. And thus we are come to Christs entring upon his publick Ministery, whose Acts shall be set forth according to four distinct Passovers out of the *Harmony* of the four Gospels contrived by Doctor *Richardson*, Bishop of *Ardah* in *Ireland*, and recorded by the Primate, Doctor *Usher*: In which this is singular, that Saint *Matthew* onely is found not to observe the order of time which is constantly observed by the other three *Evangelists*; excepting onely the *Parenthesis* of *Johns* being cast into prison by *Herod*. *Luke* 3. 19, 20.

Dr *Ushers* Annals.

The first Passover of the Ministry of Christ. John 2. 13. *from which the first year of the seventieth, and last Week of* Daniel *began, in which the Covenant is confirmed with many.* Dan. 9. 27. *with* Matth. 26. 28.

Jesus went to the passover.

JESUS went to *Jerusalem* to the Passover, and going to the Temple he scourged out them that bought and sold there: and for a sign of his Authority, he declared unto them that the Temple of his Body should be dissolved by the *Jews*, and be raised again by himself. *John* 2. 13, 14, 19.

He works miracles.

He wrought Miracles, and many believed on him, but he did not commit himself to them because he knew what was in man. *John* 2. 23, 24, 25.

He

He instructed *Nicodemus*, the Disciple that came to him by night, in the mystery of Regeneration, and about Faith in his Death, and the condemnation of unbelievers. *John* 3. 1, 21. Then leaving *Jerusalem* he went into the land of *Judea* with his Disciples. *vers.* 22. There he tarried and Baptized (*viz.* by the hands of his Disciples, who had been before Baptized, either by himself (or by *John*.) At this time *John* Baptized in *Ænon*, for he was not yet cast into prison. *John* 3. 23, 24. There arose a question between some of *Johns* Disciples and the *Jews* about purifying. *vers.* 25. Then did *John* instruct his Disciples, who told him of *Jesus* in a way of emulation, concerning himself, and his Office, and of the Excellency of *Jesus Christ*, the Son of God, giving this notable and last Testimony of him before his Imprisonment. *vers.* 26, &c. For presently after, *Herod* the *Tetrarch* cast *John* into Prison for reprehending his Incest with his brother *Philips* wife, and other evils done by him. *Mark* 6. 17, 20. *Matth.* 14. 3, 4, 5.

He instructed *Nicodemus*.

Johns last testimony of him.

Jesus hearing that *John* was cast into Prison, and that the *Pharisees* had heard that there were many made Disciples by him, and Baptized, *viz.* by the hand of his Disciples, he left *Judea* (having staid there about eight moneths) and went into *Galilee*. *John* 4. 1, 2, 3. *Matth.* 4. 12. But in his way he must needs go through *Samaria*, where he brought the *Samaritan* woman neer the City *Sychar*, and the Citizens thereof, to the knowledge and acknowledgement of him, four moneths before the harvest (or the Passover) about the middle of the ninth moneth called *Ab*. *John* 4. 4, 5, &c.

Jesus went into *Galilee*.

Jesus having staid two days in *Sychar*, he went onward in his journey into *Galilee*. *John* 4. 43. This was his second return from *Judea* into *Galilee* after his Baptism, and being received of the *Galileans* who had seen what things he had done at *Jerusalem*, he preached with great fame in their Synagogues. *John* 4. 45. *Luke* 4. 14, 15. *Mark* 1. 14, 15.

He preaches, with great applause.

In *Cana* of *Galilee* he healed the son of a Nobleman that lay sick. *John* 4. 46, 54. He wrought miracles also in *Jerusalem*, and afterwards came unto *Nazareth* where he had

He preaches, and works miracles.

been brought up; and entring into the Synagogue (as his cuſtome was) he expounded to them the propheſie of *Iſaiah* concerning himſelf: the Citizens at firſt wondering, but afterwards being filled with wrath, they thruſt him out of the City, and endeavoured to have caſt him down headlong from a Hill; but he, paſſing through the midſt of them, went his way. *Luke* 4. 16, 30.

Jeſus then leaving *Nazareth* dwelt at *Capernaum*, and there ſo taught them on the *Sabbath* days that they were aſtoniſhed at his Doctrine. *Luke* 4. 31, 32. *Mark* 1. 21, 22. Alſo at the Synagogue in *Capernaum* he caſt out an unclean ſpirit, commanding him that he ſhould not tell who he was. *Luke* 4. 33, 37. *Mark* 1. 23, 28. After which he aroſe and went out of the Synagogue into the houſe of *Simon* and *Andrew*, where he healed *Simons* wives mother that lay ſick of a Feavour. *Luke* 4. 38, 39. *Mark* 1. 29, 30, 31. *Matth.* 8. 14, 15.

He heals all Diſeaſes.

About Sun-ſet *Jeſus* healed all the ſick folk which were brought to him, and caſt out Devils, commanding them to hold their peace. *Luke* 4. 40, 41. *Mark* 1. 32, 33, 34. *Matth.* 8. 16, 17. In the morning he went into a Deſert place to Pray, and when *Simon* and others ſought, and would have ſtaid him, he anſwered, that he muſt Preach to other Cities alſo. *Luke* 4. 42, 43, 44. *Mark* 1. 35, 39.

Then *Jeſus* went through all *Galilee*, and taught in their Synagogues, and caſt out Devils. *Luke* 4. 44. *Mark* 1. 39. and as he ſtood by the Lake of *Genazereth* a great multitude preſſed upon him: He entred therefore into *Simons* ſhip, and taught the multitude from thence. *Luke* 5. 1, 4. and when he had left ſpeaking, at his command there was a great draught of Fiſhes taken; at which *Simon Peter* and *Andrew*, *James* and *John* being aſtoniſhed, he commanded them to follow him, and he would make them Fiſhers of men. *Luke* 5. 4, 11. *Mark* 1. 16, 20. *Matth.* 4. 18, 22.

A great draught of Fiſhes.

Then *Jeſus* went through all *Galilee*, teaching in their Synagogues, and healing every diſeaſe, and his fame went

through

through all *Syria*, and a great multitude followed him. *Matth.* 4. 23, 24, 25.

In a certain City *Jesus* healed a Leper, who, though he was forbidden, yet published it: and they came to him from every place to hear him, and to be healed, insomuch as he could no more openly enter into the City, but was in Desert places, and Prayed. *Luke* 5. 12, 16. *Mark* 1. 40, 45. *Matth.* 8. 1, 4. A Leper healed.

Then again *Jesus* entred into *Capernaum*, his own City, after some days, and taught them at home, and before the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and a great multitude: He forgave sins to one sick of a Palsie, who was let down through the roof of a house, and healed his disease to the astonishment of them all. *Luke* 5. 17, 26. *Mark* 2. 1, 12. *Matth.* 9. 1, 8. He forgives sins.

Then went *Jesus* forth again by the Sea-side, and all the multitude came unto him, and he taught them, and as he passed by, he saw, and called, *Levy*, or *Matthew*, sitting at the receipt of Custome. *Luke* 5. 27, 28. *Mark* 2. 13, 14. *Matth.* 9. 9. He called *Levi*.

Jesus in the House of *Levi* defended both himself and his Disciples for eating with *Publicans*, and excuseth and vindicates them against the *Pharisees* for their not Fasting. *Luke* 5. 29. 39. *Mark* 2. 15, 22. *Matth.* 9. 10, 13. And it came to pass on the second *Sabbath* after the first (*i. e.* the first *Sabbath* of the New-year, instituted after their coming out of *Egypt*, and beginning from the moneth *Nisan*, or *Abib*) *Jesus* going through the Corn fields, cleared his Disciples from the charge of the *Pharisees*, because they plucked the ears of Corn; and explained the Doctrine of the *Sabbath*. *Luke* 6. 1, 5. *Mark* 2. 23, 28. *Matth.* 12. 1, 8. And defends his practice.

The

The second Passover of the Ministery of Christ, from which the second year of the seventieth week of Daniel *begins.*

He heals on the Sabbath.

AFter this was the Feast of the *Jews*, and *Jesus* went up to *Jerusalem*, and healed on the *Sabbath* day a man that had an infirmity thirty eight years, who lay at the Pool of *Bethesda*: and made a most Divine *Apology* to the *Jews*, who sought to kill him because he said that *God was his Father*. John 5. 1. 47.

They seek to destroy him.

Afterwards he went from thence and entred into a Synagogue and taught, and healed one that had a withered hand: whereupon the *Pharisees* went forth, and straightways, with the *Herodians*, took counsel how they might destroy him. *Luke* 6. 6, 11. *Mark* 3. 1, 6. *Matth.* 12. 9, 14.

But *Jesus* when he knew this, withdrew himself to the Sea, and healed the multitudes that followed him, straitly charging them that they should not make him known, and commanded his Disciples that a small ship should wait on him, because of the multitude that thronged him. *Mark* 3. 7, 12. *Matth.* 12. 15, 21.

He chooses twelve Apostles.

And it came to pass in those days that he went into a Mountain to Pray: and when it was day, he chose twelve, whom he called *Apostles*, who are specified by name. *Luke* 6. 12, 16. *Mark* 3. 13, 19.

And he came down with them from the mountain, and stood in a plain, where a great multitude came to him and he healed them all. *Luke* 6. 17, 18, 19.

He is judged to be mad.

After this they went into an House, and the multitude came together again so that they could not so much as eat bread, and when his kinsmen heard of it they went to lay hold on him, for they said, *He is beside himself*. *Mark* 3. 19, 20, 21.

His Sermon on the Mount

When *Jesus* saw the multitude, he went up into a Mountain, and when he was set, his Disciples came unto him: and then he preached that long, and excellent Sermon, first to the *Apostles*, and afterwards to all the People. *Luke* 6. 20, 49. *Matth.* 5, & 6, & 7.

Now

Now when he had ended all his sayings in the audience of the people, he entred into *Capernaum*, where he healed the Centurions servant that lay sick of the Palsie, ready to die. *Luke* 7. 1, 10. *Matth.* 8. 5, 13.

The day following he went into the City of *Naim*, and raised one that was dead, and carrying out to his Burial, which was the only son of a widdow: whereupon his fame spread abroad. *Luke* 7. 11, 17. Raises a dead man to life.

John the *Baptist*, being yet in Prison, and being moved with the relation of his Disciples concerning the fame, and deeds of *Jesus*, sent two of them unto him, saying, *Art thou he that was to come, or shall we look for another?* and when they were returned with his answer, Christ gave a large testimony of *John*. After which he upbraided some of the Cities for their ingratitude, and yet willingly submitted to the sole good pleasure of his Father, who hid his Son from some, and revealed him to others. *Luke* 7. 18, 35. *Matth.* 11. 2, 30 *Jesus* his testimony of *John*.

Then *Simon* the *Pharisee*, desired him that he would eat with him, and as they were at meat he defended against *Simon*, and absolved the woman, a sinner, that washed his feet with her tears and wiped them with the hair of her head, both kissing, and anointing them, *Luke* 7. 36, 50. One washed his feet.

It came to pass afterwards that he went from City to City preaching, and his Disciples were with him, and certain women ministred unto him. *Luke* 8. 1, 2, 3.

Then they brought unto him one that had a Divel that was both blind and dumb, and he healed him, and zealously defended himself against the *Pharisees* and *Scribes* that came down from *Jerusalem*, that blasphemed him, saying, *He casteth out Devils through* Beelzebub. *Mark* 3. 22, 30. *Matth.* 8. 22, 37. Casts out a Divel.

Then said some of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* to him, *Master, we would see a Sign of thee*, to whom when he had sharply rebuked them, he would give no other sign but that of *Jonas*. *Matth.* 8. 38, 45.

Whilst *Jesus* spake to the People, it was told him that his

He shews who are his kinsmen.

his Mother and Brethren stood without desiring to see, and to speak with him: but *Jesus* answering, shewed them whom he accounted for his Mother, and Brother, and Sister. *Luke* 8. 19, 20, 21. *Mark* 3. 31, 35. *Matth.* 11. 46, 50.

He teaches by Parables.

The same day *Jesus* went out of the house and sate by the Sea-side, and great multitudes were gathered unto him, so that he went into a Ship, and sate, and taught the multitude many things. by the parable of the Sower, and by divers other parables, *Luke* 8. 4, 18. *Mark* 4 1, 34. *Matth.* 13. 1, 53.

He calms the Tempest.

Also the same day when it was evening, he said unto them, *Let us lance forth unto the other side of the Lake:* and when he had given an answer to some that would follow him, and sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship, and by the way there arose a great tempest, but he rebuked the wind, and calmed the Sea, and saved his Disciples. *Luke* 8. 22, 25. *Mark* 4. 35, 41. *Matth.* 8. 18, 27.

He casts out the Legion of Divels.

When they came to the other side into the Country of the *Gadarens*, or *Gergasens*, which was on the opposite shore to *Galilee*, and when he was gone on Land, there met him two possessed with Devils, very fierce (*Mark* and *Luke* mention but one) out of whom *Jesus* cast the Devils, and suffered them to go into the heard of Swine; whereupon the *Gadarens* desired him to leave their Coasts. Then did the possessed persons importune him that they might abide with them; but he denied their request, and sent them back to publish about *Decapolis* what great things *Jesus* had done for them: After which he passed over again by Ship to the other side, and from thence went unto his own City [*Capernaum.*] *Luke* 8. 26, 36. *Mark* 5. 1, 16, 17, 20. *Matth.* 8. 28, 33, 34.

He answers *Johns* Disciples.

And it came to pass that when *Jesus* was returned, the people received him gladly, for they waited for him, and he was by the Sea-side. *Luke* 8. 40. *Mark* 5. 21. and there came to him the Disciples of *John*, saying, *Why do we and the* Pharisees *Fast oft, but thy Disciples Fast not?* to whom he gave answer. *Matth.* 9. 14, 17.

Whilst

Whilst *Jesus* yet spake, behold there came *Jairus*, one of the *Rulers* of the *Synagogue*, and besought him greatly for his only Daughter, being about twelve years old, who lay at the point of Death: and as he was going, even at *Jairus* door, a woman that had an issue of blood twelve years was suddenly healed by touching the hem of *Jesus* Garment: and the Daughter of *Jairus* being now already dead, was restored to life by his Word onely: and he straitly charged them that no man should know it. *Luke* 8. 41, 56. *Mark* 5. 22, 43. *Matth.* 9. 18, 26.

Raises *Jairus*'s daughter.

When *Jesus* was departed thence, two blind men followed him, whose eyes he opened, straightly charging them (but to no purpose) that no man should know it. *Matth.* 9. 27, 31.

Cures blind men

As they went out, behold, they brought unto him a dumb man possessed with a Devil, and when the Divel was cast out, the dumb spake, and the multitude marvelled: but the *Pharisees* blasphemed. *Matth.* 9. 32, 33, 34, 35.

He casts out a dumb Divel.

Then went *Jesus* round about all their Cities, and villages, teaching, and healing their diseases. Then went he into his own Country, and his Disciples followed him, and he taught in their *Synagogues* on the *Sabbath* days, and was again contemned of them and called *the Carpenter*: yet were they astonished at his Doctrine. *Mark* 6. 1, 6. *Matth.* 12. 54, 58. and he went round about their villages teaching. *Mark* 6. 6.

He is scorned.

Jesus was moved with compassion towards the multitude when he saw the great harvest, and the few laborers, and thereupon commanded his Disciples that they should *pray the Lord that he would send forth Labourers*. *Matth.* 9. 35, 38.

His compassion to Souls.

Then sent *Jesus* the twelve *Apostles* by two and two, having sufficiently instructed them with commands and power to preach, and to heal Diseases. *Luke* 9. 1, 5. *Mark* 6. 7, 11. *Matth.* 10. 1, 42.

He sent out his Disciples.

And it came to pass when *Jesus* had made an end of commanding his Disciples, that he departed thence to teach and to preach in their Cities, and the twelve departed, and

went through the Towns preaching the Gospel, and healing every where. *Luke* 9. 6. *Matth.* 11. 1, 12. 16.

Sejanus killed at *Rome.*

About this time (*November* 17th) *Sejanus* was killed: after whose death, *Tiberius Cæsar* soon knew that all the crimes which he had charged upon the *Jews*, were feigned by himself: Wherefore he commanded the Governours of all the Provinces, that in every Town they should spare that Nation, except very few that were guilty persons: but that they should alter non of their customs, and should make much account of them as lovers of peace, and their customs as conducing to publick tranquility.

John beheaded.

About this time also was *John Baptist* beheaded. *Mark* 6. 17, 28. *Matth.* 16. 6, 11, 12. and when his Disciples heard of it, they came, and took up the body, and buried it, and went and told *Jesus*. *Mark* 6. 29.

The Fame of *Jesus* being spread abroad, *Herod* the *Tetarch*, and others, hearing it, declared their opinions about him, and *Herod* desired much to see him. *Luke* 9. 7, 8, 9. *Mark* 6. 14.

The Apostles returning, told *Jesus* what things they had done. *Luke* 9. 10. *Mark* 6. 30

Multitudes follow *Jesus.*

When *Jesus* had heard of the death of *John*, and of the deeds of the Apostles, he said unto them, *Come ye your selves apart into a Desert-place, and rest a while:* For by reason of the multitude they had not leasure to eat; He therefore, taking the twelve with him, went by ship privately into a Desert place, of the City called *Bethesda:* But when the multitude heard it, they followed him on foot out of all Cities, and out went him, and he taught and healed them. *Luke* 9. 10, 11. *Mark* 6. 31, 32. *Matth.* 16. 13, 14.

He fed five thousand men, &c.

Then *Jesus* went up into a Mountain, and there sate with his Disciples, and the Passover was nigh. And when it was evening, he fed above five thousand men, besides women, and children, with five Barley loaves, and two little Fishes, and there remained twelve Baskets full of fragments. And when the *Jews* (seeing his Miracles) would have made him a King; *Jesus* constrained his Disciples to go before him unto the other side, opposite to *Bethesda*, towards

wards *Capernaum*: and he himself went apart into a Mountain to pray: and when they had gone about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, in the fourth watch of the night, *Jesus* went to them, walking upon the Sea, and would have passed by them: but they being affrighted, he told them who he was, rebuked *Peter* and saved him from sinking, so that they were amazed: and they drew to shore and came to the land of *Genazaret*: and when he came out of the ship, as soon as it was know, they brought their sick that they might touch the hem of his Garment, and they were presently made whole. *John* 6. 1, 21. *Luke* 9. 12, 17. *Mark* 6. 35, 56. *Matth.* 16. 15, 36.

He walked on the Sea.

The next day, after that *Jesus* was passed over, the People which stood on this side the Sea, took Shiping and came to *Capernaum* seeking *Jesus*, to whom he preached in the *Synagogue* of *Capernaum* about the *Bread of Life*, and affirmed to the *Jews* that murmured, that he was that *Bread of Life*. From that time many of his Disciples went back, but the Apostles would not go away, notwithstanding he called one of them a Devil. *John* 6. 22, 27.

Many go back from him.

The third Passover of the Ministery of Christ. John 6. 4. *From which the third year of the seventieth week of* Daniel *began.*

THe *Scribes*, and *Pharisees* which came from *Jerusalem*, came to *Jesus*, and when they saw some of his Disciples to eat with defiled, that is, unwashen hands, they found fault, because they did not walk after the tradition of the Elders, to whom *Jesus* answered concerning traditions, that they frustrated the commands of God that they might keep the traditions of men: and he taught the People, which he also expounded to his Disciples at home, that nothing which enters into a man, but that which cometh from within, that defileth a man. *Mark* 7. 1, 23. *Matth.* 15. 1, 20.

He condemned their Traditions.

Then he arose from thence and went into the borders

Heals the *Cananitiſh* womans daughter.

of *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, and he could not be hid. For a *Canaanitiſh* woman, a *Gentile*, a *Syrophanician* by Nation, came to him, earneſtly beſeeching him for her Daughter, that was vexed with a Devil: whom, when he had commended for the greatneſs of her Faith, he caſt the Divel out of her Daughter. *Mark* 7. 24, 30. *Matth.* 15. 21, 28.

And again departing from the Coaſts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, he came unto the Sea of *Galilee*, through the midſt of the coaſt of *Decapolis*, and they brought unto him one that was deaf, and had an impediment in his ſpeech, whom he healed, and charged him that he ſhould tell no man, but all in vain. *Mark* 7. 31, 37.

He heals many.

Then went he up into a mountain and ſate there, and healed many, ſo that the multitude wondred. *Matth.* 15. 29, 30, 31.

Feeds four thouſand.

In thoſe days, when there was a very great multitude that had remained with him three days, he fed four thouſand men, beſides women and children, with ſeven Loaves, and a few little fiſhes, and there remained ſeven baskets full of fragments. *Mark* 8. 1, 9. *Matth.* 15. 32, 38.

And ſtraitway *Jeſus* entred into a Ship, with his Diſciples, and came into the parts of *Dalmanutha*, or the coaſts of *Magdala*. *Mark* 8. 10. *Matth.* 15. 39.

Denies a Sign to the Phariſees.

And the *Phariſees* came to him, requiring a ſign from Heaven, who after he had deeply ſighed, he denied any ſign but that of *Jonas*, to thoſe Hypocrites, who knew how to diſcern the face of the sky, but not the ſigns of the times: and leaving them, he entred again into a Ship and paſſed to the other ſide. *Mark* 8. 11. 12, 13. *Matth.* 16. 1, 4.

Warns his Diſciples of their Leaven.

And when his Diſciples were come to the other ſide, they had forgotten to take bread, and they had but one loaf with them in the Ship. Then *Jeſus* ſaid unto them, *Take heed of the Leaven of the* Phariſees *and* Sadduces, *and of the Leaven of* Herod: & they reaſoned amongſt themſelves becauſe they had forgotten to take bread: But *Jeſus* rebuking them that they had forgotten the miraculous multiplication of the loaves, gave them to underſtand that he ſpake not of the Leaven of Bread, but of their *Doctrine*. *Mark* 8. 14, 21. *Matth.* 16. 5. 21.

Then

Then came *Jesus* to *Bethsaida*, and they brought to him a blind man, whom he led out of the Town, and anointed his eyes with spittle, and he recovered his sight, and *Jesus* forbad him to tell it. *Mark* 8.22,26.

And *Jesus* went with his Disciples into the Towns of *Cæsarea Philippi*: And it came to pass as he was alone praying, and was now in the way, that he asked his Disciples, *whom do men say that I am?* When they had answered, he said unto them, But *whom do ye say that I am?* And when *Peter* had answered, he pronounced him happy, annexing promises, and forbad his Disciples to tell any man that he was the *Christ*. He also foretold his Death, and Resurrection, and called *Peter* Satan, because he rebuked him for so saying. Then he Preached to his Disciples, and to the multitude of the Cross which every one must bear that would follow him, and at length foretold his Transfiguration. *Luke* 7. 18, 27. *Mark* 8. 27, 38. *Matth.* 16. 13, 28.

Who *Christ* was judged to be.

And it came to pass about eight days after these things (or six intermediate days) that he was Transfigured in an high Mountain. And when they came down from the Mountain, he charged them that they should tell no man what they had seen till he was risen from the dead: and they kept it close, questioning one with another, *what the rising from the dead should mean*, and they asked him, why do the *Scribes* say that *Elias* must first come? and they received an answer by which they understood that *Jesus* spake of *John Baptist*, as that *Elias*. *Luke* 7. 28, 36. *Mark* 9. 1, 13. *Matth.* 17. 1, 13.

His transfiguration.

And it came to pass the next day when they were come down from the Hill, and that he was come to his Disciples, he saw a great multitude about them, and the *Scribes* questioning with them: and straitway when all the multitude saw him, they were greatly amazed, and runing to him, saluted him: and as he was asking about their questioning with his Disciples, the Father of a *Lunatick* child answered him, that it was about his child that had an unclean spirit, both deaf and dumb, and that his Disciples could not cast him out. Then *Jesus* having cast out the spirit,

Heals the Lunatick.

spirit, restored the Child to his Father whole: and being at home, he shewed his Disciples the reason why they could not cast out this Devil. *Luke* 7. 37, 42. *Mark* 9. 14, 29. *Matth.* 17. 14, 21.

Foretells his Death, and Resurrection

And they departed thence and passed through *Galilee*, and he would not that any man should know it: and he taught his Disciples concerning his death and Resurrection: but they understood not that saying, and being exceedingly sorry, were afraid to ask him. *Luke* 7. 43, 44, 45. *Mark* 9. 30, 31, 32. *Matth.* 17. 22, 23.

Pays Tribute.

When they were come to *Capernaum* they asked *Peter* about *Jesus* his paying Tribute money. And when *Jesus* was come into the house, he prevented *Peter*, telling him, that he should find a piece of money in a Fishes mouth, and bad him pay that for Tribute both for himself and for *Jesus*. *Matth.* 17. 24, 27.

Teaches Humility.

Darling sins must not be spared.

At *Capernaum Jesus* asked his Disciples what it was that they disputed of among themselves by the way, at which, when they were silent at the first, they afterwards told him that it was, who should be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven: Then *Jesus* taking a child, and seting him in the midst, taught them that they should have humility even as a child. He also warned the world of offences: Admonishing us to take heed that neither hand, foot, nor eye make us to offend. That little ones are not to be despised. How our Brother sinning against us, is to be reproved, as also to be bound and loosed by the Church: and to be forgiven to seventy times seven times, as he shewed in that Parable of the two debtors to the King. *Luke* 7. 46, 47, 48. *Mark* 9. 33, 37. *Matth.* 18. 1, 35.

Then said *John* to him, *we saw one casting out Divels through thy name*, whom *Jesus* taught that he was not to be forbidden, and again warned them not to offend little ones, and to take heed again that neither hand, foot, nor eye cause them to offend. *Luke* 7. 49, 50. *Mark* 9. 38, 50.

They sought to kill him.

After these things *Jesus* walked in *Galilee*: for he would not walk in *Jury*, because the *Jews* sought to kill him. Now the Feast of *Tabernacles* was at hand: and *Jesus* went not up

to

to the Feast, as his Brethren would have him do, who as yet believed not on him: but he went up after them, not openly, but as it were in secret. *John* 7. 1, 10.

And it came to pass that when the time was come that he should be received, he set his face to go to *Jerusalem*, and he sent messengers before his face, and they went into a Village of the *Samaritans* to make ready for him, But they would not receive him, wherefore they went into another City, and *Jesus* rebuked his Disciples who would have commanded fire to come down from Heaven upon them. *Luke* 7. 51, 56.

And as they were passing in the way, *Jesus* gave an answer particularly to some that would follow him. *Luke* 7. 57, 62.

He sent out seventy Disciples.

After these things *Jesus* sent seventy Disciples by two and two into every City and place where he himself would come, giving them instructions, and arming them with power. *Mark* 10. 1, 16.

He preached at the Feast.

The multitude enquiring after *Jesus* at the Feast, and murmuring concerning him, *Jesus* in the midst of the Feast, taught in the Temple: and they wondring at his Doctrine, he answered, that *his Doctrine was not his own but his that sent him:* He also answered many things to them who reproached, and objected against him, and Officers were sent to apprehend him. In the last and great day of the Feast, *Jesus* crying out concerning Faith in him, there was a division concerning him amongst the People: but the Officers which were sent, and *Nicodemus* defended both his person and cause before the *Pharisees* that spake against him. *John* 7. 11, 53.

And in the Temple.

Then went *Jesus* unto the mount of *Olives*, and early in the morning he sate and taught in the Temple, where, being not willing to condemn the woman that was taken in Adultery, he warned her to sin no more. As he was teaching in the Treasury of the Temple, he affirmed that he was the light of the world, and defended his bearing record of himself.] He taught many things concerning the Father himself, and told them whether he goes, and who he is:

is: Also of their Father *Abraham*: Of the servitude of Sin and of the Devil: Of himself, that he had not a Divel as they supposed: That whosoever kept his sayings should not taste of Death, concluding with these words, *Before* Abraham *was*, *I am*; whereupon they took up stones to throw at him: But *Jesus* hid himself and went out of the Temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by. *John* 8. 1, 59.

They attempt to stone him

As *Jesus* passed on the way, he saw one begging that was blind from his youth, who being made to see, after many examinations both of himself, and of his Parents, he was cast out of the *Synagogue*, who afterwards meeting *Jesus*, he worshipped him. *John* 9. 1, 41.

He cures the blind man.

Then Preached *Jesus* that he is the *door of the sheep*, and *that good shepherd*: as also concerning *Thieves*, and *Hirelings*: and there was again a division amongst the *Jews* for those sayings. *John* 10. 1, 21.

He is the Door of the sheep.

At this time the Seventy returned to him with joy, whom *Jesus* further warned and instructed: and rejoycing in spirit, he told them privately that their eyes were happy. *Luke* 10. 17, 24.

Then came to him a certain Lawyer, asking him, *what he must do to inherit eternal life? Jesus* sent him to the Law; and by the Parable of the man that fell amongst Thieves, taught him who was his Neighbour. *Luke* 10. 25, 37.

Of *Martha* and *Mary*.

Afterwards it came to pass, that as he went, he came to a certain Town, and was received into the house of *Martha*, she her self ministring to him, whilst *Mary* heard the words of *Jesus*, for which she was preferred before *Martha*. *Luke* 10. 38, 42.

He teaches the Lords Prayer.

And it came to pass as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his Disciples said unto him, *Lord, teach us to Pray, as* John *taught his Disciples*: Whereupon he, the second time prescribed to them the Lords Prayer: using arguments also to stir them up to constancy in Prayer, and for the confirmation of their Faith in obtaining their sutes. *Luke* 11. 1, 13.

Then cast *Jesus* a Divel out that was dumb, and the multitude

titude marvelled, and he confirmed against some blasphemers, that he did not cast out Divels through *Beelzebub*. *Luke* 11. 14, 26.

And it came to pass as he spake these things, that a certain woman of the company said unto him, *Blessed is the womb that bare thee*, &c. to whom he replied. *Luke* 11. 27, 28.

And when the multitude were gathered thick together, he began to say: *This Generation seeks a sign, but there shall be none given but that of* Jonas: Adding, that the Queen of the *South*, and the *Ninivites* should condemn that Generation, charging them to take heed that the light which was in them, were not darkness. *Luke* 11. 29, 36.

Of the Queen of the South and the *Ninivites*.

When *Jesus* had spoken these things, a certain *Pharisee* desired him that he would dine with him: and wondring that *Jesus* had not first washed, he was severly reprehended, with the rest of the *Pharisees*, by *Jesus* for their outward holiness, or simulation, and for their inward wickedness, covetousness and pride: and he pronounced a Wo likewise to the *Lawyers*. *Luke* 11. 37, 54.

In the mean time when there was gathered together an innumerable company, *Jesus* said to his Disciples, *Take heed of the Leaven of the* Pharisees *which is Hypocrisie: and fear not them which kill the body*. *Luke* 12. 1, 12.

And one of the company said to him, *Master speak to my Brother that he divide the Inheritance with me*: To whom *Jesus* said, *who made me a Judge?* And upon this occasion he preached against Covetousness in the Parable of the rich man that would build great Barns: as also against all anxious, distrustful, and unprofitable carking about the necessaries of this life; commanding them rather to seek the Kingdom of God: and to be like them that wait for the coming of their Lord as becomes every faithful and wise Steward: Telling them that he would send the fire of division into the earth, and upbraided them that they could not find out that that was the appointed time. *Luke* 12. 13, 59

He refuses to be a Judge.

There were present at that season some that told him of the *Galileans*, whose blood *Pilate* had mingled with their

Exhorts to Repentance.

Sacrifices, from which occaſion he preached Repentance, and propounded to them the Parable of the Fig-tree, that had no fruit. *Luke* 13. 1, 9.

As he taught in one of the *Synagogues* on the *Sabbath* day, behold, there was a woman that had a ſpirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together; whom *Jeſus* healed, and defended his deed againſt the Ruler of the *Synagogue* that was full of indignation. Then did he liken the Kingdom of Heaven to a *Grain of Muſtardſeed*, and to *Leaven*. *Luke* 13. 10, 21.

Then went he through all the Cities, and villages teaching, and journying towards *Jeruſalem*, to wit, to the Feaſt of *Dedication*. *Luke* 13. 22.

Few to be ſaved.

As he went, one ſaid to him, *Are there few that ſhall be ſaved?* To whom he anſwered, commanding to ſtrive to enter in at the ſtraight Gate. *Luke* 13. 23, 30.

On the ſame day ſome of the *Phariſees* came to him, ſaying, *Get thee out, and depart hence, for* Herod *will kill thee*; to whom he gave a reſolute anſwer. *Luke* 13. 31, 35.

And it came to paſs as he went into the Houſe of one of the chief *Phariſees* to eat Bread, there was one preſent that had a Dropſie, whom he healed, and defended the deed though it was done on the *Sabbath* day. He alſo ſpake a Parable to them that were bidden, and inſtructed him that had invited him. *Luke* 14. 1, 14.

And when one of them that ſate at meat with him heard theſe things, he ſaid unto him; *Bleſſed is he that ſhall eat Bread in the Kingdom of God:* To whom *Jeſus* anſwered, and propounded to them the Parable of the great Supper, and of the ſeveral excuſes that thoſe that were invited, made. *Luke* 14. 15, 24.

Life to be laid down for Chriſt

And there was a great multitude that went with him, and he turned and preached unto them, that life it ſelf is to be laid down for Chriſt. He alſo propounded to them the Parables, of the man that was about to build a Tower, and of the Kings going to War. *Luke* 14. 25, 35.

And there came to him all the *Publicans* and ſinners for to hear him, and the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* murmured, where-

whereupon he spake unto them the Parables of the lost Sheep, of the Groat, and of the Prodigal Son. *Luke* 15. 1, 32. The parable of the lost sheep, &c.

He also told to his Disciples the Parable of the unjust Steward accused to his Lord: together with the application of the same: and the *Pharisees*, that were covetous, when they heard these things, derided him. Then preached he against them, and taught many other things, and declared the Parable of the Rich man fareing deliciously, and of *Lazarus* the beggar. *Luke* 16. 1, 31. Of *Dives* and *Lazarus*.

Moreover he said to his Disciples, *Wo to them by whom offences come*, and taught, that a brother sinning against a man is to be forgiven. *Luke* 17. 1, 14. Of offences.

Hereupon his Disciples said to him, *Lord encrease our Faith*, to whom he answered concerning the power of Faith; and by the Parable of the servant coming from plough and straightway ministring, he shewed that they are unprofitable servants when they have done all, having done no more than what was their duty. *Luke* 17. 5, 10. The power of faith.

And it came to pass as he went to *Jerusalem*, that he passed through the midst of *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, and as he entred into a certain village, there met him ten Lepers, who, as they were going according to his command, to the Priests, they were cleansed, of whom one of them came back to *Jesus* to give him thanks, and he was a *Samaritane*. *Luke* 17. 11, 19. Cures ten Lepers.

The *Pharisees* asking *Jesus* when the Kingdom of God would come? He answered, *That the Kingdom of God would not come with observation*: but that it is within: and further said to his Disciples, that according to the days of *Noe*, and *Lot*, so shall be the day in which the Son of man shall be revealed: but that he was first to suffer many things. *Luke* 17. 20, 37.

Then spake he to them a Parable that they should always pray, by the example of the widow interceeding to the unjust Judge: whereas God is a Righteous revenger. *Luke* 18. 1, 8. To pray always.

He spake also to some that perswaded themselves that they were just, and despised others, the Parable of the

The Pharisee and Publican.

Pharisee, and *Publicane* praying in the Temple. *Luke* 18 9, 14

And it was at *Jerusalem* the Feast of the *Dedication*, and it was winter, and *Jesus* walked in the Temple in *Solomons* Porch: Then came the *Jews* round about him and said unto him, *How long doest thou make us to doubt? If thou beest the* Christ *tell us plainly?* which he avouched by his works, saying, *I and the Father are one:* whereupon they again took up stones to stone him. And he defending himself to be God by the Scriptures, and his works, they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hands. *John* 10. 22, 39.

Preaches and heals.

Then he went again beyond *Jordan* where *John* at first did Baptise, and there he abode, and many resorted to him; and as he was wont, he taught them, and healed them, and many believed on him there. *Luke* 8 40, 41, 42. *Mark* 10. 1. *Matth.* 19. 1, 2.

About Divorce.

Then came to him the *Pharisees* tempting him, saying, *Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?* *Jesus* denied it, and gave an answer to the *Pharisees*, objecting the *Bill of Divorce* which *Moses* commanded: He answered his Disciples also who said, that then *its better for a man not to marry.* *Mark* 10. 2, 12. *Matth.* 19. 3, 12.

He blesses little children.

At this time they brought unto him little children that he should lay his hands upon them, and pray, and his Disciples forbad them; for which, being rebuked by *Jesus*, *he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them*, and then departed from thence. *Luke* 18. 15, 16, 17. *Mark* 10. 13, 16. *Matth.* 19. 13, 14, 15.

Jesus going from thence, as he was in the way, there met him a young man, one of the Rulers, very rich, saying unto him, *Good Master, what must I do to inherit eternal life?* And *Jesus* having spoken concerning the title that he gave him, sent him to the Commandments, and he replying, that he had observed them, *Jesus* loved him: but bidding him to sell all that he had, and give it to the poor, he went away sorrowful. *Luke* 18. 18, 30. *Mark* 10. 17, 31. *Matth.* 19. 16, 30.

Then *Jesus* inveighed bitterly against covetous rich men:

men: and when *Peter* ſaid, *Behold we have left all to follow thee*, he made notable promiſes to all ſuch, whereof ſome were peculiar to the Apoſtles: Adding withal, *that many which were laſt ſhould be firſt, and the firſt ſhould be laſt*, which he declared by a Parable of labourers in a Vineyard: For *many were called, but few choſen*. *Luke* 18. 28. 29. 3. *Matth.* 19. 27, &c. *Mark* 10. 23, &c. Againſt Coveteouſneſs.

Lazarus of *Bethany* being ſick, his Siſters ſent to tell *Jeſus* thereof, who as ſoon as he heard it, tarried two days in the place where he was: but afterwards he ſaid to his Diſciples, *Let us go again into* Judea: they ſaid to him, the Jews *of late ſought to ſtone thee, and goeſt thou thither again? Jeſus* anſwering, ſaid unto them, Lazarus *ſleepeth* (meaning that he was dead.) Let us go to him (ſaid *Thomas*) that we may die with him. *John* 11. 1, 6. *Lazarus's* ſickneſs and death

Jeſus came nigh to *Bethany*, and found that *Lazarus* had been buried four days: and *Mary* hearing of it, came quickly to him out of the Town, where *Martha* alſo met him, and *Jeſus* ſeeing her weep, he wept alſo, and coming to the grave, he bad them remove the ſtone, and, giving thanks to his Father, called *Lazarus* out of the grave, whereupon many believed on him: but ſome went to the *Phariſees* and told them what things *Jeſus* had done. *John* 11. 17, 54. *Jeſus* raiſes him.

Hereupon the *Phariſees* called a Councel, where *Caiphas* prophecied concerning *Jeſus*, and from that day they conſulted together that they might put him to death, commanding that if any one knew where he was, they ſhould give them notice that they might take him. *Jeſus* therefore walked no more openly amongſt the *Jews*, but went unto a City, called *Ephraim*, and there continued with his Diſciples. *John* 11. 54.

After this they went up to *Jeruſalem*, and as they were in the way, *Jeſus* went before them, and they were afraid, and he again took the twelve, and began to tell them what things ſhould happen unto him, but they underſtood none of thoſe things. *Luke* 18. 31, 34. *Mark* 10. 32, 33, 34. *Matth.* 19. 17, 18, 19. He foretells his ſufferings.

Then

Then came to him *James* and *John*, the sons of *Zebedee*, and their mother, desiring that they might sit, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left; but he repelled them with his answer, and when the rest were displeased with their request, he admonished them all, that he that would be great and first amongst them, must be the Minister and Servant of all. *Mark* 10.35,45. *Matth.* 19.20,28.

He cures the blind man.

And it came to pass when *Jesus* came nigh to *Jericho*, a certain blind man sate begging by the way side, and asking who it was that passed by, and hearing that it was *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, he (though he was rebuked) earnestly implored his mercy, and being called by *Jesus*, he received his sight, and followed him, Glorifying God. *Luke* 18.35,43.

Calls *Zacheus*.

Then *Jesus* entred, and passed through *Jericho*, and espying *Zacheus* in a *Sycamore* tree, he said unto him, *I must abide at thy house to day*. *Luke* 19.1,10.

And as *Jesus* went out of *Jericho*, a great multitude followed him: and he restored sight to two blind men, whereof *Bartimeus* was one, and they followed him. *Mark* 10.46,52. *Matth.* 19.29,34.

Ten pounds given to ten servants.

Being come nigh to *Jerusalem*, because they thought that the Kingdom of God should immediately appear, as he went forwards, he told the Parable of the Noble man that went into a far Countrey, who gave to his ten servants ten pounds to occupy therewith till he returned, and when he came back, knowing which had gained most by trading, he rewarded each of them according to the proportion of their gain. *Luke* 19.11,27.

Now the Passover was at hand, and many went out of the Countrey up to *Jerusalem* before the Passover, that they might purifie themselves, *John* 11.55,56,57.

And *Jesus*, six days before the Passover, came to *Bethany*, and they made him a Supper, and *Lazarus* sate with him, and *Mary* anointed his feet, & wiped them with the hairs of her Head, whom *Jesus* defended against *Judas*: and much people came thither, not onely for *Jesus* sake, but that they might see *Lazarus*: But the chief Priests consulted how they might put *Lazarus* to death, because many of the *Jews* believed

believed by reason of him. *John* 12. 1, 11. *Mark* 11. 1, 7. *Matth.* 21. 1, 7. *Luke* 19. 28, 35.

After this *Jesus* went before, ascending up to *Jerusalem*; and it came to pass that when he was nigh to *Bethphage*, and *Bethany*, at the Mount of *Olives* (the 29th day of our *March*) he sent two of his Disciples for an Ass-colt that was tyed. *Matthew* mentions the Dam also: and they brought the Colt unto *Jesus*, and cast their Garments on the Colt, and set him thereon, and much people that came to the Feast, met him, many casting their Garments in the way, and others cut down branches of the Trees and strewed them in the way, and when he was come unto the descent of the Mount of *Olives*, the company that went before and that followed, cried, *Hosanna to the Son of David*; then said some of the *Pharisees* to him, *Master, rebuke thy Disciples: Jesus* answered them; and the *Pharisees* thereupon said amongst themselves, *Perceive ye not that we prevail nothing? Behold the world is gon after him. John* 12. 12, 18. *Luke* 19. 36, 40. *Mark* 11. 8, 9, 10. *Matth.* 19. 8, 9.

He rides into *Jerusalem.*

When *Jesus* was come nigh, seeing the City, he wept over it, foretelling the utter destruction thereof. *John* 12. 19. *Luke* 19 41, 42. *Mark* 11. 10, 11.

He wept over *Jerusalem.*

And when he was entred into *Jerusalem*, all the City was moved saying, *who is this?* And *Jesus* entred into the Temple of God, and cast out those that bought and sold in it, and healed both blind, and lame in it: and justified the children who cryed, *Hosanna*, in the Temple, against the *Priests*, and *Scribes* that were displeased at it. He also taught daily in the Temple, those that heard him being very attentive: But the chief *Priests* and *Elders* of the People sought to destroy him. *Luke* 19. 45, 46. *Mark* 11. 11. *Matth.* 21. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

Children cry *Hosanna.*

Some *Greeks* of those that came to worship at the Feast, desired to see *Jesus*, and he answered them that told him: also by preaching of his Passion, and calling upon his Father he received an answer from Heaven, which some thought to be Thunder, others an Angel: and speaking again of the lifting up of the Son of man from the earth, he

A voice from heaven.

he answered them that asked him, *who this Son of man was?* Then going from thence, he hid himself from them: and when it was evening, he went with his Disciples unto *Bethany*: and though he had done so many miracles amongst them, yet did they not believe, that the word of *Isaias* might be fulfilled. Yet nevertheless many of the Rulers believed on him, but did not confess him for fear of the *Pharisees*. *Jesus* crying out therefore, preached concerning Faith in him. *John* 12. 20, 50. *Mark* 11. 17.

He curses the Fig-Tree.

On the morrow when he came from *Bethany*, he was an hungry, and seeing a Fig-tree that had onely leaves on it, he cursed it, and it straitway withered. Then they came to *Jerusalem*, and entring into the Temple, he again cast out those that sold and bought there, and would not that any should carry a vessel through the Temple: and crying out, he taught concerning Faith in himself: But the chief *Priests* sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, because all the people were astonished at his Doctrine: and when evening was come *Jesus* went out of the City. *Mark* 11. 12, 19. *Matth.* 21. 18, 19.

Power of Faith.

And when they returned in the morning, as they passed by the Fig-tree, they saw that it was dried up by the roots, which *Peter* shewing to *Jesus*, he preached unto them of the power and virtue of Faith, but especial in Prayers. And they came again into *Jerusalem*, and as he was walking in the Temple and teaching, the chief *Priests*, *Elders*, and *Scribes* came unto him, saying, *By what authority doest thou these things? Jesus* answered by asking them concerning *Johns* Baptism. He also spake unto them the Parable of the two Sons, asking them, which of the two did the will of his Father? and applied it unto them. As also the Parable of the vineyard let out to Husband-men, and of their killing the Heir of the vineyard, together with the application thereof: And from that hour they sought to take him: but they feared the People, for they took him for a Prophet. Again he propounded to them the Parable of the marriage of the Kings Son, and the refusals, and excuses of some that were bidden, and the wickedness and punish-

Parable of the vineyard and wedding Feast.

ments

ments of others, especially of him that had not on the wedding Garment. Then went the *Pharisees*, and took Counsel how they might intangle him in his talk: wherefore they sent out unto him their Disciples, with the *Herodians* saying, *Is it lawful to give tribute to Cesar, or not?* These being astonished at his answer, left him, and went their way. *Luke* 20. 1, 8, 9, 19, 20, 40. *Mark* 11. 20, 33, & 12. 1, 12, 13, 37. *Matth.* 21. 19, 46. & 22. 1, 46. They lay snares for him.

The same day there came to *Jesus* the *Saduces*, asking him of the woman that had seven Brethren to her Husbands, which of them should be her Husband in the Resurrection? and when the multitude heard his answer whereby he proved the Resurrection, they were astonished at his Doctrine: Then a *Pharisee* that was a *Lawyer*, tempted him, asking which was the great Commandment in the Law? to whom he answered, and asked the *Pharisee* whose Son Christ is? and no man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth, ask him any more questions. *Luke* 20. 41, 44. He proves the Resurrection.

Then spake *Jesus* to the multitude, and to his Disciples concerning the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, denouncing eight woes against them: and turning his speech to the City of *Jerusalem*, he accused her of cruelty, and obstinacy, and foretold her desolation. *Luke* 20. 45, 46, 47. *Mark* 12. 38, 39, 40. *Matth.* 23. 1, 39. Eight woes against the Pharisees.

And as *Jesus* sate over against the Treasury he saw a widow casting in two mites, whom he preferred before them that cast in more. *Luke* 21. 1, 4. *Mark* 12. 41, 44. The poor widows charity.

When he was gone out of the Temple his Disciples shewed him the stately buildings, and stones of it, whereupon he foretold the ruine thereof. *Luke* 21. 5, 36. *Mark* 13. 1, 37. *Matth.* 24. 1, 51.

And as he sate on the Mount of *Olives* over against the Temple, his Disciples asked him when these things should be, and what should be the sign of his coming, and of the end of the world? To whom he at large answered concerning the signs of them both: and warned them to watch, and be ready, because they knew not the hour when He foretels the destruction of the Temple, and the end of the World.

the Lord would come, and he taught the ſame thing by the Parable of the ten Virgins: As alſo by the Parable of the Talents delivered to the Servants to trade withal; and deſcribed the Judgement of this world (perhaps as a Type of that) by ſetting the Sheep on the right hand, and the Goats on the left, and giving ſentence upon each of them. By day he taught in the Temple, but at night he went into the Mount of *Olives*: and all the People came unto him early in the morning, and he taught them in the Temple. *Matth.* 25. 1, 46. *Luke* 21. 37, 38.

Foretells his death.

And it came to paſs when *Jeſus* had finiſhed theſe ſayings, he ſaid unto his Diſciples, *Ye know that after two days is the Paſsover, and the Son of man ſhall be betrayed to be crucified:* About which time they conſulted together in the Pallace of the *High Prieſt*, that they might kill *Jeſus*: But they ſaid, *not on the feaſt day, leſt there be an uproar amongſt the People.* *Mark* 14. 1, 2. *Matth.* 26. 1, 5.

And is anointed.

As *Jeſus* was in the Houſe of *Simon* the *Leper*, he defended a woman that powred an *Alabaſter* Box of Ointment on his Head, as he ſate at meat, againſt his Diſciples that murmured at it, and foretold his Burial. *Mark* 14. 3, 9. *Matth.* 26. 6, 13.

Then entred Satan into *Judas*, who offered himſelf and covenanted to betray him. *Luke* 22. 1, 3. *Mark* 14. 10, 11. *Matth.* 26. 14, 15, 16.

The fourth and laſt Paſsover, in which Chriſt (*our Paſsover*) *was Sacrificed.* 1 Cor. 5. 7. *and ſo an end was put to all the Legal Sacrifices which prefigured this only one. The fourth, or middle year of the laſt week of* Daniel *now beginning.* Dan. 9. 27.

The Paſsover is prepared.

IN the firſt day of unleavened Bread, when the Paſsover was ſlain (*April* 2.) his Diſciples asked him where they ſhould prepare it? Then he ſent *Peter* and *John* into the City, telling them that there ſhould meet them a man bearing a pitcher of water, by following of whom, they ſhould

should find a Guest-chamber ready furnished by the good man of the House. *Mark* 14. 12, 16. *Matth.* 26. 17, 18, 19.

And in the evening he went thither with the twelve, and when they had sate down and eaten, *Jesus* said, *I have greatly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer*: And he commanded them to divide the Cup amongst themselves: saying, *I will not any more eat of the Passover, or drink of the fruit of the Vine, until the Kingdom of God shall come*; Then said he, *One of you shall betray me*, and they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him one by one, *Is it I?* and he answered, *It is he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish*: and to *Judas*, asking *Is it I?* he answered, *Thou hast said*. *Luke* 22. 14, 18. *Mark* 14. 17, 18, 21. *Matth.* 26. 21, 25. *Judas* the Traytor.

Also whilst they were eating *Jesus* instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood in Bread and Wine after he had supped, adding, *I will not henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine, till I shall drink it new with you in the Kingdom of my Father?* But, *behold* (saith he) *the hand of him that betrays me, is with me at the Table*, then they began to enquire amongst themselves if any among them should do this. *Luke* 22. 19, 23. *Mark* 14. 22, 25. *Matth.* 26. 25, 26. The Lords Supper instituted.

There was also a strife amongst them which of them should be accounted greatest: when Supper was ended, *Jesus* arose and laid aside his Garments, and took a Towel and girded himself therewith, and began to wash, and wipe his Disciples feet, and *Peters* also, who at first denied it, but afterwards desired it. This being done, *Jesus* sate down again, saying, *I have shewed you an Example, that as I have done, you might likewise wash one anothers feet: He that will be greatest amongst you, let him be the least*: Yet he added, *I do not speak of you all; for I know whom I have chosen*. When he had said these things he was troubled in spirit, and testified, saying, *One of you shall betray me*: His Disciples therefore looking one upon another, were uncertain of whom he spake: *Peter* therefore beckened to the beloved Disciple that he should ask who it was: *Jesus* answered, *he it is to whom I shall give a sop after I have dipped* He washes his Disciples feet.

it, and he gave the sop to *Judas*, and said unto him, *what thou doest, do quickly.* *Judas* having received the sop went out immediately; and it was night. *Joh.* 13.2,38. *Luk.* 22.24,30.

When *Judas* was gone out *Jesus* said, *Now is the Son of man Glorified, and God is glorified in him:* and he told them of his sudden departure, and exhorted them to the mutual love one of another. He said also, *Simon, Simon*, behold *Satan hath desired you, that he might winnow you as wheat: but have pray'd for thee:* and do thou *strengthen thy brethren:* and when *Peter*, too confidently, said, *I will lay down my life for thee*, he answered, *The Cock shall not Crow till thou hast denied me thrice.* Then said he unto them, *He that hath a purse, let him take it, and he that hath not a sword, let him buy one:* Some answering, Here are two Swords, he said, *It is enough.* *Luk.* 22. 31, 38.

Faith shall not fail.

Then did *Jesus* comfort them against the sorrow which they conceived for his Death: and to the questions of *Thomas*, *Philip*, and *Judas* (who is also *Libbaus*, surnamed *Thaddaus*, another of the Son of *Alphaus*, and brother of *James*) he answered every one particularly, promising them that the holy Ghost should be their Teacher: And left his Peace with them: and again admonished them of his approaching Death, and of the joyful fruit thereof: Adding, *Arise, let us go hence:* And when they had sung an *Hymn*, they went out towards the mount of *Olives.* *John* 14. 1, 31. *Mark* 14. 26. *Matth.* 26. 30.

He comforts his Disciples.

In the way as they were going, by the parable of the Vine, & the branches, he exhorted them to bring forth fruit, and to remain in the Love of God towards them, and mutually to love one another, and to abide patiently the hatred of the World, which hates Christ himself: and that they should not be offended for persecutions. *John* 15. 27. And again he comforted them against sorrow for his Death by the promise of sending them the *Comforter*, the Spirit of truth, whose Office against the World, and towards them he describeth. And admonished them that *yet a little while, and they should not see him:* and they, not understanding what that meaned, he explained it unto them: and told

The Parable of the vine and branches.

them

them that their aforesaid sorrow should be turned into joy, by the example of a woman bringing forth a man-child: As also by the promise of his returning to them, by the love of the Father towards them, and by his ready hearing of their Petitions that they should make in his Name. And when he said, *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world*, and again, *I leave the world and go unto the Father*, his Disciples answered, *Lo, now thou speakest plainly: we believe thou camest from God:* To this *Jesus* replied, that the time was now come that they should be scattered every one to his own, and that himself should be left alone, and at last concluded with a most Divine Prayer to the Father for the mutual illustration of his own, and the Fathers Glory: As also for the Apostles, and the whole company of believers *John* 16. 1, 33. & 17. 1, 26. His Divine Prayer.

When *Jesus* had spoken these things, he went with his Disciples (as he was wont) over the Brook *Cedron*, to the Mount of *Olives*. Then said *Jesus* unto them, *all ye shall be offended because of me this night. But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee:* and when *Peter* said, *Though all men should be offended, yet will not I*; *Jesus* said, *To Day, even this night before the Cock-crow thou shalt deny me thrice:* but both he, and all the Disciples replied, *Though we should die with thee, yet we will not deny thee. John* 18 1. *Luke* 22. 39. *Mark* 14. 27, 31. *Matth.* 26. 31, 35, 36. He foretells *Peters* denial

Then came they to a place called *Gethsemane*, where was a Garden into which *Jesus* entred, and his Disciples, unto whom he said, *Pray ye that ye enter not into Temptation: Sit here, while I go and Pray yonder.* And he took *Peter*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee* with him, and began to be very sorrowful, and he said unto them, *Tarry here and watch*, and going from them about a stones cast, he kneeled down and Prayed that the Cup might pass from him: and there appeared an Angel from Heaven, strengthening him. Then he returned and finding his Disciples sleeping, he reprehended and admonished them: and then went the second time, and prayed more earnestly, and being in an Agony his sweat was as drops of blood: and coming again, he found them sleep- *Jesus* in his Agony

sleeping for sorrow, for their eyes were heavy: and therefore he again admonished them, and they knew not what to answer. Then left he them, and went away again and prayed the same words: after which coming to his Disciples, he said unto them, *Sleep on now, and take your rest: Behold the time is come, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners: Arise, Let us be going: Behold he is at hand that doth betray me. Luk.* 22.46. *Mar.* 14.32, 42. *Mat.* 26.36, 46.

He is betrayed by *Judas.*

While *Jesus* yet spake, Behold *Judas* (who knew the place, because *Jesus* often resorted thither with his Disciples) with the chief *Priests*, *Pharisees*, Captains of the Temple, and *Elders* of the People, and Officers, and a Band sent from them, came thither with Lanthorns, and Torches, and a great multitude with swords and staves. And *Judas* had given them a sign, saying, *Whomsoever I shall kiss the same is he, and he* straitway kissed *Jesus:* To whom *Jesus* said, *wherefore art thou come? Betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss? John* 18.23. *Luke* 22.47, 48. *Mark* 14.43.4, 7. *Matth.* 26.47, 56. But *Jesus* knowing all things that should come unto him, went out, and said unto them, *Whom seek ye?* they said unto him, *Jesus* of *Nazareth. Jesus* said unto them, *I am he:* and they went backwards and fell to the ground. He asked them again, and answered them as at first: adding *If ye seek me, let these go away. Joh.* 18.4, 9. Then they took him; and when those that were about *Jesus* saw what would follow, they said to him, *Lord shall we smite with the Sword?* and *Peter* struck off the right ear of *Malchus.* To whom *Jesus* said, *Put up thy sword: Cannot I pray, and have more than twelve Legions of Angels? Shall not I drink of the Cup that my Father hath given me? Suffer you thus far:* and he touched his ear and healed him. And *Jesus* said unto them, *Do ye come out as against a Thief with Swords and Staves? But this is your hour, and the power of Darkness.* Then all his Disciples left him and fled, and a certain young man (of their company) being laid hold of, left his linen cloth, and fled from them, *John* 18.10, 11. *Luke* 22.49, 50, 51. *Mark* 14.48, 52. *Mat.* 26.57, 75.

Then they bound *Jesus*, and brought him, first to *Annas*,

nas, the Father in law of *Caiphas*, who sent him bound to *Caiphas* the high *Priest*, who formerly had propheſied, that it was *expedient that one man ſhould die for the People*. There were all the chief *Prieſts*, and *Elders*, and *Scribes* of the People gathered together. Then *Caiphas* asked *Jeſus* concerning his Diſciples, and his Doctrine: *Jeſus* anſwered, *I ſpake openly to the world, ask them that heard me*: then one of the Officers ſtroke him with a ſtaff: To whom he ſaid, *If I have well ſpoken, why ſmiteſt thou me?* Then all the Council ſought falſe witneſſes againſt him, and found none. At laſt two falſe witneſſes came, but their teſtimony agreed not. *Caiphas* then ſaid, *Anſwereſt thou not to what they witneſs againſt thee?* But *Jeſus* held his peace. Then he adjured him to tell whether he were the *Chriſt*, and *Jeſus* anſwered, *I am: and ye ſhall ſee the Son of Man ſitting at the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven.* Wherefore they judged him guilty of death for this blaſphemy. Then did they mock him, and ſpit upon him, and cruelly beat him with buffets and ſtaves: and covering his face, they ſaid, *Propheſie who ſmote thee?* and many other things they ſpoke againſt him reproachfully. *Joh.*18.12,27. *Luk.*22.54,65. *Mar.*14.53,72. *Mat.*26.57,75.

He is ſent bound to *Caiphas*.

Falſe witneſſes againſt him

He is judged guilty of death and abuſed.

Peter followed afar off that he might ſee the end, and ſo did another Diſciple that was known to the high *Prieſt*, and went with *Jeſus* into the Pallace, but *Peter* ſtood without at the door: then that other Diſciple ſpake to her that kept the door, and brought him in. And as *Peter* was warming himſelf at the fire (for it was cold) the maid that kept the door asked him, and affirmed that he was one of his Diſciples, but he denied it, or that he knew him, or knew what ſhe ſaid. A little after he went out into the Porch, and the Cock crew. And as he was going out another maid ſaw him, and ſaid to the by-ſtanders, *This fellow was alſo with* Jeſus *of Nazareth*; Alſo another ſaid, *Thou art alſo one of them*; Then he again denied it with an Oath: and about an hour after they that ſtood by ſaid, *Thy ſpeech bewrayeth thee*: and the Couſin of *Malchus* amongſt the reſt ſaid, *Did not I ſee thee in the Garden with him?*

Peter denies him.

him? and while he yet ſpake the Cock crew the ſecond time: then the Lord turned, and looked upon *Peter*, and he remembring the words of *Jeſus*, went out, and wept bitterly. *John* 18. 25, &c. *Luke* 22. 55, &c. *Mark* 14. 66, &c. *Matth.* 26. 69, &c.

And Repents.

As ſoon as it was Day, the *Elders* of the People, and the chief *Prieſts*, and the *Scribes*, came together, and led him into their Council, ſaying, *Art thou the* Chriſt? *Jeſus* ſaid unto them, *Ye will not believe, nor anſwer me, nor let me go.* Yet he ſaid, that he was the Son of God: To which they replied, what need we any further witneſs. *Luke* 22. 66, 71.

Then ſtraightway in the morning the whole multitude of them aroſe, and led him bound to *Pontius Pilate*, the Governour, from *Caiphas* to the Hall of Judgement (*April* 3d.) But they went not into the Judgement Hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled that they could not eat the Paſſover: and *Jeſus* ſtood before the Governour. *Pilate* therefore came forth unto them, and ſaid, *What accuſation bring you againſt this man?* they anſwered, *If he were not a malifactor we would not have delivered him unto thee:* and they accuſed him, ſaying, *we found this man perverting the Nation, and forbiding to pay Tribute unto* Cæſar, *ſaying that he himſelf is* Chriſt, *a King:* And when he was accuſed of the Chief *Prieſts*, and *Elders*, he anſwered nothing. Then ſaid *Pilate*, *Heareſt thou not how many things they witneſs againſt thee?* But he anſwered him not a word, ſo that *Pilate* marvelled. Then ſaid *Pilate* to them, *Take ye him and judge him according to your Law:* But they replied, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to Death. Pilate* then entred into the Judgement Hall again, and calling *Jeſus*, ſaid unto him, *Art thou the King of the* Jewes? *Jeſus* anſwered, *Saiſt thou this of thy ſelf, or did others tell it thee of me? Pilate* ſaid, *Am I a* Jew? *Thine own Nation, and the Chief* Prieſts *have delivered thee unto me: what haſt thou done? Jeſus* anſwered, *My Kingdom is not of this world: Pilate* therefore ſaid unto him, *Art thou then a King? Jeſus anſwered, For this cauſe came I into the world that I might bear witneſs unto the truth.* Then ſaid *Pilate* to him, *what is Truth?* And when he had

Jeſus is ſent to Pilate.

had said this, he went out again to the *Jews*, and said unto them, *I find in him no fault at all*: and they were the more fierce, saying, *He stirreth up the People, teaching throughout all* Jewry, *beginning in* Galilee, *to this place*. *Pilate* hearing of *Galilee*, asked him if he were a *Galilean*? and when he knew that he belonged to *Herods* jurisdiction, he sent him to *Herod*, who was in *Jerusalem* in those dayes. When *Herod* saw *Jesus*, he was exceeding glad: But being deceived of his hopes of seing a Miracle, and *Jesus* not vouchsafing any answer, either to him, or to the chief *Priests* and *Scribes* that vehemently accused him, after he had set *Jesus* at naught, and mocked him, he sent him back to *Pilate*, arayed in a gorgeous robe: and *Herod*, and *Pilate* were made friends that very day. *John* 18. 28, 40. *Luke* 23. 1, 16, 25. *Mark* 15. 1, 5. *Matth.* 27. 11, 26.

Pilate cleers him

He is sent to *Herod*, who abuses him.

Then *Pilate*, when he had called the Chief *Priests*, and the *Rulers*, and the People, he said unto them; *Neither I*, nor Herod *find any fault in him, nor any thing worthy of Death: I will therefore chastise him and release him*. For he was of necessity (according to the custome) every Feast to deliver to the People one Prisoner whomsoever they would. And the multitude crying out aloud, began to desire that he would do unto them as he ever had done. Then said *Pilate*, *ye have a custom that I should release one unto you at the Passover: Will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the* Jews, *or* Barabbas? For he knew that the chief *Priests* had delivered him up of envy: But they stirred up the People that they should rather desire *Barabbas*, who was a notable Thief, who lay bound for insurrection, and murther in the City. When *Pilate* was set down on the Judgement-seat, his Wife sent to him, saying, *Have thou nothing to do with that just man: For I have suffered many things in my dream by reason of him this day*. *Pilate* therefore spake unto them again, being willing to release *Jesus*, *which of them will ye that I release unto you*? They all cryed out, saying, *Not him but* Barabbas. *Pilate* replied, *What then will ye that I shall do unto him whom ye call King of the* Jews? and they all cryed out again, *Crucifie him*.

Pilate again cleers him.

Pilate said unto them the third time, *Why? what evil hath he done? I find no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.* But they cryed the more earnestly, *Crucifie him:* and were very instant with loud voices desiring the same. *Mark* 15. 6, 15.

Jesus is scourged, and Crowned with Thorns.

Then *Pilate* took *Jesus* and scourged him, and the Souldiers platted a Crown of Thorns, and put it on his Head, and clothed him with Purple, saying, *Hail, King of the* Jews, and beat him with staves. *Pilate* therefore went forth again unto them, and said unto them, *Behold I bring him forth unto you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him:* Then *Jesus* came forth, wearing the Crown of Thorns, and the Robe, and *Pilate* said unto them, *Behold the man.* When the Chief *Priests*, and *Officers* saw him, they cryed out, saying, *Crucifie him, Crucifie him. Pilate* replyed, *Take ye him and Crucifie him; for I find no fault in him.* Then said the *Jews, He ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God:* When *Pilate* heard that, he was the more afraid, and went again into the Jugdement Hall, and said to *Jesus, Whence art thou?* But *Jesus* gave him no answer. Then said *Pilate* to him, *Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to Crucifie thee? Jesus* answered, *Thou couldst have no power unless it were given thee from above.* From thence-forth *Pilate* sought to release him: But the *Jews* cryed out, *Then art thou not* Cæsars *friend.* When *Pilate* heard this, he sate on the Judgement seat, in the place called the *Pavement*, and it was the preparation of the Passover, and about the sixth hour: Then said he to the *Jews, Behold your King:* The chief *Priests* answered, *We have no King but* Cæsar. When *Pilate* therefore saw that he prevailed nothing, but the rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, *I am innocent of the blood of this just person, see you to it.* And all the People answered, and said, *His blood be upon us, and our children.* Then *Pilate* being willing to content the multitude, released unto them *Barabbas*, and when he had scourged *Jesus*, he delivered him over to their will, that he might be Crucified. *John* 19, 1, 16, 17, 30.

Pilate condemns him.

Then

Then the Souldiers of the Governour, when they had led *Jesus* into the Hall called *Pratonium*, they called together the whole band; and when they had stripped him, they put upon him a Skarlet Robe, and platted a Crown of Thorns and put it on his Head, and a Reed in his right Hand, and bowing the knee, they mocked him, saying, *Hail, King of* Jews. And when they had spat on him, they took the Reed, and smote him on the Head: and when they had mocked him, they took off the Purple, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to Crucifie him. *Matth.* 27. 27, 31. *Mark* 15. 16, 37. He is mocked.

Then *Judas* which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself and brought the thirty pieces of Silver to the chief *Priests*, confessing his sin unto them: and casting the Silver pieces into the Temple, went and hanged himself: and they bought with them the *Potters Field*, that the Prophesie might be fulfilled. *Matth.* 27. 3, &c. *Judas* hangs himself.

And *Jesus* came forth carrying his Cross; but, as they were leading him, they found one *Simon* of *Cyrene*, as he came out of the Countrey, whom they took, and compelled to carry the Cross after *Jesus*: There were also two Thieves that were led with him to be Crucified. And there followed a great multitude of People, and of women that lamented, to whom *Jesus* turned and foretold the lamentable destruction of *Jerusalem*. And when they were come into the place called *Calvary*, but in the *Hebrew*, *Golgotha*, they gave him to drink Wine mingled with *Myrrhe*, and vineger mingled with *Gall*, and when he had tasted it, he would not drink it: and they Crucified him there (and it was the third hour) and two Thieves with him, one on the right hand, and the other on the left. And *Jesus* said, *Father forgive them; for they know not what they do.* And *Pilate* wrote a Superscription in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*, and put it on the Cross: which, at the request of the chief *Priests*, *Pilate* would not *Jesus* carries his cross. He is Crucified

not alter. And after they had crucified him, they divided his Garments into four parts, to every Souldier, that was imployed in his execution, a part: and cast Lots for his Seamless Coat, whose it should be, that the Scripture might be fulfilled: and sitting down they watched him there; and the People stood beholding him: But they that passed by, reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, *Oh, thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three Days, save thy self: If thou beest the Son of God, come down from the Cross.* Likewise also the Chief *Priests*, and *Rulers*, with the People, and *Scribes*, and *Elders* mocking, and scoffing, said amongst themselves: *He saved others, himself he cannot save. If he be the King of* Israel; *If that* Christ, *the chosen of God, let him come down from the Cross, and we will believe him. He trusted in God let him deliver him if he will have him; For he said, I am the Son of God:* The Souldiers also mocked him, and coming to him, offered him Vinegar, saying, *If thou be the King of the* Jews, *save thy self.* The Thieves also that were Crucified with him, cast the same in his Teeth. And one of them, continuing his railing against him, the other being converted, rebuked him, and said unto *Jesus*, *Lord remember me when thou comest into thy Kingdom:* To whom *Jesus* answered, *To day shalt thou be with me in* Paradise. And there stood by his Cross the Mother of *Jesus*, and his Mothers Sister, *Mary*, the wife of *Cleophas*, and *Mary Magdalene:* When *Jesus* therefore saw his Mother, and the Disciple whom he loved standing by, he said to his Mother, *Behold thy Son*, and to the Disciple, *Behold thy Mother.* And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over all the Land, or Countrey, until the ninth hour: and about the ninth hour, *Jesus* cried out with a loud voice, *Eli, Eli, lamma sabachthani?* and some that stood by, said, *he calleth* Elias. *Luke* 23. 26. 38. *Matth.* 27. 32, 50. *Luke* 23. 44, 45, 46.

And mocked.

The good Thief.

After this, when *Jesus* knew that all things were accomplished,

plished, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, he said, *I thirst*. Now there was set there a vessel full of Vinegar, and they filled a Spunge with Vinegar, and put it upon Hyssop, or a Reed, and put it to his mouth, saying, with the rest, *Let be, let us see if* Elias *will come to save him, and take him down*. But *Jesus*, when he had received the Vinegar, said, *It is finished*. And then again he cryed with a loud voice, *Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit*, and bowing his head, he gave up the Ghost. And when the *Centurion* saw that he so cryed out, and gave up the Ghost, he Glorified God, saying, *Truly this is a just man; Truly this is the Son of God*. Mark 15.38,42.

He gives up the Ghost.

And behold the vail of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottome, and the Earth did quake, and the Rocks rent, and the Graves were opened, and many Bodies of the Saints, which slept, arose, and came out of their Graves after his Resurrection, and went into the Holy City, and appeared unto many. And the *Centurion*, and they that stood over against, and they that watched *Jesus*, when they saw the Earthquake, and the things that were done, feared greatly, saying, *Truly this was the Son of God*. And all the People that came together to that sight, beholding the things that were done, smote their Breasts, and returned: And his acquaintance, and the Women which followed him from *Galilee*, stood afar off, beholding these things, among whom were *Mary Magdalene*, and *Mary* the Mother of *James* the Less, and Mother of *Joses*, and *Salome*, who also when he was in *Galilee* followed him, and ministred unto him, and many other Women that came up to *Jerusalem* with him. *Luke* 23.47,48,49. *Mat.* 27.51,56.

The Vail of the Temple is rent.

The *Jews* therefore, that the Bodies should not remain on the Cross on the *Sabbath* (for that *Sabbath* was an high day) because it was the preparation, besought *Pilate* that their leggs might be broken, and that they might be taken down. The Souldiers therefore came and brake the leggs of the two Thieves, but not of *Jesus*, because he was already dead. Yet one of them with a spear pierced his side, and there came out Blood and Water, and these things were done

His side is pierced.

that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. *Joh.*19.31,37.

And when Even was now come, because it was the preparation, that is, the Day before the *Sabbath*, there came *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, a Rich man, and an Honourable Councellor, who also looked for the Kingdom of God, a good, and a just man, and one who had not consented to the counsell and deed of them: Being a Disciple, but secretly for fear of the *Jews*, came boldly to *Pilate*, and begged the Body of *Jesus*. *Pilate* marvelled that he was already dead, and calling the *Centurion* asked him, and when he knew it, he gave the Body to *Joseph*. There came also *Nicodemus* (which at first came to *Jesus* by night) and brought a mixture of *Myrrhe*, and *Aloes* about a hundred pound weight: and they took the Body of *Jesus* and wrapped it in a linnen cloth with the spices, as the manner of the *Jews* was to bury. And *Joseph* laid it in his own new Sepulchre, which he had hewen out of a Rock, wherein yet never man was laid, and which was in a Garden in the place where *Jesus* was crucified, rolling a great Stone to the door of the Sepulchre: and *Mary Magdalene*, and *Mary* the Mother of *Joses*, who came with him from *Galilee*, beheld where they laid him, sitting over against the Sepulchre; and they returned and prepared spices and ointments, and rested the *Sabbath* Day according to the Commandment. *Joh.*19.38,42. *Luk.*23.50,56. *Mar.*15.42,47. *Mat.*27.57,61.

His Body is given to *Joseph*.

And buried.

The next Day [*April* 4th] the *Pharisees* besought *Pilate* that he would command the Sepulchre to be made sure untill the third Day, adding their reason; which, when he had yeelded to, they went and made the Sepulchre sure, sealing the Stone, and setting a Watch.

His Sepulchre is sealed.

In the end of the *Sabbath*, or when the *Sabbath* was now past [*April* 5th] when it dawned towards the first day of the Week, in the morning very early whilest it was yet dark, came *Mary Magdalene*, and *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Salome*, bringing Spices which they had bought, that they might see the Sepulchre, and annoint *Jesus*: And they said, *Who shall roll away the Stone from the door for us?* and when the Sun was risen, coming to the Sepulchre they saw the

His Resurrection.

Stone

Stone rolled away: For behold there was a great Earthquake: For the Angel of the Lord came down from Heaven, and rolled away the Stone, and sate upon it: and they went in, but found not the Body of the Lord *Jesus*: and it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereat, behold two men came to them in shining Raiment; their countenances were as lightening, and their garments white as snow. *Matthew* and *Mark* mention but one Angel: and the Keepers for fear did shake, and became as dead men. And when the Women were afraid and bowed their Faces to the Earth, the Angels said to them, *Fear not ye, I know that ye seek* Jesus *that was Crucified: But why seek ye the living amongst the Dead? He is not here: He is risen as he said, Come and see the place where the Lord was laid, and remember what he said, whilest he was in* Galilee with you; saying, *The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinfull men, and be Crucified, and the third Day rise again: But go ye quickly, and tell his Disciples, and* Peter, *that he is risen from the dead, and behold he goes before you into* Galilee, *there ye shall see him; behold, I have told you.* Then the women remembred the Words of *Jesus*, and they departed quickly out of the Sepulchre with fear and wonder, and great joy, and ran to tell his Disciples: but they said nothing to any man as they went: for they were afraid. And when the Women told these things to the eleven, and to all the rest, their words seemed to them as idle Tales. But *Mary Magdalene* telling *Peter*, and the other Disciple whom *Jesus* loved, *They have taken away the Lord and we know not where they have laid him*; *Peter* and that other Disciple went out, and came to the Sepulchre: but that other Disciple did outrun *Peter*, and came first to the Sepulchre, and when he stooped down, he saw the linnen clothes lying, but went not in. Then came *Peter* following him, and went into the Sepulchre, and saw the linnen clothes lye, and the napkin that was about his Head not lying with them, but wrapped together in a place by it self: Then went in that other Disciple, and saw and believed, and *Peter* went unto his own home, wondring at what was done: For as yet they knew not the Scriptures, that he must rise again from the Dead.

Dead. And the Disciples went to their own home. But *Mary Magdalene* stood without at the Sepulchre weeping, and whilest she wept, she stooped down in the Sepulchre and saw two Angels in white, sitting, the one at the Head, the other at the feet, where the Body of *Jesus* had lain; and they said unto her: *Woman why weepest thou?* She said, *They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him:* and when she had thus said, she turned back, and saw *Jesus*, but knew not that it was he. And *Jesus* said to her, *Why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?* She, supposing that it had been the Gardiner, said, *If thou hast born him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away*: *Jesus* said to her, *Touch me not, but go and tell my Brethren saying, I go*, &c. And she came and told his Disciples, and those that had been with him, as they were weeping, and mourning, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had said these things to her: But they believed her not. And as the Women went from the Sepulchre (perhaps *Mary Magdalene* was absent) that they might tell his Disciples, behold *Jesus* met them, and said unto them, *All hail*, and they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him. Then said *Jesus* to them, *Be not afraid, Go and tell my Brethren that they go into* Galilee, *there they shall see me* Joh. 20. 1, 2, 18. Luk. 24. 1, 12 Mar. 14. 1, 11. Mat. 28 1, 8, 9, 10.

Jesus appears to *Mary M.*

And to other Women.

Now when they were going, behold the Watch went into the City, and shewed to the Chief *Priests* all the things that were done: and when they were assembled with the *Elders*, they took counsell, and gave large money to the Souldiers that they should say, that his Disciples came and stole him away whilest they slept: and *if it come to the Governours ears* (said they) *we will perswade him, and secure you.* So they took the money, and did as they were taught: and this saying is commonly reported amongst the *Jews* to this Day. *Mat.* 28. 11, 15.

And two of them went into the Countrey that same Day to a Village sixty Furlongs from *Jerusalem*, called *Emaus*: and as they journeyed, *Jesus* went along with them; and they, telling what things were done concerning *Jesus* of *Nazareth*,

And to two, going to *Emaus*.

Nazareth, how he was crucified, and that he rose again, *&c. Jesus* shewed them out of the Scriptures that it behooved Christ to suffer, and to enter into his Glory. And in the Village, when he had taken Bread, and given Thanks, and broken it, he was known to them, their eyes being opened, though he appeared in another form, and he vanished out of their sight. And they rose up that same hour, and returned to *Jerusalem* to the eleven, who said to these two, *The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto* Simon. Then they told them what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of Bread: but neither believed they them. *Luke* 24.13,35. *Mar.* 14.12,13.

And to his Disciples.

Whilest they yet spake, it being evening, in the first Day of the Week, the Doors being shut where the Disciples were gathered together for fear of the *Jews*, came *Jesus* himself and stood in the middest of them, and said, *Peace be unto you*: But they were affrighted supposing that they had seen a Spirit; But he upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart, because they had not believed those that had seen him since he was risen: and he said unto them, *Why are you troubled? see my hands and my feet: A Spirit hath not flesh and bones*: and he shewed them his hands and his feet and his side: And when they believed not for Joy, and wondred, he said unto them, *Have ye here any meat?* and he did eat a piece of broiled meat and an Hony-comb: and his Disciples rejoyced that they had seen the Lord And he said unto them, *These are the words that I spake unto you, while I was yet with you: That all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of* Moses, *and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms of me.*

His speeches to them.

Then he opened their understandings that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, *Thus it is written, and thus it behooved* Christ *to suffer, and to rise from the Dead the third Day, and that Repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his Name among all Nations, and ye are witnesses of these things. And behold I send the Promise of my Father among you: But tarry ye at* Jerusalem *till ye have received power from on high.* He said again unto them, *Peace be unto you: as my Father sent me, so send I you. Goe ye into all the World*

and Preach the Gospel to every Creature: He that believes and is Baptized, shall be saved: but he that believes not, shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my Name they shall cast out Devils: they shall speak new Tongues: they shall take up Serpents: and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover. And when he had said these things, he breathed on them, and said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted to them, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.* Thus *Jesus* appeared five times in the first Day of his Resurrection. *Joh.* 20. 19, 23. *Luke* 24. 36, 49. *Mar.* 14. 14, 18.

Thomas his incredulity

But *Thomas* called *Didymus* was not with them when *Jesus* came, and the rest of the Disciples told him, *We have seen the Lord*: But he very confidently professed that he would not believe it. After eight Dayes [*April* the 12th] *Thomas* being then present with the rest, *Jesus* came, the doors being shut, and stood in the middest, and said unto them, *Peace be unto you*, and abundantly satisfied *Thomas* his unbelief. *Joh.* 20. 24, 29. *Luke* 24. 16, 20.

His Faith is confirmed.

Then the Eleven Disciples went into *Galilee* unto the Mountain that he had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him, but some doubted: and when *Jesus* came unto them, he said, *All power is given unto me both in Heaven and Earth, Go therefore and teach all Nations, Baptizing them, &c. and loe I am with you to the end of the World.* Mat. 28. 16, 20. After that, *Jesus* was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once: and after that to *James*. 1 Cor. 15. 6, 7.

He appeared again.

And again

Afterwards *Jesus* shewed himself to his Disciples at the Sea of *Tiberias*: or at least, to seven of them as they were fishing. For they having fished all night and caught nothing, in the morning, *Jesus* unknown unto them, stood upon the shoar, and bid them cast their net on the right side of the Ship, & they caught a hundred fifty & three great Fishes: and *Jesus* said unto them, *Come and Dine*; and none of them durst ask him, *Who art thou?* knowing it was the Lord. When they had dined, he warned *Peter* thrice of his Pastorall charge as he loved *Jesus*, and forewarned him what kind of death he should die. And to *Peters* question concerning *John*, he gave

an

an answer that was not rightly understood of the Brethren. *Joh.*21.1,24.

Last of all he appeared to his Disciples in *Jerusalem*, and led them out as far as *Bethany*, and he lift up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass that as he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into Heaven. *Luke* 24.50,51. *Mat.*28.19. His Ascension.

This *Jesus Christ* was promised to *Adam* in *Paradise* presently after his fall in those Words, *The Seed of the Woman shall break the Serpents Head*: but whether he should come of *Jew* or *Gentile*, not a word was told him. After this *Abraham* (the *Hebrew*) was given to understand that of his Seed should come the *Messiah*: but of what Tribe, nothing was revealed. To *Jacob* indeed it was shewed, that of the Tribe of *Judah* should *Shiloh* come: but whether Male, or Female, nothing certain. *David* was assured that a Son of his should sit upon his Throne for ever: But till *Isaiah*, it was not known that he should be born of a pure Virgin: that a *woman should compass a man*. Isa.7.14. *Behold a Virgin*, that famous Virgin (the Original sets it forth with an Accent) spoken of *Gen.*3.15. *shall conceive and bear a Son*. The very place of his Birth was not set forth till *Micha* did it. *Mich.*5.2. Not the just time till *Daniel* foretold it. *Dan.*9.24. Thus by degrees, and piecemeal (as it were) God spake of old to the Fathers by his servants the Prophets. *Heb.*1.1. Every age almost, brought forth some new thing touching the Babe of *Bethlehem* (lapt up in the swathbands of the Holy Scriptures) either in express and evident terms, and testimonies, or else in mirrors, and miracles. Lastly *John Baptist* (*Fibula Legis & Gratiæ*, as one calls him) the Buckler of the Law, and Gospel, pointed him out with his finger, *Behold the Lamb of God*, &c. The Promises of him to the Fathers. *Chrysolog.*

Now this *Jesus Christ* is the most excellent Person in the world; the fairest amongst men: worth ten thousand of us, as the People said of *David*. 2 Sam.18.3. Look upon him as he is described, *Heb.*1.1,2,3. For his Nobility, He is *Gods own Son*: For his Riches, He is *heir of all things*: For his Wisdom, *He made the Worlds*: For his Eminency, *He is the brightness of his Fathers Glory, and the express Image of his Person*: For his His excellency.

might, *He upholdeth all things by the Word of his Power*: For his Merits, *He hath by himself purged our sins*: For his Preferment, *He sate down at the right hand of the Majesty on High*. Trap. Treas.

The quallity and kind of *Christs* Death is remarkeable for three Characters which were engraven on the Death of the Cross, which he died.

His painfull Death

1. For the painfulness of it. The nature of that Death was painfull: For Death it self is painfull; no man payes that debt with ease. When *Asa* dies, he cryes, *Ah my feet*. When *David* dyes, he complains, *O my cold Body*. When the *Shunamites* Child dyes, he cryes, *Ah my pained head*. When *Uzzah* dyes, he cryes, *Oh my Leprous skin*. Life is a precious Pearl: But there are three things besides, which made *Christs* Death painfull.

His violent Death.

1. Violence. It's painfull to die of any violent disease: but when five deaths do all concur, and strive which of them shall dispatch the poor man soonest, this must needs be more painfull. Such was *Christs* Death, which made him complain. *Psal.* 22. 16. *They pierced my hands and my feet*, and *Joh.* 19. 34. *One of the Souldiers with a Spear pierced his side, and forthwith there came out blood, and water*. Here are five Deaths that invaded a living man: Death on each hand, and on each legg, and death on his side, though this last, came a little too late. Now a violent Death it must needs be, when strong and great nails did pierce the most nervous parts of his Body, his hands and his feet.

His slow Death.

2. Slowness. Four leasurely violent Deaths seized on him. Blood is the life of the living Creature: then look how long his blood was coming out, his Life was dropping out as long. It's a great aggravation for a man to be long a dying, and yet cannot die. To have his torment quick, and yet his Death slow is an Image of Hell, where men *seek Death, and yet cannot finde it*. *Christs* slow Death was divided into four quarters. Death at each hand, and at each foot made his pain the greater. The weight of his Body did hang upon those four tormenting nails, his pierced Hands and Feet, as if Death had delighted to hold *Christ* long at sea, and to deny him it's last sad service.

Christ

Christ had been before dying a terrible Death in the Garden, when he was boiled (as it were) in a bloody sweat: and two circumstances shew that the two Thieves Death was nothing in slowness of torment comparable to *Christs* death.

1. The sad and direful preparatories to *Christs* Death, as he was the night before in a Soul-death, when those θρόμβοι αἵματος, as it were *Drops*, or *great hail-stones* of blood, frozen, or hardened together (as *Stephanus* thinks) through extream terrour: when he was scourged, and Crowned with Thorns.

2. He was so weakned in Body thereby, that he was not able to bear his own Cross: which made him complain. *Psal.* 22. 17. *I may tell all my Bones. My strength is dried up like a Potsheard:* So that *Christ* began to die the night before, and continued dying twenty four hours, the Lords anger and curse being on him, and then bodily pain, with the curse of the Law all this time wrought upon him. And *Christ*, in bearing the pains of the second Death, did suffer that which all the Elect should have sustained in their Souls for ever. *Isa.* 53. 6. *The Lord laid upon him the iniquity of us all:* and though *Christ* died but one Death for all the Elect, yet in the extremity of the pain, it was many Deaths to him.

3. Many degrees of Life were taken from him. Consider how much of Life Christ had, and the removing of it by violence must be so much the more painfull. Now life natural had in *Christ* a sweet and a peaceable dwelling: the possession of life was with excellent delights: It was planted besides the Glorious God-head personally, and so had sweet company, and that made it pleasant. It had not been so much to take away the Life of a common man, whose life is not priviledged with Grace, and the Grace of a Personal union with God.

The second Character that was engraven on *Christs* Death, was, that it was shameful, and reproachful. Now Shame is, first, Fundamentally in the cause: Sin, and Sin acted by men against that Law of God is the onely foundation. 2. His shamefull death.

foundation of Shame: *Exod.* 32. 25. Aaron *made the People naked to their Shame.* So 2 *Sam.* 13. 13. Shame and sin are neer a kin. And thus *Christ* was no more capable of Shame than he was of sin. He came out of the Womb clothed with the white Robe of Innocency, and he never contracted one black spot on that fair Robe of the highest Image of God from the womb to the Grave, and therefore there was no shame fundamentally in *Christ*.

2. There is Shame formally in sin: and that, first, In being ashamed Actively. Secondly, In bearing of Shame Passively. In the former consideration, because sin is a shameful thing in it self. *Jer.* 11. 13. There is an Internal blushing, and Shame rising from sin; the Conscience of the sinner (if it be not cauterized) thinking ill of sin, and esteeming it self base in doing it. *Rom.* 6. 21. *What fruit had you in those things whereof you are now ashamed?* So *Christ* thought ill of sin, and esteemed the Creature base in sinning. 2. *Christ* our Lord being our surety, though he could not be ashamed of any sin he did himself: Yet being made a sin for us, he did bear the shame of our sin: and thus he was not free from shame passively, as it's a punishment of sin. *Isa.* 50. 6. *I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting.* Heb. 12. 2. *He endured the Cross, despising the shame.* So then in these respects *Christ* did bear our Shame.

1. In that, though he was the Lord of Glory, and *thought it no robbery to be equal with the Father*; yet he abased himself to become man: yea, the lowest of men, a Servant. *Phil.* 2. 6, 7, 8. *Matth.* 20. 28. *Isa.* 49. 7.

2. All the tokens of reproach and shame were on his sufferings: As,

1. In Gestures: they put a Crown of Thorns on his head: and a Reed for a Scepter in his hand to mock his Kingly Power. They saluted him with mocks, and bowing the knee to him.

2. In words. They cried out, *Hail, King of the Jews*: They scorned his Prophetical dignity, when they blindfolded him, saying, *Prophesie who it is that smote thee.* And to deride

ride his Priesthood, they put a Robe on him: and when he was on the Cross offering himself as our Priest in a Sacrifice to God, all that passed by, wagged their Heads, and shot out their Lips, saying, *He trusted in God, let him deliver him*, &c. Then did they spit in his face, which in the Law was a great shame. *Deut.* 25. 9, 50 *Job* 30. 10.

3. His Death was shameful, the Death of a thief, and robber: So it's called, Christs *reproach*. *Heb.* 13. 13. *Let us go forth bearing his reproach.* It was a shameful thing to see the Lord of Glory, bearing his own Cross on his back, and all the children, and base ones of the City wondring at him, and crying out upon him. This is called the *reproach*, or Shame of *Christ*. *Heb.* 11. 26. *Psal.* 22. 7.

4. They shamed him in pulling off his Garments, and scourging him. As, *Jer.* 13. 26. They brought him bound to *Pilate* as if he had been a Common Thief, *Matth.* 26. 2. Hence *Isa.* 53. 3. *He was despised, and rejected of men: and we hid as it were our faces from him.* He had all shame put upon him: He was branded as the greatest Thief of the three: He went out at the Gate of life, bleeding, pained, cursed, shamed, forsaken, despised and mocked. Even the Sun seemed to be ashamed to see its Creator in so painful and shameful a condition, and therefore hid its head.

The third Character which was engraven on *Christs* Death, was the curse of God. Now the Curse that *Christ* was made, Was, 3. His cursed Death.

1. The Lords pronouncing him a Curse. *Deut.* 21. 23. *Cursed is he that hangeth on a Tree*; which *Paul* applies to *Christ*. *Gal.* 3. 10, 13. This indeed was a Ceremonial curse; but had a special Relation to *Christ*, who was under a real, and Moral Curse.

2. Gods devoting and setting him apart in his eternal Counsel for suffering the punishment of sin.

3. The dishonour that was put upon him; and so was *Christ* under a curse. *Psal.* 22. 7. *He was a worm and no man. Isa.* 53. 3. *The least of men*: the contempt and refuse of men. *Act.* 4. 11. *The Stone rejected by the builders.* Hanging is the death of the poorest, and basest of men: and thus was *Christ* used.

used. *Act.*5.30. *Whom ye slew and hanged on a Tree.* Act. 2. 23. *Whom by wicked hands ye have Crucified and slain.* Hanging is more then slaying: It's putting him to a base Death that is cursed of God and man: and this to be inflicted on a King lineally descended of the Blood Royal, the Kingly Tribe of *Judah:* the onely man on Earth that by birth and Law had Title to the Crown of *Judea*, was the worst that men or Devils could do.

Triuni Deo Gloria.

To the Reader.

THere is lately published, by Mr *Sam. Clarke*, a new piece of Lives containing the Lives of ten eminent Divines; with some other private Christians, the Divines being as follow, Mr *John Carter*, Mr *Sam. Crook*, Mr *John Cotton*, Dr *Tho Hill*, Dr *Will. Gouge*, Mr *Tho. Gataker*, Mr *Jeremy Whitaker*, and Bishop *James Usher*, Mr *Rich. Capel*, and Dr *Rob. Harris*, &c.

There is also another piece of Mr *Clarkes* Newly published, it being the wicked Life, and woful death of *Herod* the Great, a stranger by nation, yet by the *Romans* made King of the *Jews*. Taking in also the Story of the *Jews* during all the time of his Reign, which was about thirty seven years, whereof thirty five were before the Incarnation of Christ, and two after, whereby much light is given to many passages in the Evangelists, &c.

Both sold by *William Miller*, at the Gilded Acorn near the little North door in St *Pauls* Church-yard.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF ALEXANDER the Great,

The first Founder of the

GRECIAN EMPIRE

Represented by the Brazen belly of that Image; *Dan.* 2.32. and by a Leopard with four wings, *Dan.* 7. 6. and by a He-Goat, with a great horn between his eyes, *Dan.* 8.5.

AS ALSO

The LIFE and DEATH of CHARLES the GREAT,

Commonly called

CHARLEMAGNE,

The first Founder of the

FRENCH EMPIRE.

By SA. CLARKE, sometime Minister in St *Bennet Fink*, London.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Miller* at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door. 1665.

Licenſed to be Printed,

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Promotion comes neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South; But God is the Judge; He putteth down one, and setteth up another, Psal. 75. 6, 7.

LONDON,

Printed for *William Miller* at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door. 1665.

THE LIFE, & DEATH OF ALEXANDER the Great, KING OF MACEDONIA.

ALEXANDER, surnamed the *Great* was the Son of *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, and of his Queen *Olympias*. He was born on the sixth day of our *June*, called by the *Macedonians*, *Lous*. Upon the very same day that the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus* was burned down; whereupon the Priests, Magicians, and South-sayers ran about the City, crying, that some great Plague and mischief to *Asia* was surely born that day. Three messengers came to

His Parentage.

to King *Philip*, presently after he had won the City of *Potidæa*, upon the same day, who brought him great Newes, the first, that *Parmenio* his Generall, had won a notable Battel of the *Illyrians*: the second that his Horse had won the prize at the *Olympian* Games: and the third, that his wife *Olympias* had brought him a Son, that was named *Alexander*, born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*.

His Birth.

Philip being marvellous glad to hear these newses, the Southsayers much added to his joy; assuring him, that his Son that was thus born, should be invincible. He had naturally a very fair white colour, mingled with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and breast: His skin had a marvellous sweet savour, and his breath was very sweet, which shewed his excellent constitution. He was naturally hot and Cholerick, which made him to be addicted to drink, and hasty, and yet was chast withall. His Father was very carefull of his Education, and therefore gat for him excellent Tutors, as *Leonidas*, which had the chiefest Government of him. Then *Lysimachus*, an *Acarnanian*: and *Aristotle*, the Best *Philosopher* of his time, to whom *Philip* allowed a very Honourable stipend.

His Education.

He delighted much in hunting divers kinds of wilde Beasts, and playing at the Staff. On a time while he was young, Ambassadors were sent to his Father from the King of *Persia*, and it fell out that *Philip* was in some journey out of his Kingdom. *Alexander* therefore intertained them familiarly, not using any childish questions to them, nor enquiring about trifling, and triviall matters, but what distance it was from one place to another, and which way they went into the higher places of *Asia*; Also about the King of *Persia* himself, how he behaved himself towards his enemies, and what power he had, *&c.* insomuch as they were ravished with delight to hear him, judging him to be of great Courage, and of a Noble minde, and one that was like to attempt great enterprises. When at any time newes was brought him

His early wisdom.

him that his Father had taken ſome famous City, or had won ſome great Battel, he was no whit glad to hear it, but would ſay to his play-fellows: *Sirs, My Father will do all, I ſhall have nothing left me to Conquer with you that will be ought worth.*

Upon a time *Philonicus*, a *Theſſalian* brought a brave Horſe, called *Bucephalus*, to ſell unto King *Philip*, demanding thirteen Talents for him, and they went into the Field to try him: But the Horſe was found to be ſo unruly, and churliſh, that they which ſhould have ridden him, ſaid, that he would never be made ſerviceable: For he would let no man get upon his Back, nor abide any of the Gentlemens voices that were about *Philip*, but would yerk at them with his heels; whereupon *Philip*, being afraid, bad them take him away as a wilde, untamable, and unprofitable Beaſt: which they had done accordingly, had not *Alexander*, that ſtood by, ſaid, *O Gods! what a Horſe do they turn away for lack of ſkill, and courage to handle and break him?* *Philip* heard what he ſaid, but held his peace. *Alexander* often repeating thoſe words, and ſeeming ſorry that the Horſe ſhould be ſent back, *Philip* ſaid, Why doeſt thou controll them that have more skill and experience than thy ſelf; and that know better how to handle a Horſe than thou doeſt; *Alexander* anſwered, *and yet me-thinks I could handle him better than all they have done.* But if thou canſt do no more than they (replied *Philip*) what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? *I am content* (ſaid *Alexander*) *to forfeit the price of the Horſe.* Every one laughed to hear his anſwer, and the match was made between the Father and the Son. Then ran *Alexander* to the Horſe, and took him by the Bridle, and turned him towards the Sun. It ſeems he had obſerved how mad the Horſe was to ſee his own ſhadow, which was before, always before his eyes as he ſtirred too and fro. Then *Alexander* ſpeaking gently to the Horſe, and clapping him on the back with his hand, till he had left his fury and ſnorting, ſoftly let fall his Cloke from him, and lightly leaped on his back, and ſo gat

Bucephalus broken by *Alexander.*

gat up without any danger, and holding the reins of the Bridle hard, without striking or stirring the Horse, made him to be gentle enough. And when he perceived that the fury of the Horse was calmed, he put him forward, and began to Gallop; Then he put him to his full carrier, spurring, and switching him. *Philip* at first, seeing his sons confidence, began to fear lest he should catch any hurt: But when he saw him readily to turn the Horse at the end of his carrier, and shewing bravery for what he had done, all the Spectators gave a great shoot for joy: and the Father fell a weeping for joy: and when *Alexander* was allighted from the Horse, his Father went and kissed him, saying, *O Son! thou must have a Kingdom that is meet for thee; for* Macedonia *is not sufficient for thee:* Considering also that he was not to be rigorously dealt with, and that by gentle means and perswasions he could make him do what he would, he ever sought rather to perswade than to Command him what he would have done.

His mildness.

Alexander in these his younger days was very mild, and of a patient disposition, insomuch as being told that some of his Friends used in secret, to speak against him, he said, *Regium est malè audire cùm bene feceris.* Its a Kingly thing to hear ill, when one doth well.

He comes to his Kingdom.

King *Philip* being dead, his son *Alexander* succeeded, being a Prince no less Valiant by Nature than by Education, being well instructed, & inriched with all sorts of Learning. He began his Reign in *Macedonia*, four hundred and seventeen years after *Rome* was built, being himself about twenty years old.

Upon this change of the King the neighbour Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, adventured to endeavour the recovery of their former liberty by force of Arms, the young years of *Alexander* giving some hope of prevailing, & his suspected severity encreasing the courage of others, who could easilier resolve to die, than to live in slavery: But *Alexander* gave no respite to these discontented humours; For after revenge taken upon the Conspiratours against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tomb, and

He slays his Fathers murtherers.

the

the celebration of his Funerals, he first engaged his *Macedonians* to him by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily slavery, other than his service in the Wars, and to others that contemned his youth, he used such austerity, and such clemency to the rest; that having calmed these neerer discontents, he presently went into *Peloponnesus*, and so insinuated himself amongst them, that by the Council of the States of *Greece*, he was chosen *Captain Generall* to manage the War against the *Persians*, as his Father had been before him, who was so intent upon that War, that he had sent over into *Asia* part of his Army under the Conduct of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, with order to take in some place which might secure the descent of the rest.

He intends war against *Persia*.

Upon this enterprise against the *Persians* was *Alexander* wholly busied, his restless thoughts both sleeping and waking, presenting to him the Riches, Honour, and large Dominions which he hoped to attain thereby. Yet was he again crossed, and retarded by the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, who had united themselves against him, hoping by the assistance of the *Persians*, to recover their former liberty; and they were to this, encouraged by *Demosthennes*, whom the *Persian* Gold had tribed thereunto. This unexpected rub, and loss of time was very grievous to *Alexander*, who was troubled that he should turn his Sword from the base and effeminate *Persians*, against the manly, and famous *Grecians*, of whose assistance in his intended Wars he had assured himself; He therefore made such expedition against them, that himself, with his Army at his heels, brought them the first news of his preparations. This celerity of his made them begin to stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, and by their Ambassadours sought to pacifie him. *Alexander* was not long in resolving, but admitted their excuses, and made peace.

He subdues the *Grecians*.

Having now quieted his Borderers on the South, he resolved also to assure himself of those Nations which

And other Nations.

lay on the North of *Macedonia*, *viz.* the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and others, who by their frequent incursions had much molested his Father; and withall those, after he had given them divers overthrows, he made peace, or brought them into his Subjection: and yet could he not find the way out of *Europe*.

The *Thebans*, which had one thousand *Macedonians* in Garrison in their Citadel, being impatient of slavery, endeavoured to force it; which *Alexander* being informed of, hastened to their succour with thirty thousand Foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand Horse, and presenting himself before their City, he gave the *Thebans* time to resolve whether they would have peace or War, only demanding that they should deliver up to him the two chief Incendiaries, *Phœnix*, and *Prothytes*, which they took in such scorn, that they demand *Philotas*, and *Antipater*, two of his chief Captains. This so incensed *Alexander*, that whilst he assailed the City before, the *Macedonian* Garrison did the like behind, and so breaking into the City, he slew ninty thousand of them, and sold thirty thousand more for slaves, and this he did for a terrour to the other *Grecians*.

And the *Thebans*.

Many Arguments were used by *Cleadas* (one of the Prisoners) to dissuade him from destroying the City, of *Thebes* but all proved fruitless; for he razed the City, only out of his respect to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagines*, who died in the defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This Noble Woman, being taken by a *Thracian*, and ravished, he threatned to kill her unless she would discover her Treasure to him: She led him to a Well, and told him that she had cast it therein, and when he stooped to look into the well, she thrust him in, and stoned him to Death.

A brave Example.

Alexander shortly after at a Common Council of *Greece*, being chosen General a second time against the *Persians*, went to visit *Diogenes* the Philosopher, there. Then returned into *Macedonia*, where, in a Town called *Dios*, as he

he was wholly taken up with thoughts of ſubduing *Aſia*, there appeared to him in his Sleep the reſemblance of the High Prieſt of *Jeruſalem*, who bad him be couragious and bold, and ſpeedily with his Army to put over into *Aſia*, promiſing that he would be his Conducter in the Conqueſt of the *Perſian* Empire, as *Alexander* himſelf reported. His viſion.

All being now quieted at home, *Alexander* leaving the Government of *Macedon*, and *Greece* to *Antipater*, in the beginning of the Spring he paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and being ready to diſ-imbark, he threw a Dart towards the *Aſian* ſhore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to waſt, and deſtroy the Country, or to burn thoſe buildings which themſelves were preſently, and in future to poſſeſs. Then landed he his Army conſiſting of thirty two thouſand foot, and five thouſand Horſe, all old Souldiers, neer unto *Troy*, where he offered a Sacrifice upon the Tomb of *Achilles*, his Maternall Anceſtor. He goes into *Aſia*.

But before he left his own Country, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother in Laws Kinſmen, whom his Father had greatly advanced, not ſparing ſuch of his own as he ſuſpected, thinking by unjuſt cruelty to ſecure himſelf for the preſent, and future: Yet the end fell out contrary to the Policy which his Ambition taught him, though well agreeing with the Juſtice of God: For within a few years all that he had planted was rooted up; thoſe whom he moſt truſted were moſt Traiterous: His Mother, Friends and Children fell by ſuch another merciles Sword as his own, and all manner of confuſion followed his dead Body to the Grave, and left him there. H's cruelty. Gods Juſtice.

When *Darius*, the King of *Perſia*, was informed that *Alexander* was landed in *Aſia*, he ſo much ſcorned the *Macedonian* Army, and contemned *Alexander* himſelf, that writing to him, he ſtiled him his Servant, and reprehended him for his preſumption, and diſloyalty (For *Darius* Intitled himſelf *King of Kings, and kinſman of the Gods*) *Darius* his Pride.

Gods) and withall, he wrote to his Leiutenants in the Leſſer *Aſia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* alive, whip him with Rods, and then convey him to his preſence; that they ſhould ſink his Ships, and ſend his *Macedonians* priſoners beyond the *Red Sea*.

Notwithſtanding theſe brags *Alexander* ſoon diſcovered what manner of men the *Perſians* were: For two of *Darius* his Generals [*Spithredates*, and *Rhaſaces*] at the River of *Granick* (which ſevers the Territories of *Troy* from *Propontis*) with a huge Army both of Horſe and Foot, ſought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground, and the bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced to climb up unto from out of the Channel, yet was his victory ſo eaſily, that the *Perſians* flying, he ſlew twenty thouſand of the Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſemen, with the loſs of twelve of his own Foot, and two and twenty of his Horſemen, which ſhews that the *Perſians* were rather killed in their backs whilſt they ran away, than hurt in their boſoms by reſiſting.

His victory at *Granick*.

It was wiſely done of *Alexander* to paſs this River of *Granick* in the face of the enemy, without ſeeking any other place, or means to convey his men over. For having beaten the *Aſiaticks* upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no leſs of their reputation, than of their ſtrength, leaving the partakers of ſuch cowards without hope of Succour.

Preſently after this victory, he recovered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, and the City of the *Trallians*, and *Magneſia*, all which were ſoon rendred to him, the Inhabitants he received with great grace, ſuffering them to be Governed by their own Laws: and about the ſame time, by *Parmenio*, he wan *Miletus*, and by force took in *Halicarnaßeus*, which becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, he razed it to the ground. From thence he went into *Caria*, were *Ada*, the Queen, who had been caſt out of all that ſhe held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Leiutenants, preſented her ſelf to him, and adopted him for her Son, and Succeſſour, which

He wins many Cities, and Countries

The Queen of *Caria* Adopts him.

which *Alexander* took ſo kindly that he left the whole Kingdom to her diſpoſall. Then entred he into *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, and aſſured to him all the Sea-Coaſts, and ſubjecting to him *Piſidia*, he ſteared his courſe towards *Darius*, who (as he was informed) was marching towards him with a marvellous great Army) by the way of *Phrygia*, and this he might the eaſilier do, for that his firſt victory had laid under his feet all the Provinces of *Aſia* the leſs, which bordered upon the Sea coaſt.

Then gave he order for the ſe l ng and Government of *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, and ſo marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas*, ſeated on the River *Mæander*, which was abandoned to him, only the Caſtle held out, which yet after forty days, was ſurrendred to him alſo: for ſo long time he gave them to attend ſuccour from *Darius*. From *Celenas*, he paſſed on thorow *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine Sea*, till he came to the City of *Gordium*, ſometimes the Regal City of King *Midas*, where he found the *Gordian* Knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it aſſunder with his Sword: For there was an old Propheſie which promiſed him that could unty it, the Lordſhip of all *Aſia*: whereupon *Alexander*, not reſpecting the manner ſo it were done, aſſumed to himſelf the fulfilling of the Propheſie by hewing it in pieces.

He Cuts the *Gordian* knot.

Now before he left this part of *Aſia* to go to the Eaſt, he took care to clear the Sea-coaſt on his back, and to thruſt the *Perſians* out of the Iſlands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*, the charge whereof he committed to two of his Captains, giving them ſuch directions as he judged moſt meet for that ſervice, and delivering to them fifty Talents for defraying the charges thereof: and withall, out of the ſpoil gotten by his firſt victory, he ſent ſixty Talents more to *Antipater*, whom he had left for the Government of *Macedonia* and *Greece*. From *Celenas* he went to *Ancira*, ſtanding on the ſame River of *Sanguarius*, which runs through *Gordium*: there he muſtered his Army, and ſo entred into *Paphlagonia*, whoſe Inhabitants ſubmitted

He Conquers the Iſlands.

ſubmitted themſelves to him, and thereby obtained freedom from Tribute. There he left *Catus* Governour, with one Regiment of *Macedonians* newly come to him.

Memnon dies.

Here he heard of the Death of *Memnon*, *Darius*'s Leiutenant, which much encouraged him to paſs on towards him: For of this one Commander he had more reſpect than of all the multitude aſſembled by *Darius*, and of all the Captains he had beſides. Then did he travell haſtily towards *Cilicia*, with a deſire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* ſhould arrive there. The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* haſty march, left ſome Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defenſible, and now (though too late) began to prize, and put in Execution the adviſe of *Memnon*, who in the beginning of the Wars, had counſelled to waſt all the proviſions both for Man, and Horſe that could not be conveyed into ſtrong holds, and always to give ground to the Invader, till he found ſome ſuch notable advantage as might ſecure to him the victory. *For the fury of an invading army is beſt broken by delays, change of diet, and want, and other inconveniences bringing, and breeding many diſeaſes upon all Nations out of their own Country.* And had *Darius* kept the *Macedonians* but a while without meat, and ſleep, refuſing to give or take Battel, and had wearied them with his light Horſemen (as the *Parthians* afterwards did the *Romans*) in all probability he might have ſaved both his life, and Eſtate. For it was one of the greateſt encouragements given by *Alexander* to his *Macedonians* before the third, and laſt fatall Battel, that they were now to fight with all the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

Good Counſel neglected.

But where God hath a purpoſe to deſtroy, wiſe men are taken away, and the charge of things is committed unto ſuch as either cannot ſee what is for their good, or that know not how to put in execution any ſound advice; the courſe which *Memnon* had propounded, muſt in all liklyhood have brought the *Macedonians* into great ſtraits, and ſtopt them at thoſe narrow

row paſſages of *Cilicia*. For had *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlegonia* been waſted when *Alexander* was far off, and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arſenes* with his beſt Souldiers, hunger would not have ſuffered the enemy to ſtay the triall of all means for the forcing of that paſſage: Or if the place could not have been defended, yet might *Cilicia* at leaſure have been throughly ſpoiled, that the heart of *Alexanders* Army ſhould have been broken, whilſt they ſought out miſeries by painfull travell.

But *Arſenes* leaving a ſmall number to defend the Streights, took the beſt of his Army with him to waſt and ſpoil the Country; or rather, as it ſeemed, to make himſelf ſome work, under which pretence he might with honeſty run the further from *Alexander*; And in truth he ſo handled the matter, that he gave cauſe to the *Cicilians* to wiſh for *Alexanders* coming, and as great cauſe to the Keepers of the Paſſage not to hinder it. For *cowards are wiſe in apprehending all forms of danger*. Theſe Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arſenes* haſted to joyn himſelf with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, as one deſpairing to defend it, began to think, that ſurely their Generall (who gave for loſt the Country behind their backs) had expoſed themſelves to certain ruine, as men that were fit only to dull the ſwords of the *Macedonians*; Wherefore, not being ambitious to die for their Prince and Country (which honour they ſaw that *Arſenes* himſelf could well forbear) they preſently followed the footſteps of their General, gleaning what he had left. And thus *Alexander* without hazard, got, both the entrance into *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardlineſs of his enemies, and alſo that whole Province whoſe minds were now alienated from the *Perſians* through the imprudent carriage of *Arſenes*. The Streights of *Cilicia* taken.

When *Alexander* with great ſpeed was come to *Tarſus*, taking pleaſure in the River *Cydnus*, which ran through the City, all hot as he was, he threw off his Armour, and leaped into the cold water, whereupon he grew inſtantly

ſtantly ſo benumb'd in all the Nerves of his Body, that he loſt the uſe of his Tongue; and ſo far was he from hope of recovery, that nothing was expected but preſent Death: But one *Philip* a Phyſician, gave him a Potion, which he took, and it cured him out of hand, though *Parmenio* had forewarned him, that this *Philip* was ſet on work to poiſon him.

Darius his Army.

In the mean time *Darius* approached, having gathered together an Army of two hundred and ninty thouſand men out of divers Nations (ſaith *Q. Curtius*) or of three hundred thouſand Foot, and one hundred thouſand Horſe, (as *Juſtine* numbers them) Or of ſix hundred thouſand, as *Plutarch* relates.

The manner of his march

The manner of his comming was rather like a Maſker, than a man of War; and like one that took more care to ſhew his Glory and Riches, than to provide for his own ſafety. For before his Army there was carried the holy Fire, which the *Perſians* worſhipped for their God; attended by their Prieſts, and after them three hundred ſixty and five young men, anſwering to the days of the year, clothed in Skarlet. Then the Chariot of *Jupiter*, drawn with white Horſes, with their Riders clothed in white, and carrying Rods of Gold in their hands. Next after them came the Horſe of the Sun, and after him ten ſumptuous Chariots Inlay'd and garniſhed with Gold & Silver: and then the Vaunt Guard of their Horſe, compounded of twelve ſeverall Nations, which, the better to avoid confuſion, did hardly underſtand one anothers Language, and theſe, marſhalled in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerve very fitly to diſorder all that followed them. In the tail of theſe, marched the Regiment of foot ſtiled by the *Perſians*, *Immortall*, becauſe if any died, their place was preſently ſupplied by others; and theſe were armed with chains of Gold, and their coats embroidered with the ſame, having their ſleeves garniſhed with Pearl: Baits fit either to entice the poor *Macedonians*, or to perſwade them that it were great incivillity to cut or deface ſuch goodly Garments.

His Pride and Folly

Then

Then marched after them fifteen thousand, more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women, and these were honoured with the title of the *Kings Kinsmen*. Then came *Darius* himself with the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported by the Gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure Gold: the head of this Chariot was set with precious Stones, with two Golden Idols, covered with an open winged Eagle of the same mettal. The hinder part being raised high, whereon *Darius* sat, had a covering of inestimable valew.

This Chariot of the Kings was followed with ten thousand Horsmen, having lances plated with Silver, and their heads guilt. He had for the proper Guard of his own Person, two hundred of the blood Royal: blood too Royal, and precious to be spilt in any Noble adventure, & these were backed with thirty thousand Footmen, after whom again were led four hundred spare Horses for the Kings own use. Then followed the Rereward, being led by *Sisygambis*, the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious, and glittering Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies on Horseback, with fifteen rich Wagons of the Kings children, and the Wives of the Nobility, waited upon by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a World of Nurses, and Eunuches most sumptuously apparelled: Between these, and a Company of slight Armed Slaves, was the Kings Treasure, loaden on six hundred Mules and three hundred Camels.

In this sort came this May-game King into the field, encombred with a most unnecessary train of Sumpters, attended with Troops of divers Nations, speaking divers Languages, impossible to be well Marshalled by reason of their numbers, and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in Gold and costly Garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the Nakedst Nation against them.

When *Alexander* met with these effeminate *Asiaticks*, it may easily be guessed what a cheap Victory he had over

Alexander beats Darius.

over them. Some ſay that he ſlew in this Battel ſixty thouſand Footmen, and ten thouſand Horſmen. *Q. Curtius* ſaith, an hundred thouſand Foot, with as many Horſemen, and took forty thouſand Priſoners, whileſt of *Alexanders* Army there miſcarried but two hundred and eighty of all ſorts, of which number ſome Hiſtorians cut off almoſt one half. He took Priſoners alſo *Darius* his Mother, Wife, Daughters, and other the Kings Children. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus*, a baniſhed *Grecian* of *Athens*, had told him when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired but poorly Armed, would be found more terrible to the Countries through which they ſhould paſs, than to the *Macedonians* whom they ment to aſſail, who being all old, and Well-diſciplined Souldiers, imbattelled in groſs Squadrons, which they called their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with advantagious Weapons for offence, would make ſo little account of his delicate *Perſians*, ill Armed, and worſe Diſciplin'd, that except he would (having ſuch abundance of Treaſure) entertain a ſufficient number of the ſame *Grecians*, and ſo encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent overlate, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſs like to follow.

Darius his cruelty, and Folly.

But ſo unpleaſing was this diſcourſe to *Darius*, (who uſed to hear nothing but his own praiſes) that he cauſed this poor *Grecian* to be preſently ſlain, who whilſt he was under the Tormentors hand, ſaid, to the King, that *Alexander*, againſt whom he had given this good counſell, ſhould certainly revenge his Death, and deſervedly puniſh *Darius* for refuſing this adviſe. *Darius* likewiſe ſlighted the counſell given him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that ſerved under him, who intreated him not to fight in thoſe ſtreight places where *Alexander* could bring as many hands to fight as *Darius* could: and theſe old blades, when *Darius* was overthrown with-

with all his cowardly, and confuſed Rabble, under their Captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and made a brave retreat in deſpite of the vanquiſhers.

Theſe *Grecians* alſo after their retreat, adviſed *Darius* to draw back his Army into the plains of *Meſopotamia*, where he might have environed the *Macedonians* on all ſides with his multitudes; they counſelled him alſo to divide his huge Army into parts, and not to caſt his Empire upon one Battel, *&c.* But this adviſe was ſo contrary to the cowardly ſpirits of the *Perſians*, that they perſwaded *Darius* to environ theſe *Greeks* with his Army, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. But *Darius* was ſo infatuated that he would needs fight with *Alexander* in ſuch a ſtreight place, neer unto the City of *Iſſus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could (who by the advice of *Parmenio* ſtaid there as in a place of advantage) whereby he was utterly overthrown, his Treaſure loſt, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecians* had perſwaded him to leave in *Babylon*) taken priſoners, and all their train of Ladies ſpoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. Indeed the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* preſence, were intertained with all reſpect due unto them, their Honours preſerved, and their Jewels, and rich Garments reſtored; and though the Queen was a moſt beautifull Lady, and her Daughters of excellent features, yet *Alexander* maſtered his affections towards them all: Only he embraced the Wife of the Valiant *Memnon*, who was lately dead, ſhe being taken by *Parmenio*, as ſhe fled from *Damaſcus*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of almoſt all the Nobility of *Perſia*, fell into Captivity, together with the Treaſure of *Darius* (not taken at *Iſſus*) was ſeized upon, amounting to ſix thouſand and two hundred Talents in ready Coin, and in Bullion, five hundred Talents, with a world of Riches beſides.

Alexanders Chaſtity.

Parmenio alſo in his Letter to *Alexander* ſent him

word, that amongſt other things, he had taken at *Damaſcus* three hundred twenty nine of the Kings Women, which were Skilfull in Muſick; forty ſix Weavers, or Knitters of Crowns; Paſtry Women two hundred ſeventy ſeven; Cook Maids twenty nine; White-meat-makers thirteen; Makers of drinking Cups ſeventeen; Wine-cellar men ſeventy; Apothecaries, and Confectioners forty. Thirty thouſand Men, and ſeven thouſand Camels.

Darius flies.

Darius himſelf leaving his Brother dead (caſting the Crown from his head) with divers others of his Chief Captains, hardly eſcaped by flight.

After this overthrow given to *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) yielded unto *Alexander*, who made *Parmenio* Governour of it. Alſo *Aradus*, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, which were Maritine Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of his People) ſubmitted unto *Alexander*: Yea, good ſucceſs attended him every where. For *Antigonus*, who was his Lieutenant in *Aſia* the Leſs, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted. *Ariſtodemus* alſo, who was *Darius* his Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and partly drowned by the *Macedonians*. Likewiſe the *Lacedemonians*, who roſe up againſt *Antipater*, were beaten: and four thouſand of thoſe *Greeks*, that made ſo brave a retreat at the laſt Battel, being led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, intending to hold it for themſelves, were there ſlain: for *the time to divide Kingdoms was not yet come.*

Alexanders great ſucceſs.

Alexander to honour his beloved *Epheſtion*, gave him power to diſpoſe of the Kingdom of *Zidon*, and *Epheſtion*, to ſhew his gratitude, offered to beſtow it upon his Hoſt with whom he quartered; But the Man, not being of the Kingly Race, refuſed it, ſaying, *It is not our Country-faſhion, that any ſhould be King, but ſuch as are of the Kingly Line. And ſuch an one* (ſaith he) *lives hard by, a good, and a wiſe man, but very poor, and one that lives by his hard labour.* Then did *Epheſtion* (taking Kingly apparell

A notable Example.

parrell along with him) go to this poor Man, and saluted him King, bidding him, wash off his dirt, and put off his rags, and put on that Royall Apparel; The poor Mans name was *Abdolominus*, who thought he had been in a dream, but being by the standers by, washed, and adorned, *Ephestion* led him into the Pallace, saying, *When thou sittest on thy Throne, and hast power over the lives of all thy Subjects, forget not thy former condition.* *Alexander* hearing of it, sent for him, and asked him, with what patience, he, being of so Noble an Extraction, could bear his former poverty? To whom *Abdolominus* answered; *I pray God that I may bear the Kingdom with the same mind.* For (said he) *these hands have provided for my necessities, and as I had nothing, so I wanted nothing.*

While *Alexander* staid in those parts, he received a Letter from *Darius*, wherein he desired to ransom his Wife, Mother, and Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one who had been so shamefully beaten, not vouchsafeing in the Endorsment to give *Alexander* the title of King. *Alexander* disdained his offers, and sent him word, that he was not only a King, but the King of *Darius* himself. *Darius* desires peace, which *Alexander* rejected.

When *Alexander* came neer the City of *Tyre*, he received from them the present of a Golden Crown, and great store of Victuals, with some other things, which he took very thankfully, sending them word, that he desired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was descended. The *Tyrians*, not liking his presence within their walls, returned answer, that the Temple of *Hercules*, was seated where the old City stood; but *Alexander* was resolved to enter *Tyre* by force, though in most mens Judgements the City was impregnable; for the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the land, yet with the labor of many hands, having great store of stone from old *Tyre*, and Timber sufficient from *Libanus*, he stopped up the *Tyre* attempted,

and taken.

the paſſage between the Iſland and the Main, being more than once carried away by Storms, and ſometimes fired by the *Tyrians*, yet with the help of his Navy, he overcame all difficulties, and prevailed, having ſpent ſeven moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the Siege, hard barbarouſly drowned ſome meſſengers ſent by *Alexander* to perſwade them to yield, in reſpect whereof, and of his great loſs of time and men, he put eight thouſand to the ſword, and cauſed two thouſand of thoſe that had eſcaped the firſt fury, to be hanged on Croſſes upon the Sea-ſhore, and reſerved for ſlaves thirteen thouſand, ſome ſay thirty thouſand, and many more of them had died, if the *Zidonians*, that ſerved *Alexander*, had not conveyed great numbers of them by ſhipping to their own City. *Alexander* gave the Government of this Territory to *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*. *Epheſtion* had the charge of the Fleet, and was commanded to meet *Alexander* at *Gaza* in the way to *Egypt*.

Alexanders rigor.

Whilſt *Alexander* lay at the Siege of *Tyrus*, he ſent to *Jaddus*, the High Prieſt at *Jeruſalem*, demanding of him ſupplies, and proviſions for his Army; and withall, ſuch Tribute as they formerly paid to *Darius*: But when *Jaddus* anſwered, that he was tyed by a former Oath of Allegiance to *Darius*, from which he could not be free ſo long as *Darius* lived: *Alexander* growing wroth at this anſwer, ſwore, that as ſoon as he had taken *Tyrus*, he would march againſt *Jeruſalem*.

At the ſame time alſo came *Sanballat*, the *Cuthean* to *Alexander*; who, having forſaken *Darius*, brought with him eight thouſand men: Him did *Alexander* receive very graciouſly; Whereupon he asked leave of him to build a Temple upon his own Land, and to make High Prieſt thereof, his Son in Law, *Manaſſes*, who was Brother to *Jaddus*, the High Prieſt at *Jeruſalem*; and having obtained leave, becauſe he now grew old, he fell preſently to work, and built a Temple

Temple, and made *Manasses* High Priest of it, thinking hereby to leave a great Honour to the Posterity of his Daughter.

In the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, setting before him all difficulties he should meet with in his passing on to the East, laying the loss of the late Battel to the streightness of the place: He bids him to consider how impossible it was for him to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tygris*, *Araxes*, &c. with all such other dreadfull things as he thought might discourage him. Moreover he profered to him all the Kingdoms which lay between the River *Halis*, and the *Hellespont*, as a Dower with his beloved Daughter: But *Alexander* rejected all, saying, *That he proferred him nothing but what already was his own, and what Victory, and his Virtue had possessed him of. That he was in a capacity to give conditions, and not to receive any: and that having passed the Sea it self, he disdained to think of resistance in transporting his Army over Rivers.* Indeed *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of Honour and Riches, told the King, that if he were *Alexander* he would embrace the offers of *Darius*; to which *Alexander* answered, that so would he if he were *Parmenio*.

Darius his second message.

Rejected by *Alexander*.

Then did *Alexander* march on towards *Egypt*, and when he came to *Gaza*, *Getes* the Governour, a faithfull servant to *Darius*, shut the Gates against him, and defended the Town with a Noble Resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the shoulder which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a stone. He found better men in this place than he had done in the former Battels: For he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was fain to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* began to shew his cruelty: For after he had taken *Gaza* by assault, and *Getis* the Governour, who was weakened with divers wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assailants, *Alexander* caused holes to

Gaza besieged,

and taken.

Alexanders cruelty.

to be bored through his feet, and himself to be dragged about the streets whilst he was yet alive, who being as valiant a man as himself, scorned to ask him either for life, or the mitigation of his Torments.

He goes to *Jerusalem*,

From *Gaza Alexander* led his Army towards *Jerusalem*, a City for the Antiquity, and great fame thereof, well known unto him; while he lay before *Tyre*, he had sent for some supplies thither, which *Jaddus* the High Priest, being Subject, and Sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jews* therefore fearing revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their Lives and Estates to *Jaddus*, who had recourse to God by supplications and Sacrifices for the Common safety; and was by him warned in a Dream that he should make Holy-day in the City, and set the Gates wide open, and that he and the rest of the Priests, every one in his Priestly Raiment, and the People all clothed in white, should go forth and meet *Alexander*; and accordingly he Issued out of the City, arrayed in his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, Embroidered with Gold, with his Mitre, and the Plate of Gold, wherein was engraved the Name of God, the Priests and Levites also in their rich Ornaments, and the People in White Garments, in a manner so unusuall, stately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it; and when he came neer to the High Priest, he fell to the ground before him, as reverencing the Name of God, and when *Parmenio* reproved him for it, *Alexander* told him, that in *Dios*, a City of *Macedonia*, his mind being busied about the Conquest of *Asia*; he saw in his sleep such a person as *Jaddus*, and so apparelled, by whom he was encouraged to pursue his purpose, with assurance of Victory; and now beholding with his bodily eyes him who before was onely represented to his fancy, he was so exceedingly pleased, and encouraged, as (contrary to the expectation of the *Phœnicians*, who hoped to have sackt,

and worships the High Priest.

His vision.

and

and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the *Jews* all, and more than all that they desired; During his abode there, *Jaddus* shewed him the Propheſie of *Daniel*, wherein he saw himself; and his Conqueſt of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as that nothing from thenceforth could either affright, or discourage him therein. His favor to the *Jews*.

The next day *Alexander* assembled the People, and bad them ask what they would of him: But they asked nothing but that they might live according to the Laws of their own Country, and that every seventh year (wherein they were to have no harveſt) they might be exempted from paying any Tribute, all which he granted. And when they asked further, that he would suffer the *Jews*, which dwelt in the Countries of *Babylon*, and *Media*, to live according to their own Rites and Laws, he answered, that he would satisfie their desires in that point also, so soon as he should get those Countries into his power. And when he told them, that if any of them would follow him in his Wars, they should use their own Rites whereſoever they came, many listed themselves to serve him.

From *Jerusalem* *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entring into it, *Astaces*, who was *Darius*'s Lieutenant, received him, and delivered into his hands, *Memphis*, with eight hundred Talents of Treasure, & all other the Kings Riches; and when *Alexander* had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to affect a Deity, at the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, so fooliſh had prosperity made him. He was to pass over dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Cammels backs was spent, he must need have perished, had not an extraordinary showre of Rain fallen, just when his Army was in extream despair. Indeed it never Rains in *Egypt*; but the purposes of Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to pass whatsoever pleaseth him. Its said also that when he had lost his way in those vast Deserts, a *Egypt* delivered to him.

His journey to *Jupiter Hammon*.

Zach. 14. 18.

flight of Crows flew before his Army, making ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs haſt, till they had guided him over thoſe pathleſs ſands to *Jupiters* Temple.

His Pride. When *Alexander* came neer the place, he ſent ſome of his *Paraſites* to corrupt the Prieſts attending the Oracle, that their anſwer might be given in all things according to his mad ambition, who affected to be accounted the Son of *Jupiter*: and accordingly, he was ſaluted *Jupiters* Son, by the Devils Prophet, for which he was richly rewarded, and preſently a rumour was ſpread abroad, that *Jupiter* had owned him for his Childe: and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his Deity, he ſuborned the Prieſts to give anſwer to ſuch as conſulted with the Oracle, that it would be very pleaſing to *Jupiter* to Honour *Alexander* as his Son. But this is certain, and very obſervable, that at *Chriſts* coming, and at the firſt preaching of the Goſpel, the Devil in this, and in all other his Oracles, became ſpeechleſs.

The power of the Goſpel.

From the Temple of *Hammon*, *Alexander* returned to *Memphis*, where, among many other learned men, he heard the Philoſopher *Pſammones*, who underſtanding that he affected the title of *Jupiters* Son, told him, that God was the Father King of all men: and, refining the pride of this haughty King, he brought him to acknowledge, that God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledgeth none for his children, ſave good men.

The charge of the ſeverall Provinces of *Egypt*, *Alexander* gave to ſeverall Governours, following therein the Rules of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, that *a great Dominion ſhould not be continued in the hands of any one man*; Then gave he order for the building of *Alexandria* upon the moſt Weſternly branch of *Nilus*; and thus having ſetled (as he could) the State of *Egypt*, with the Kingdoms of the Leſſer *Aſia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, he Conducted his Army towards

Alexandria built.

wards *Euphrates*, which paſſage (though the ſame was committed to *Mazeus* to be defended by him) yet did he abandon it, and *Alexander* without reſiſtance, paſſed it. From thence he marched towards *Tygris*, a River, for the ſwiftneſs thereof, called by the *Perſians*, *The Arrow*: Here might *Darius* eaſily have repelled him; for the violent courſe of the ſtream was ſuch, as it drave before it many weighty ſtones, and thoſe that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were ſo round, and ſmooth by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight upon ſo ſlippery a ſtanding: Nor were the *Macedonian* Footmen able to wade through the River, otherwiſe than by joyning their hands, and interlacing their Arms each in others, making thereby one entire, and weighty Body to reſiſt the impetuouſneſs of the ſtream: and beſides this, the Channell was ſo deep towards the Eaſtern ſhore, where *Darius* ſhould have oppoſed him, that the Footmen were enforced to lift their Bows, Arrows, and Darts over their Heads to keep them from being made unſervicable by the water. Indeed it cannot be denied, that as all Eſtates of the World, by the ſurfeit of miſgovernment, have been ſubject to many grievous, and ſometimes, mortall diſeaſes: So had the Empire of *Perſia* at this time brought it ſelf into a burning Feavour, and thereby became frantick, and without underſtanding, foreſhewing manifeſtly the death, and diſſolution thereof.

He paſſeth Euphrates.

And *Tygris*.

But *Alexander* had now recovered the Eaſtern ſhore of *Tygris* without any oppoſition but what the Nature of the River made, were *Mazeus*, who had the charge to defend the banks, both of *Euphrates*, and it, preſented himſelf to the *Macedonians*, being attended with certain Troops of Horſemen, as if with uneven forces, he durſt have charged them upon even ground, when as, with a multitude far exceeding them, he forſook thoſe advantages which no valour of the enemy could eaſily have overcome. But *its*

Baſe cowardize.

commonly ſeen that timerous and cowardly perſons do ever follow thoſe ways, and counſels, whereof the opportunity is already loſt.

Its true, that he ſet all proviſions on fire wherewith the *Macedonians* might be aſſiſted in their paſſage over *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to have diſtreſſed them: but the execution of good counſel is fruitleſs, when unſeaſonable. For now was *Alexander* ſo well furniſhed with carriages, that no conveniences were wanting to the Army which he conducted. Thoſe things alſo which *Mazeus* now ſought to deſtroy, *Alexander* being in ſight, by his Horſmen, ſaved and recovered them. This *Mazeus* might have done ſome dayes before at good leaſure; yea, at this time he might have done it with ſo great a ſtrength of Horſmen, as the *Mecedonians* might not have dared to purſue, leaving the Body of their Foot out of ſight, and ſo far behind.

Darius his new Army.

Darius, upon *Alexanders* firſt return out of *Egypt*, had aſſembled all thoſe Forces which the Countries next to him could afford; and now alſo were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations come to him. Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerved to make up a number, than to make reſiſtance. Some reckon them to amount to the number of ten hundred thouſand Foot, and four hundred thouſand Horſe, beſides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Crutius* numbers them but two hundred thouſand Foot, and about fifty thouſand Horſe, which is more probable: And yet ſeeing *Darius* had more confidence in the number, then in the Valour of his Souldiers, probably he had brought together ſome three or four hundred thouſand of all ſorts, with which, he hoped in thoſe fair plains of *Aſſyria*, to have overborn the ſmall number of the invading Army. But its moſt true, *That in every Battel skill and practice do more towards attaining the victory, than multitudes and rude audacity.*

An Eclipſe frightens the *Macedonians.*

Whileſt *Alexander* reſted, and refreſhed his Army after their heard paſſage over *Tygris*, there happened an *Eclipſe* of the Moon, at which the *Macedonians* (being ignorant of the cauſe, and reaſon of it) were much troubled; taking

taking it as a certain preſage of their ruine and deſtruction, inſomuch as they began not only to murmur, but to ſpeak boldly, that to ſatisfie the ambition of one man, and of ſuch an one as diſdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they ſhould all periſh: For he enforced them, not onely to War againſt a world of enemies, but againſt Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themſelves.

Hereupon *Alexander*, who was now ready to advance, made an halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Ægyptian* Aſtrologers, that by them the Souldiers might be aſſured that this *Eclipſe* of the Moon, was a ſure perſage of his good ſucceſſe. But they never informed them that it came to paſs by naturall cauſes, but reſerved that as a ſecret fit to be kept amongſt themſelves. Theſe Aſtrologers gave no other reaſon for it than this, That the *Grecians* were under the Aſpect of the Sun, and the *Perſians* under that of the Moon, and therefore the Moon loſing her light, did foreſhew that the ſtate of *Perſia* was now in danger of falling, and their Glory of being obſcured. This being noiſed through all the Army, every man was ſatisfied, and quieted, and their courage redoubled.

As *Alexander* drew neer the *Perſian* Army, certain Letters were intercepted, written by *Darius* to the *Grecians*, proffering and promiſing them a great ſumme of money, if they would either kill, or betray *Alexander*. But theſe, by the advice of *Parmenio*, were ſuppreſſed.

About this time alſo *Darius* his beautifull Wife, being oppreſſed with ſorrow, and wearied with travel, died: which accident *Alexander* ſeemed to bewaile no leſſe than *Darius*. who, upon the firſt report of it, ſuſpected, that ſome diſhonourable violence had been offered to her; but being ſatisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexanders* kind, and Kingly reſpect towards her

Darius his wife died.

her from the very time of her being taken, he prayed the immortall Gods, that if they had decreed to set a new Master over the *Persian* Empire, that then it would please them to confer it on so just and chast an enemy as was *Alexander*, to whom, once more before the last triall by Battel, he offered these conditions of peace.

Propoſals to *Alexander.*

That if he would marry his Daughter, he would deliver, and resigne up to him all *Asia* the lesse, with *Egypt*, and all those Kingdoms between the *Phœnician* Sea and the River *Euphrates*. That he would pay him for the Ransom of his Mother, and other Daughters, thirty thousand Talents, and that for performance thereof he would leave his Son *Ochus* in Hostage; and they sought by sundry Arguments to perswade *Alexander* to accept hereof. *Alexander* causing the Ambassadors to withdraw, advised with his Councel, yet heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, who was the very right hand of his good Fortune, and he perswaded him to accept of such fair conditions: He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* and the *Hellespont*, was a large addition to *Macedonia*: That the retaining of those *Persian* prisoners was a great cumber to him; and that the Treasure offered for them was of far better use than their persons, with divers other Arguments, yet *Alexander*, rejected all; though it was very probable, that if he had followed his advice, and set bounds to his ambition within those limits, he might have been as famous for his virtue, as he was for his great successes, and might have left a successor of fit age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterwards, indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himself, who to assure themselves of what they had usurped, left not one of his issue alive within a few years after. Besides, *Alexander* by going so far into the East, left behind him the reputation which he brought with him out of *Macedonia*, of a just and prudent Prince: A Prince temperate, advised, and gratefull; and learned by aboundance of prosperity, to be a lover

a lover of wine, of Flatterers, and of extream cruelty.

But the *Persian* Ambassadors waited for their answer, which was to this effect: that what curtesies soever he had bestowed upon the Wife, and Children of *Darius*, proceded from his own naturall clemency, and magnanimity, without all respect to their Master, but thanks to an enemy was improper: That he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him: Not against Women, and Children, but against armed enemies: And also that by the reiterated practices of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money, to debauch his Friends to attempt something against his Person, he had reason to doubt whether the peace offered were really intended, yet could he not (were it true and faithfull) resolve in hast to accept of it, seeing *Darius* had Warred against him, not as a King, with Royal and over forces, but as a Traitor, by secret, and base practices. Besides, the Territories which he offered him were already his own; and if *Darius*, could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, he would then believe that he offered him somthing that was in his power to give: Otherwise he propounded to himself, as a reward of his enterprizes, all those Kingdoms which *Darius* as yet had in his possession; wherein, whether he was abused by his own hopes or no, the Battell which he meant to fight the day following, should determine. And in conclusion, he told them, that he came into *Asia*, to give Kingdoms, and not to reseive them: That the Heavens could not hold two Suns, and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him condition fit for a second person, and an Inferiour.

Alexanders answer.

His ambition.

The Ambassadors being returned with this answer, *Darius* prepares to fight, and sent *Mazaus* to defend a Pass, which yet he never dared so much as to hazzard. *Alexander* consulting with his Captains, *Parmeni*, perswaded

perſwaded him to force the Camp of *Darius* by night, that the multitudes of his enemies might not affright his *Macedonians*, being comparitivly but a few. But *Alexander* replied, that *he ſcorned to ſteal a victory, and reſolved to bring with him Daylight to witneſſe his Valour.* Indeed the ſucceſſe commended *Alexanders* reſolution, though the Counſel given by *Parmenio* was more ſound. Yet when he came to view the multitude of his enemies, he began to ſtagger, and entrenched himſelf upon a Ground of advantage, which fooliſhly the *Perſians* had abandoned. And when as *Darius*, for fear of a *Camizado*, had ſtood with his men in Armour all the day, and forborne all ſleep in the night; *Alexander* on the contrary, gave his men reſt, and ſtore of food, knowing, that Souldiers do better ſtand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink: for hunger within, fights more eagerly than ſteel without.

His Valour.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, were about fourty thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe, which were of the *European* Army: And beſides theſe, he had *Egyptians, Syrians, Judeans*, and *Arabians* which followed him out of thoſe Countries. He uſed but a ſhort ſpeech to his Soldiers to encourage them, neither need he; For one victory begets another, and puts courage into the Conquerours, and taketh away ſpirits from thoſe that have been beaten.

They prepare to fight.

Some make large deſcriptions of this Battel, fought at *Gaugamela*, but in concluſion they tell us but of three hundred of *Alexanders* men that were ſlain, and ſome ſay leſſe; but of the *Perſians* there fell fourty thouſand: But what can we judg of this great encounter, other than (as in the two forme Battels at *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*) that the *Perſians*, upon the firſt charge, ran away, and that the *Macedonians* purſued them. For if that every man whom *Darius* brought into the field, had but caſt a Dart, or a ſtone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the Eaſt at ſo eaſy a rate, as ſix or ſeven hundred in three ſuch notorious Battels.

A Battel.

Certainly

Certainly if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had Armed but fifty or sixty thousand of this great multitude, onely with Spades (for most of his men were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have passed that River so easily, much less the River of *Tygris*. But as a man, whose Empire God was putting a Period to, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escaping by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they were put to the choise, either to die or Conquer, to which Election *Darius* could no way constrain his men, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from their invaders.

Darius beaten,

Darius, after the rout of his Army, fled to *Arbela* that night, better attended in his flight than in the fight, and to them that fled with him, he propounded his purpose of retreating into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, who were greedy of spoil and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with Treasure, than to pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed, than approved.

and flyes.

Soon after the departure of *Darius*, came *Alexander* to *Arbela*, which, with a great mass of Treasure, and many Princely Ornaments, was surrendred to him. For the fear which accompanied *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame, and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten before, should have sent his Treasure into *Media* rather than to have brought it to *Arbela*, so neer the place where he intended to wait the coming of his enemy. If he had been victorious, he might have brought it back at leasure: But being overcome, he knew it impossible to drive Mules and Camels loaden with Gold, from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow which he had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crown from his head, to run

Arbela taken and much Treasure.

away the lighter: *But its easier to reprehend, than to amend what is past.*

Babylon taken. From *Arbela*, *Alexander* marched towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendred to him, himself, his Children, and the City. Also the Captain of the Castle where the Treasure was kept; strewed the streets with Flowers, burnt Frankincense upon the Silver Altars, as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered to him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* also, who were the *Chaldean* Astrologers, followed this Captain to entertain their new King: After these, came the *Babylonian* Horsemen, infinitly rich in attire, but exceeding poor in Warlike furniture. Between these and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* footmen to march. When he entred the Castle he admired the Glory thereof, and the abundance of Treasure which he found therein, amounting to fifty thousand Talents of Silver uncoined. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himself and his whole Army thirty four days, spending that time in Banquetting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercises, which so much softned the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with such delicacies, as the severe Discipline of War, which taught them to endure hunger and thirst, painfull travell, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten than neglected. *Alexander*, as he was rowed upon a Lake neer *Babylon* in his Gally, a sudden tempest arising blew off his Hat, and Crown fastened upon it, into the Lake, whereupon one of the Marriners, leaping into the water, swam, and fetched it to him, and to keep it the drier, he put it upon his own head. *Alexander* rewarded him with a Talent for saving his Crown; but withall, caused his Head to be cut off, for presuming to put his Crown upon it.

Base cruelty.

During his abode here, *Alexander* instituted those Regiments consisting of a thousand Souldiers, appointing

pointing Collonels over them, who thereupon were called *Chiliarks*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains, which were found by certain select Judges, to have deserved best in the late War.

While *Alexander* was yet at *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*. For *Antipater* sent him six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse out of *Macedonia*; and of the *Thracians* three thousand Foot, and as many Horse, and out of *Greece* four thousand, and four hundred Horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened. For those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again to change their soft beds for hard boards, and the cold ground.

Alexander left the City and Castle of *Babylon*, with the Territories adjoyning, in charge with three of his own Captains, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*, leaving a thousand Talents to supply their wants: But to grace *Mazeus*, who delivered up the City to him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant Generall, and took along with him *Bagistines*, who surrended the Castle to him; and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon* and entred into the Province of *Satrapene*, marching from thence towards *Susa* in *Persia*, situated on the River *Euleus*, which City was sometime Governed by the Prophet *Daniel*. Here *Abulites*, the Governour of this famous City, gave it up to the Conquerour, with fifty thousand Talents of Silver in Bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the Treasure of *Darius* there; such as the *Persian* Kings had for a long time, heaped up together, leaving it from Father to Son; all which in one hour came into his hands who had never cared for it. *In this sort did those Vassals of Fortune; those lovers of the Kings prosperity, not of his Person, purchase their own peace, and safety with their Masters Treasure*; and herein was *Alexander* well advised,

Susa taken

that whatſoever titles he gave to the *Perſians*, yet he left all places of importance in truſt with his own Captains, as *Babylon*, *Suſa*, *Perſepolis*, with other Cities, and Provinces that were Conquered by him: for had *Darius* but beaten the *Macedonians* in one Battel, all the *Perſian* Nobility would have turned again to their naturall Lord.

Groſs folly.

Whileſt *Alexander* was ranſacking *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furniſhed *Darius* from *Babylon*; and whileſt he ſtayed thoſe thirty four dayes at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Suſa*: and whileſt he was Feaſting, and Frolicking there; *Teridates* from *Perſepolis* might fully have ſupplied him: for the chiefeſt bulk of his Treaſure was laid up in that City: But *benefits bind not the ambitious but the honeſt; for thoſe that are ſelfiſh, do in all changes, conſult only the conſervation of their own greatneſs.*

The Government of *Suſa*, with the Caſtle and treaſure, *Alexander* committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendred it to him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* before, giving them Honourable Titles, but neither truſt nor power. For he left three thouſand old Souldiers to Garriſon that City, and with them, the Mother, and Children of *Darius* to repoſe themſelves there.

Alexandor beaten.

From *Suſa* *Alexander* marched with his Army towards *Perſepolis*; but when he ſought to paſs thoſe Mountains that ſunder *Suſiana* and *Perſia*, he was ſoundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended thoſe Streights againſt him, called *Pylæ Perſidis*, and after the loſs of many of his *Macedonians*, he was forced to ſave himſelf by retreat, cauſing his Foot to march cloſe together, and to cover themſelves with their Targets from the Stones that were tumbled upon them from the Mountain-tops. Yet in the end, he found out another paſſage, which was diſcovered to him by a *Lycian* that lived in that Country, and thereby, coming ſuddenly upon *Ariobarzanes*, who now was enforced to fight upon even ground,

ground, he overthrew him, who from thence fled to *Perſepolis*: But the Citizens refuſing to admit him, he returned and gave a ſecond charge upon the *Macedonians*, in which he was ſlain.

Barbarous cruelry.

Many *Greeks* (for Authors agree not upon their number) having been taken Priſoners by the *Perſians*, preſented themſelves here to *Alexander*. Theſe had the *Barbarians* ſo maimed, by cuting off their Hands, Eares, Noſes, and other Members, as that they could not have been known to their own Country men, but by there Language. To each of theſe *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new Garments, and ſuch Lands as they liked to live upon.

Perſepolis taken.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his falſhearted Grandees, hearing of *Alexanders* approach to *Perſepolis*, made him know that *Perſepolis* was ready to receive him, and intreated him to double his pace, becauſe there was a determination amongſt the People to Plunder the Kings Treaſury. This City was forſaken by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexanders* arrivall, and they that ſtaid, followed the worſt Counſel. For the City was given up to the Liberty of the Souldiers to ſpoil, and kill at their pleaſure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been lain in the Ballance with *Perſepolis*, would have weighed it down. Indeed, *Babylon*, and *Suſa* were very rich; but in *Perſepolis* lay the bulk, and greateſt ſtore of the riches of *Perſia*. For after the ſpoil that had been made, of money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold, and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himſelf one hundred and twenty thouſand Talents, and as much other Treaſure as twenty thouſand Mules, and ten thouſand Camels could carry away, much whereof had been reſerved there from the dayes of *Cyrus*. Here it was that *Alexander*, ſetting himſelf down upon *Darius* his Throne, it was ſo high that his feet could not reach the ground, whereupon one of his attendants brought him a little Table, and ſet it under his feet. One of

Darius

Darius's Eunuchs ſtanding by, ſighed, and wept grievouſly, which *Alexander* taking notice of, asked him the reaſon of it? the Eunuch anſwered, *I weep to ſee a Table that was ſo highly prized by my Maſter* Darius, *now to be made thy footſtool.* Here he left the ſame number of three thouſand *Macedonians*, in *Perſepolis*, as he had done in *Suſa*, and gave the ſame formall honour to the Traitor *Tiridates*, as he had done to *Abulites*; but he committed the charge of the place to *Nicarides*, a Creature of his own.

A fooliſh enterpriſe.

The Body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, under the care of *Parmenio*, and *Craterus*, and with a thouſand Horſe, and certain choſen Bands of Foot, he would needs view in the winter time, thoſe parts of *Perſia* which now were covered with Snow: A fruitleſs and fooliſh enterpriſe. Some ſpeak it in his praiſe, that when his Souldiers cried out againſt him, becauſe of the extream Froſt and Snow, through which they could not make way but with great difficulty, that *Alexander* forſook his Horſe, and marched on foot before them: *But what can be more ridiculous than for a man to bring other men into extremity, thereby to ſhew how well himſelf can endure it*; Being his walking on foot did no otherwiſe take off their wearineſſe that followed him, than his ſometime forbearing to drink, did quench their thirſt that could leſſe endure it.

Alexander turns Drunkard.

Alexander being returned to *Perſopolis*, thoſe Hiſtorians that were moſt enamored of his virtues, complain, that the opinion of his Valour, of his Liberality, of his Clemency towards the vanquiſhed, and all other his Noble conditions, were drowned in Drink. That he ſmothered in his carouſing cups all the reputation of his former actions, and that by deſcending as it were, from the awfull Throne of the greateſt King, into the company, and familiarity of the baſteſt Harlots, he began to be deſpiſed both of his own, and of all other Nations. For when he was enflamed with Wine, and being perſwaded by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he cauſed the moſt

moſt ſumtuous, and goodly Caſtle and City of *Perſepolis* to be conſumed with fire, notwithſtanding all the Arguments that *Parmenio* could uſe to the contrary, who told him, that it was a diſhonour to deſtroy thoſe things by the perſwaſion of others, which by his proper virtue, and force, he obtained: and that it would be a certain evidence to the *Aſiaticks*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alienate their hearts from him. For they might well believe, that he which demoliſhed the goodlieſt Ornaments they had, meant nothing leſſe, than after ſuch vaſtations, to hold the poſſeſſion of them. *Perſepolis* burnt.

About this time *Alexander* received another ſupply of Souldiers out of *Cilica*, and advanced to find out *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there formed his fourth, and laſt Army, which he meant to have encreaſed in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* comming on, with whom (truſting to his preſent numbers, which yet were but thirty or fourty thouſand) he intended once again to try what he might doe againſt him. He therefore called together his Captains, and Commanders, and propounded his reſolution to them, who deſparing of good ſucceſſe, ſtood for a while ſilent: But at laſt *Artabazus* one of his eldeſt men of War, who had ſometime lived with King *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, brake the ſilence, proteſting that he could never be beaten by any adverſity of the Kings, from the faith that he had ever ought him, with firm confidence that all the reſt were of the ſame mind, whereof they likewiſe aſſured *Darius*, by the like proteſtation, and ſo they approved of the Kings reſolution. Two onely, and they the greateſt, to wit, *Naburzanes*, and *Beſſus*, who was Governor of *Bactria*, had conſpired againſt their Maſter, and therefore adviſed the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and to purſue it for the preſent by ſome ſuch perſon againſt whom neither the Gods, nor Fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an enemy. *Darius* his laſt Army. The Treaſon of *Beſſus*.

This

This preamble *Naburzanes* uſed, and in concluſion adviſed the Election of his fellow Traitor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that when the War ſhould be ended, the Empire ſhould be again reſtored to *Darius*. The King, ſwolne with diſdain, preſſed towards *Naburzanes* to have ſlain him; but *Beſſus*, and the *Bactrians*, whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with held him. Hereupon *Naburzanes* withdrew himſelf and *Beſſus* followed him, making their Quarters apart from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the the Kings faithfull ſervant, perſwaded him to be adviſed, and to comply for the time, the rather becauſe *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leſt make ſhew of forgeting the offence: which the King (being of a gentle diſpoſition) eaſily yeilded to. Then came *Beſſus* to the King and made his ſubmiſſion: But *Patron*, who commanded a Brigade of four thouſand *Greeks*, which had in all the former Battels ſerved *Darius* faithfully, and had alwayes made their retreat in deſpit of the *Macedonians*, offered himſelf to *Darius* to guard his Perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*. (*But God had otherwiſe determined of the Empire, and therefore ſo far was the King infatuated, that he ever rejected their Counſel from the begining of the War, who were moſt faithfull to him.*) And now hearkened to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander* and practiced the diviſion of his faithfull ſervants: Yet, even this while, *Beſſus* had corrupted, and drawn to himſelf thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things by which, the lovers of the world and themſelves, are wont to be allured, to wit, Riches, honour, and Safety.

The fidelity of the *Greeks*.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with paſſion, as judging himſelf unable to make head againſt theſe ungrateſull and unnatural Traitors, he prayed *Artabazus*, his faithfull ſervant, to depart from him, and to provide for his own ſafty. In like mannor he diſcharged

Darius diſcharges his Attendants.

diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his Eunuchs. For his Gaurds had voluntarily abandoned him. His *Perſians*, being moſt baſe cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the *Bactrians*, though they had four thouſand *Greeks* to aſſiſt them, who of themſelves were able to beat both the Parties. But its moſt true, *That him that forſakes himſelf, will no man follow.* It had been far more manlike, and King-like to have died in the head of thoſe four thouſand *Greeks*, who offered him the diſpoſall of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* alſo perſwaded him) than to have lain upon the ground bewailing himſelf, and ſuffering himſelf to be bound like a ſlave, by thoſe ambitious Monſters that laid violent hands on him; whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the Honour he had conferred upon them, nor the truſt he had repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits he had beſtowed on them, could move to pitty: No, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have prevailed with them, could pierce their viperous, and ingrateſull hearts.

Darius made a Priſoner and abuſed.

Darius, thus forſaken, was bound by them, and laid in a Cart covered with Hides of Beaſts, that he might not be diſcovered; and to adde deſpite, and deriſion to his adverſity, they bound him with Chaines of Gold, and ſo drew him amongſt their ordinary Carriages. For *Beſſus*, and *Naburzanes* perſwaded themſelves that they might redeem their lives, and be ſetled in their Provinces that they held, either by delivering him a Priſoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themſelves Kings by his murther, and then to defend themſelves by force of Armes. But their expectations were fruſtrate in both. For it was againſt the Nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to ſuffer ſuch villany to go unpuniſhed, yea, though againſt an Heathen King, and an Idolator.

Gods Juſtice.

Alexander hearing that *Darius* was retreated towards *Bactria*, not daring to abide his coming, haſtned after him by a violent march, and becauſe he would not

Alexander purſues him.

force his Footmen beyond their ſtrength, he mounted on Horſeback certain ſelect Companies of them, and thoſe which were beſt Armed, and with ſix thouſand other Horſe, he rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Now ſuch as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, ſecretly forſook him, and gave intelligence to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how neer he was unto him. Hereupon *Alaxander* again doubled his pace, and his Vantguard being come within ſight of *Beſſus* his Reare, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelf by flight. But the unfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betraied him, they caſt Darts at him, and gave him ſome mortall wounds: they wounded alſo the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor ſervants that attended his Perſon. This done, they all fled that could, and left the reſt to the mercy of the *Macedonians*.

Darius is wounded.

Polyſtratus, a *Macedonian*, in his purſuit after *Beſſus*, being extream thirſty, as he was refreſhing himſelf, with ſome water that he had found out, eſpied a Cart drawn by wounded Beaſts, that were now ſcarce able to go, whereupon he ſearched it, and there found *Darius* bathed in his own blood: and by a *Perſian* Captain that *Polyſtratus* had, he underſtood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of that Barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* alſo ſeemed greatly comforted (if dying men, ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he vented not his laſt ſorrowes unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might be informed of the truth, and take vengeance on thoſe Traitors, who had dealt no leſſe unworthily, than cruelly with him, recommending the revenge thereof to *Alexander* by this meſſenger, beſeeching him to purſue the Traitors, not for *Darius* his ſake, but for his own Honour, and for the ſafety of all that did, or ſhould hereafter weare Crowns. He alſo having nothing elſe to preſent

His laſt words.

to

to *Alexander*, rendred him thanks for his Kingly Grace, and favour used to his Wife Mother and Children, desiring the immortall Gods to subject to him the Kingdom of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, importunate Death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired a little water, which *Polystratus* presented unto him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the good things which of late he was Master of, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the Gods to reward his compassion.

The *Macedonians* began now to hope that their travels were neer an end: and therefore every man was preparing for his return, whereof when *Alexander* was informed, he was much troubled at it. For the bounded Earth suffized not for his boundlesse ambition. Many Arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East: But that which prevailed most was, that *Bessus*, a base Traitor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians*, and *Bactrians*, would in a short time, if the *Macedonians* should now returne, make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and reap the fruit of all their former travels. In conclusion, *Alexander* wan their consents to go on: Which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of Foot, and *Amyntas* with six thousand Horse, in *Parthia*, he entred (not without some opposition) into *Hyrcania*. For the *Mardons*, and other Barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. But at last prevailing, he passed the River of *Zioberis*, which, taking its rise in *Parthia*, empties it self into the *Caspian* Sea. It runneth under the ledg of Mountains which bound *Parthia*, and *Hyrcania*, where, hiding it self under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and follows its former course as is said before. In *Zadracarta* the Metropolis of *Hyrcania*, *Alexander* rested fifteen dayes, Banquetting, and Feasting therein.

Alexanders Ambition.

He goes into *Hyrcania*.

About this time *Phataphernes*, one of *Darius* his great-

Diverse submit to him.

eſt Commanders, with ſome others of his followers ſubmitted themſelves to *Alexander*, and were reſtored to to their places, and Government. But above all other, he Graced *Artabazus* moſt highly, for his approved and conſtant Faith and Loyalty to his Maſter *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought along with him ten thouſand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all thoſe that had ſerved *Darius*. He treated with *Alexander* for their pardon before they came; but in the end, they rendred themſelves ſimply without promiſe or compoſition: *Alexander* pardoned all but the *Lacedemonians*, whom he impriſoned, their Captain having ſlain himſelf: He was alſo prevailed with (though to his great diſhonour) to pardon *Nabarzanes*, that had joyned with *Beſſus* in the murther of *Darius*.

Queen of the *Amazons* comes to him.

Heere (as ſome write) *Thaleſtris*, Queen of the *Amazons* came to viſit him, and her ſuit was (which ſhe eaſily obtained) that ſhe might accompany him, till ſhe proved with child by him: which done ſhe refuſed to go along with him into *India*, but returned into her own Country.

He affects a Deity.

Now as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Perſepolis*: So at this time Proſperity had ſo much corrupted his virtue, that he accounted clemency to be but baſeneſſe, and the temperance, which all his life before he had uſed, to be but a poor, and abject humour, rather becoming the inſtructers of his youth, than the condition, and ſtate of ſo mighty a King, as the World could not equal. For he perſwaded himſelf that he now repreſented the greatneſs of the Gods; and he was pleaſed when thoſe that came before him, would fall on the ground and adore him. He wore the Garments, and Robes of the *Perſians*, and commanded his Nobles to do the like. He entertained into his Court, and Camp, the ſame ſhameleſſe Rabble of *Curtius*, and *Catamite*, as *Darius* had done, whom he imitated in all the proud, voluptuous, and deteſted manners of the *Perſians*, whom he had vanquiſhed, and became a more foul and fearfull monſter

than

than *Darius*, from whose Tyranny, he vaunted, to have delivered so many Nations; Insomuch as they that were neerest and deerest to him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, or the like scornfull discourse. That *Alexander* of *Macedonia* was become one of *Darius* licentious Courtiers: That by his Example, the *Macedonians*, after so many, and tedious travels, were more impoverished in their virtues, than enriched by their victories, and that it was hard now to judge, whether the Conqueres, or Conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these things so whispered in corners, but that they came to *Alexanders* ears: He therefore with great Gifts sought to stop the mouthes of the better sort, and of such of whose Judgments he was most jealous.

For which he is scorned of his Friends.

Then did he make it known to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King; and called himself *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians* and other Nations, whereby he perswaded them to go on, to the end that all which they had already gotten, together with themselves (so far engaged) might not be cast away, and lost. And because they were pestered with the plunder of so many rich Cities, that the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages, he commanded that every mans Fardel should be brought into the Market place, which when it was done, he, together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. This, in probability, might have proved very dangerous unto him: For the Common Souldiers had more intereſt in that which they had purchased with their painfull travel, and with their blood, than in the Kings Ambition; had not his happy temerity overcome all difficulties.

He burns all the Spoils.

As he was upon his march, news was brought that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had established in his former Government over the *Arians*, was revolted; Whereupon, leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought the Traytour out: But the Rebel hearing of his coming, fled with two

Rebellion against him.

two thouſand Horſe to *Beſſus:* Then marched *Alexander* on againſt *Beſſus*, and by ſetting a great Pile of Wood on fire, with the advantage of a ſtrong winde, he won a paſſage over an high, and unacceſſible Rock, which was defended againſt him by thirty thouſand Foot, the extremity of the fire, and ſmoak, forcing them to quit the place, which otherwiſe had been invincible: After which, he found no reſiſtance till he came into *Aria*, on the Eaſt of *Bactria*, where ỹ chief City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*; but in the end, he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was recruited with a new ſupply of five thouſand, and five hundred Foot, and neer five hundred Horſe out of *Greece*, *Theſſaly*, and other places.

Treaſon againſt him.

At this time it was that the Treaſon of *Dimnus* was diſcovered, of which *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*, was accuſed, at leaſt as acceſſary if not principall. This *Dimnus*, with ſome others, having conſpired againſt the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the conſpiracy; The youth, although he was firſt bound by Oath to ſecrecy, when he heard ſo foul a matter uttered, began to proteſt againſt it ſo vehemently, that his Friend was like to have ſlain him, to ſecure his own life; and ſo, conſtrained by fear, he made ſhew as if he had been won by perſwaſion, and by ſeeming at length, to like well of the buſineſs, he was told more at large who they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whoſe Names *Dimnus* (the better to countenance the enterprize) reckoned up to him. *Nicomachus* had no ſooner freed himſelf from the company of this Traytour *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother, *Ceballinus*, with the whole deſign, whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might do it with the leaſt ſuſpition) ſhould go to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus* meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole buſineſs, requeſting him to acquaint the

the King with it, which he promiſed to do, but yet did not.

Two days paſſed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but ſtill excuſed himſelf to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leaſure. This his coldneſs bred ſuſpition, and cauſed *Ceballinus* to apply himſelf to one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forthwith brought him to *Alexanders* preſence. *Alexander* finding by examination what had paſſed between *Ceballinus*, and *Philotas*, fully perſwaded himſelf that this concealment of the Treaſon argued *Philotas* to have a hand in it; when *Dimnus* therefore was brought before him, he asked him onely this Queſtion; *Wherein have I ſo offended thee, that thou ſhouldſt think* Philotas *more worthy to be King than my ſelf? Dimnus*, when he was firſt apprehended, perceiving how the matter was like to go, had ſo wounded himſelf, that he lived no longer than to give his laſt groan in the Kings preſence.

Its diſcovered to *Alexander*

Then was *Philotas* ſent for, and charged with the ſuſpition which his ſilence might juſtly breed. His anſwer was, that when the Treaſon was revealed to him by *Nicomachus*, he judged it to be but frivolous, and therefore forbore to acquaint *Alexander* with it, till he could procure better information. This errour of his (if it were but an Errour) though *Alexander*, for the notable ſervices done by his Father *Parmenio*, and his Brother *Nicanor*, lately dead, and by *Philotas* himſelf, had freely pardoned him, and given him his hand for aſſurance: Yet, by the inſtigation of *Craterus*, he falſified his Princely promiſe, and made the Enemies of *Philotas* his Judges. *Craterus* indeed perſwaded himſelf, that he could never find a better occaſion to oppreſs his private enemy, than by pretending Piety, and Duty to his Prince. Whence a Poet ſaith,

Philotas accuſed.

See how theſe Great men clothe their private hate,
In theſe fair colours of the Publick good;

And

And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And Arm'd with Power, and Princes Jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of Treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent.
Yea, Valour, Honour, Bounty shall be made
As accessaries unto ends unjust:
And even the service of the State must lade
The needfull'st undertaking with distrust,
So that base vileness, idle Luxury
Seem safer far than to do worthily.

Alexanders dissimulation,

Now the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to the Torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night, *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him; he cried out upon the King in these words: *O* Alexander, *the malice of mine enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the Word of a King.* Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself; and this was not the least (not the least offence indeed against the Kings humour, who desired to be adored as a God) that when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*, he answered, *That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into the Sacred fellowship of the Gods, and yet he could not but withall grieve for those which should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man.* This, said *Alexander*, assured me that his heart was estranged, and that he despised my Glory.

Philotas accused by the King.

Philotas was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him. He was brought forth in vile Garments, and bound like a Thief, where he heard himself,

ſelf, and his abſent Father, the greateſt Captain in the World, accuſed, and alſo his two other Brothers, *Hector*, and *Nicanor*, who had loſt their lives in theſe Wars; wherewith he was ſo overcome with grief, that, for a while, he could utter nothing for tears, and ſorrow had ſo waſted his Spirits, that he ſank between thoſe that led him. In the end, the King asked him in what Language he would make his defence? He anſwered, *In the ſame wherein it had pleaſed the King to accuſe him:* which accordingly he did, to the end that the *Perſians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might underſtand him. But hereof the King made this advantage, perſwading the Aſſembly that he diſdained the language of his own Country, and ſo, withdrawing himſelf, he left him to his mercileſs enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, ſeeing the King, who had ſo ſharply invieghed againſt him, would not vouchſafe to hear his anſwer. For hereby his enemies were emboldned againſt him, and all the reſt, having diſcovered the Kings mind, and reſolution, contended amongſt themſelves, which of them ſhould ſhew the greateſt hatred towards him. Amongſt many Arguments which he brought for his own defence, this was not the leaſt, that when *Nicomachus* deſired to know of *Dimnus*, of what quality, and power his partners in the conſpiracy were, ſeeming unwilling to adventure himſelf amongſt mean, and baſe Companions, *Dimnus* named unto him, *Demetrius*, of the Kings Bed-Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and ſome others, but ſpake not a word of *Philotas*, who, being Maſter of the Horſe, would greatly have graced the cauſe, and encouraged *Nichomachus*. And to make it more cleer that he knew nothing of their intents, there was not any one of the Conſpirators, that in their torments, would accuſe him. Yet at the laſt, himſelf being put to extream torments by the deviſe of his profeſſed enemies, *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Epheſtion*, and others, *Philotas* accuſed himſelf, hoping that they would have ſlain him immediatly: But he failed

Philotus condemned, and tortured to death.

even in that miſerable hope, and ſuffering all that could be inflicted on fleſh and blood, he was forced to confeſs, not what was true, but what might beſt pleaſe them, who were far more mercileſs than Death it ſelf. *Cruelty is not a humane vice: It is unworthy of man: Its even a beaſtly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and caſting away the nature of man, to become a ſavage Monſter.*

Alexanders cruelty.

Now whilſt *Alexanders* hands were yet died in blood, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, Son in Law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in Priſon, ſhould be ſlain. The ſame diſpatch had all thoſe that were accuſed by *Nicomachus*. But *Parmenio* was yet living. *Parmenio*, who had ſerved with great fidelity, as well *Philip* the Kings Father, as himſelf. *Parmenio* that firſt opened *Alexanders* way into *Aſia*: That had caſt down *Attalus*, the Kings enemy: That had always, and in all hazards the leading of the Kings Vaunt-gard: That was no leſs Prudent in Counſell, then ſucceſſull in all his enterpriſes. A man, beloved of the men of War, and to ſay the truth, he that had purchaſed for the King the Empire of the Eaſt, and of all the Glory and fame which he had attained to. That he might not therefore revenge the Death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have ſtained his fidelity in his old age, having now lived ſeventy years) yet upon thoſe, who by baſe Flattery had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Kings affection, It was reſolved that he ſhould die alſo: and *Polydamus* was imployed in this buſineſs, a man whom of all others *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loved beſt. Who (to be ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander*, and other Murtheres with him, ſlew him as he was walking in his Garden, and reading the Kings letters. This was the end of *Parmenio* (ſaith *Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the King; but the King without him did never effect any thing worthy of Praiſe.

Parmenio murthered.

Alexander marches forward.

Theſe things being ended, *Alexander* marched on with his Army, and ſubdued the *Araſpitans*, and made *Amenides*

des (ſometime Secretary to *Darius*) their Governour. Then he Conquered the *Arachoſians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army (that was ſometime led by *Parmenio*) found him, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, with whom (though with much difficulty) he paſſed through ſome cold Regions. At length he came to the foot of ŷ Mountain *Taurus*, towards the Eaſt, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own Name, and peopled it with ſeven thouſand of his old *Macedonians*, worn out with age, and the travels of War. The *Arians*, who ſince he left them were revolted, he again ſubdued, by the induſtry, and valour of *Caranus*, and *Erigius*: and now he reſolved to find out the new King *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, who hearing of his coming, prepared to paſs over the great River of *Oxus*, which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*. *Beſſus* having now abandoned *Bactria*, *Alexander* made *Artabazus* Governour of it, and himſelf marching forward with his Army, they ſuffered great want of water, inſomuch as when they came to the River *Oxus*, there died more of them by immoderate drinking, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one Battel againſt the *Perſians*. He found upon the Banks of this great River no manner of Timber, or other materials wherewith to make Bridges, or Boats, or Rafts, but was forced to ſew together Hides that covered his Carriages, and ſtuffing them with ſtraw, he was ſix days in paſſing over his Army after that manner, which *Beſſus* might eaſily have diſtreſſed, if he had dared but to look the *Macedonians* in the face. He had formerly complained of *Darius* for neglecting to defend the Banks of *Tygris*, and other Paſſes, and yet now, when this Traiterous ſlave had ſtiled himſelf a King, he durſt not perform any thing worthy of a ſlave: and therefore they that were neereſt ro him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others, the Commanders of his Army, moved, both by the care of their own ſafety, and the remembrance of *Beſſus* his Treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him as he had done his Maſter, only

Builds a City.

Wants water.

Beſſus taken.

only his chain was closed about his neck, like a Mastiff Dog, and so they dragged him a long to present him to *Alexander*.

Alexanders cruelty.

In the mean time *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited by *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*, whose children had now almost forgoten their Country Language. These entertained him with great joy: but he most cruelly put them all to the Sword, and destroyed their City. At this Place he received *Bessus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes*, and his Associates, he delivered the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatre*, Brother to *Darius*, to be tormented by him.

Bessus slain.

He is wounded.

But now when he thought himself most secure, and out of danger, some twenty thousand Mountainers assaulted his Camp, in repelling whom, he received a shot in his legg, the Arrow head sticking in the flesh, so that he was faign to be carried in a Horslitter for some time after.

Shortly after he came unto *Maracanda*, judged by some to be the same with *Samarcand*, the Imperiall City of the Great *Tamerlan*, which was in compasse seventy furlongs. Heere he received the Ambassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to serve him

He is wounded. again.

Presently after, the *Bactrians*, with the *Sogdians*, were again stirred up to Rebellion by the seme *Spitamenes*, and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered *Bessus* into *Alexanders* hands. Many Cities were stoutly defended against him, all which, after he had subdued them, he utterly defaced, killing all therein. At the Siege of one of these he received a blow in the neck, which struck him to the ground, and disabled him from action many dayes after: In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Samarcand*, against whom he sent *Menedemus*, with three thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horsmen.

In the heat of these affairs, *Alexander* marched to the River

River *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana*, and *Scythia*, which he paſted over while *Menedemus* was imployed in the recovery of *Samarcand*. Upon the Banks of this River he built an other *Alexandria*, ſixty furlongs in compaſſe, which he beautified with Houſes ſeventeen dayes after the walls were built: But the *Scythian* King, perſwading himſelf that this City was built on purpoſe to keep him under, made ſome attempts to hinder the erection of this new City; but being naked of defenſive Armes, he was eaſily beaten away, Sixty of the *Macedonians* are ſaid to be ſlain in this conflict, and eleven hundred wounded, which might eaſily be done in paſſing a great River defended againſt them by good Archers. Of the *Scythian* Horſes eighteen hundred were brought into the Camp, and many Priſoners.

He builds a City.

Whileſt *Alexander* was ſecuring himſelf againſt thoſe *Scythians*, bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill newes that *Menedemus* was ſlain by *Spitamenes*, his Army broken, and moſt of them killed, to wit, two thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. He therefore intending revenge upon *Spitamenes*, made all the haſt he could, but *Spitamenes* fled into *Bactria*. Whereupon *Alexander* killed, burned, and laid waſt all before him, not ſparing the innocent Children, and ſo departed, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

Menedemus ſlain.

To repaire this loſſe, he received a great ſupply of nineteen thouſand men out of *Greece*, *Licia*, and *Syria*, with all which, and his old Army, he returned towards the South, and paſſed the River of *Oxus*, on the South-ſide whereof he built ſix Townes, neer each to other for their mutuall ſecurity. But he found a new up-ſtart Rebel, one *Arimazes* (a *Sogdian*) who was followed by thirty thouſand Souldiers, that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of an high and ſteep Hill. *Alexander* ſought (but in vain) to winne him with fair words: wherefore he made choiſe of three hundred young men, and promiſed ten Tallents to the firſt

A Rebellion.

first, nine to the second, and so proportionably to the rest, that could find a way to creep to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of thirty two of their number, and then made a signe to *Alexander*, that they had accomplished his Commandment. Hereupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeild up the place, who, being shewed by *Cophes*, that the *Macedonians* were already gotten up, he yeilded simply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was, with all his kindred, scourged, and Crucified: which punishment they well deserved for keeping no better a watch in so dangerous a time. For the place might have been defended against any power.

Clytus slain.

After these *Sogdian*, and *Scythian* Wars, *Alexander* committed the Government of *Samarcand*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus* whom yet he slew soon after, for preferring the virtue of *Philip* the Father, before that of *Alexander* the Son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for therein he touched him to the quick; his Speech being in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hand as any man living, having saved his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himself, and when it was too late to repent. As *Clytus* in his Cups, forgat whom he offended, So *Alexander* in his drunkennesse forgat whom he slew, for griefe whereof, he afterward tore his Face, and sorrowed so inordinately, that had he not been overperswaded by *Calisthenes*, he would have slain himself.

The effect of drunkennesse.

Drunkennesse both kindles, and discovers every vice: It removes shame which gives impediment to bad attempts. Where Wine gets the mastery, all the evill, which before lay hidden, breaks out. Drunkennesse indeed rather discovers vices than makes them.

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murthered by his own Wife, and his Head was presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being thus taken away, the *Dahans* also seized

zed upon his fellow conſpirator, *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up: So that *Alexander* being now freed from all theſe petty Rebels, and diſpoſed of the Provinces that he had quieted, marched on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it ſuffered ſo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and ſuch ſtorms, that in one of them he loſt a thouſand men. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and deſtroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territories of *Cohortanes*, who ſubmitted himſelf to him, and preſented him with thirty beautifull Virgins, amongſt whom, *Roxane*, afterwards his Wife, was one; which, although all the *Macedonians* ſtomached, yet none of them durſt uſe any freedom of ſpeech after the death of *Clytus*. From hence he directed his courſe towards *India*, having ſo encreaſed his numbers, as amounted to one hundred and twenty Thouſand Armed men.

Dreadfull ſtormes.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a God, whereunto, that he might allure his *Macedonians*, he implyed two of his paraſites, *Hagis*, and *Cleo*, whom *Caliſthenes* oppoſed. For amongſt many other honeſt Arguments which he uſed in the Aſſembly, he told *Cleo*, that he thought that *Alexander* would diſdaine the title of a God from his Vaſſels: That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did ſometimes follow the Death of thoſe, who in their Life-time had done the greateſt things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world: He ſaid, that neither *Hercules*, nor *Bacchus*, were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a Carouſing Feaſt) but for the more than manly acts preformed by them in their Life-time, for which they were in ſucceeding Ages numbred amongſt the Gods. *Alexander* ſtood behind a partitian, and heard all that was ſpoken, waiting but for an opportunity to be revenged on *Caliſthenes*, who being free of ſpeech, honeſt, Learned, and a lover of the Kings Honour, was yet ſhortly after tormented to Death. For upon occaſion of a conſpiracy

His Ambition. *Caliſtheres* ſpeaks againſt it.

And is tormented to Death.

ſpiracy made againſt the King, by on *Hermolaus*, and others, who confeſſed it, he cauſed *Caliſthenes*, without confeſſion, accuſation, or tryall, to be torne aſunder upon the Rack.

This deed, unworthy of a King, is thus cenſured by *Seneca*. *This* (ſaith he) *is the eternal crime of* Alexander, *which no virtue, or felicity of his in War ſhall ever be able to blot out. For as often as any man ſhall ſay, He ſlew many thouſands of* Perſians, *it will be replyed, He did ſo, and he ſlew* Caliſthenes *too. When it ſhall be ſaid, that he wan all as far as to the very Ocean, whereon alſo he adventured with unuſuall Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of* Thrace, *to the utmoſt bounds of the Eaſt; it ſhall be ſaid withall; But he killed* Caliſthenes. *Let him have outgone all the antient Examples of Captains, and Kings, none of all his Acts make ſo much to his Glory as the Death of* Caliſthenes *to his reproach.*

He marches into *India*.

With the Army before mentioned, of one hundred twenty thouſand Foot and Horſe, *Alexander* entred into the Borders of *India* where ſuch of the Princes as ſubmitted themſelves to him, he entertained lovingly, the others he enforced, killing man, woman, and child, where they reſiſted. He then came before *Niſa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few dayes was rendred to him.

His Feaſts to *Bacchus*.

From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits, and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made Feaſts for ten dayes together.

He conquers many Countries.

And when he had drank his fill, went on to *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries ſpoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reaſon whereof, victuals failing, he divided his Army. *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* an other, and himſelf the reſt. Theſe took in many Towns, whereof that of greateſt fame was *Muzage*, which had in it three hundred thouſand men, but after ſome reſiſtance, it was yeilded to him by *Cleophe* the Queen, to whom he again reſtored it. At the Siege of this City he received a wound in the legg.

After

After this *Nola* was taken by *Poliſperchon*; and a Rock of Great ſtrength by *Alexander* himſelf: He wan alſo a paſſage from one *Eryx*, who was ſlain by his own men and his Head preſented to *Alexander*: This was the ſumme of his Actions in thoſe parts, before he came to the great River *Indus*. And when he came thither, he found there *Epheſtion*, who (being ſent before) had prepared Boats for the tranſportation of his Army, and before *Alexanders* arrivall, had prevailed with *Omphis*, King of that part of the Country, to ſubmit himſelf to this great Conqueror. And hereupon ſoon after *Alexanders* coming, *Omphis* preſented himſelf, with all the ſtrength of his Country, and fifty ſix Elephants, unto him; offering him his ſervice, and aſſiſtance: He told *Alexander* alſo that he was an enemy to the two next great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiaſares*, and *Porus*, where with *Alexander* was not a little pleaſed, hoping by this their diſunion, to make his own victory by far the more eaſy.

This *Omphis* alſo preſented *Alexander* with a Crown of Gold, the like did the reſt of his Commanders, and with all, he gave him eight Talents of Silver coined, which *Alexander* not only refuſed, but to ſhew that he coveted Glory, not Gold, he gave *Omphis* a thouſand Talents of his own Treaſure, beſides other *Perſian* rarities. His Prodigallity.

Abiaſares being informed that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, he reſolved to make his own Peace alſo. For, knowing that his own ſtrength did but equall that of *Omphis*, he thought it but an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already ſubdued all the greateſt Princes of *Aſia*, ſhould make himſelf a party, and head of the quarrell. So then now *Alexander* had none to ſtand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he ſent a command, that he ſhould attend him at the Borders of his Kingdom, there to do him Homage: But the gallant *Porus* returned him this manly anſwer: *That he would ſatisfie him in the firſt* He ſends to *Porus*.

demand, which was, to attend him on his Borders, and that well accompanied, but for any other acknowledgment, he was resolved to take counsel of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolved to passe over the River of *Hydaspes*, and to find out *Porus* at his own home: But *Porus* saved him that labour, attending him on the farther bank, with thirty thousand Foot, ninety Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great Troop of Horse. The River was half a mile broad, and withall, deep and swift, It had in it many Islands, amongst which there was one much overgrown with Wood, and of good capacity.

Alexander sent *Ptolomy*, with a good part of the Army up the River, shrowding the rest from the sight of *Porus* under this Island, by this devise, *Porus* being drawn from the place of his first encamping, set himself down opposite to *Ptolomy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Alexander* was there, intending to force their passage: But in the mean while *Alexander* with his men, recovered the farther shore without resistance, and ordering his Troops, he advanced towards *Porus*, who at first imagined them to be *Abiasares* his confederate, come over *Hydaspis* to assist him: But finding it to be otherwise, he sent his Brother *Hagis*, with four thousand Horse, and a hundred armed Chariots to entertain him. Each Chariot had in it four to fight, and two to guid it: But they were at this time of little use, by reason that much raine having falne, the Fields were so foul that the Horses could hardly trot.

A Battel.

In this fight the *Scythians*, and *Dahans* had *Alexanders* vantgard, who so galled the *Indians*, with their Darts and Arrows, that the Horses brake their reines, and overturned the Chariots, and those that were in them. *Perdiccas* also charged the *Indian* Horsemen, who were by him forced to recoil. Then did *Porus* moove forward with the Gross of his Army, that his Vantgard, who were scattered, might retreat into his Reare. *Alex-*

ander

ander being followed by *Epheſtion*, *Ptolomy*, and *Perdiccas*, charged the *Indian* Horſmen in the left wing, commanding *Cenon* to ſet upon the right. He directed alſo *Antigonus*, and *Leonatus* to charge *Porus* his Battel of Foot, ſtrengthned with Elephants, *Porus* himſelf riding upon one of the biggeſt of them. By theſe Beaſts the *Macedonian* Foot received the greateſt damage; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long, and ſtrong Pikes of the *Macedonians*, ſo galled them, that the Elephants being inraged, turned head, and ran over their own Footmen that followed them. In the end, after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapons, and the skill and courage of the *Macedonian* Captains, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who alſo far exceeded *Porus* in number of men. For beſides the *Macedonians*, and other Eaſtern, and Northen Nations, *Alexander* was aſſiſted by *Porus* his Confederates, and Country people: Yet for his own Perſon, he never gave ground, otherwiſe than with his Sword towards his enemies, till being weakned by many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a Priſoner to the Conqueror, from whom again he received his Kingdom, with a great enlargement,

Porus beaten.

He is reſtored to his Kingdom.

I forbear to mention other petty victories which *Alexander* obtained after this, in his ſailing down the River of *Indus*. The diſcription of places about the Head, and branches thereof, are better known to us by reaſon of our late Navigations, and diſcoveries, than they were in former times. The magnificence and Rights of thoſe *Indian* Kings we could in no ſort be perſwaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there are many ſtranger things in the world than we ſee in our own Country.

Alexander having by this time overwearied his Army, he diſcovered the reſt of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had ſubdued, informed him, that a King called *Aggrames*, ruled over many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, who was able to bring

into the Field two hundred thouſand Foot, twenty thouſand Horſe, three thouſand Elephants, and two thouſand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* was more enflamed than ever, to proceed in his Diſcoveries and Conqueſts, yet all his Oratory could not prevaile with his Souldiers to adventure over thoſe waſt Deſarts beyond *Indus*, and *Ganges*, which were more terrible to them, than the greateſt Army that the Eaſt could gather. Yet at laſt they were overcome by many perſwaſions to follow him towards the South, to diſcover ſuch parts of the Ocean, as were neerer at hand, unto which the River *Indus* was their infallible guid.

His Policy.

Alexander ſeeing it would be no otherwiſe, deviſed a pretty trick by which he hoped to beguil after-ages, and make himſelf ſeem greater than he was. For which end he enlarged his Camp, made greater Trenches, greater Cabins for Souldiers, greater Hors-ſtalls, and higher Mangers than Horſes could feed in. Yea, he cauſed all furniture both for Men, and Horſes, to be made larger than would ſerve for uſe, and ſcattered theſe Armors and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by thoſe Barbarous People. Proportionable unto theſe he raiſed up twelve great Altars to be Monuments of his journeyes end.

He builds two Cities.

This done, he returned again to the banks of *Aſeſines*, and there determined to build his Fleet, where *Auſines*, and *Hydaſpes* meet; and to teſtifie by a ſurer Monument, how far he had paſſed towards the Eaſt, he built by thoſe Rivers, two Cities: the one he called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horſe *Bucephalus*. Heere again he received a new ſupply of ſix thouſand *Thracian* Horſemen, ſeven thouſand Foot, and from his Leiutenant of *Babylon*, twenty five thouſand Armours, garniſhed with Silver, and Gold, which he diſtributed amongſt his Souldiers.

About

About these Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted. Its said, that besieging a City of the *Oxidracans*, he leaped from the top of the wall into it, and fought long against all the Inhabitants, till his Souldiers, forcing a Gate, came in to his rescue. Finally he passed down the River with his Fleet, at which time news was brought him of a Rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrivall of a hundred Ambassadors from a King in *India*, who submitted himself to him. These Ambassadors he Feasted upon a hundred Beds of Gold, with all the sumptuousness that could be devised, who soon after their dispatch, returned again, and presented him with three hundred Horses, and one hundred and thirty Wagons, and in each of them four Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich. His Conquests.

Then sailed *Alexander* towards the South, passing through many obscure Nations, which all yielded to him, either quietly, or by force: Amongst these, he built another *Alexandria*. Of the many places which he took in his passage, one was called *Samus*, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which, *Ptolomy* (afterwards King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and was cured by an Herb which *Alexander* dreamed he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent. He builds a City.

When he came neer to the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the Tides of the Sea) his Gallies on a sudden were shuffled one against another by the coming of the Flood, and in the Ebb, they were left on the dry ground, and on the Sandy banks in the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed: But after he had a few days observed the course of the Sea, he passed out of the Rivers mouth some few miles, and then offering Sacrifice to *Neptune*, he returned; and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus*, and *Onesicritus* to discover the Coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*.

Neer the out-lets of this River, he spent some part of Winter, and from thence in eighteen days march, he recovered He wants food.

covered *Gredosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such misery through the want of food, that of one hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, which he carried into *India*, not a fourth part returned alive.

His Debauchedness.

From *Gredosia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Caramania*, and so drawing neer to *Persia*, he gave himself wholly unto Feasting and Drinking, imitating the Tryumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hateful enough in it self; Yet it always inflamed this King to cruelty. For (saith *Curtius*) *the Hangman followed the Feast*: For *Haspastes*, one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be slain; so as, *neither did the excess of Voluptuousness qualifie his Cruelty, nor his cruelty at all hinder his Voluptuousness.*

He Punishes his Officers.

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, there came a new supply to him of five thousand Foot; and a thousand Horse, which were conducted to him by *Cleander* and his fellows, that had been impolyed in the murther of *Parmenio*. Against these murtherers great complaints were made by the Deputies of ỹ Provinces, in wch they had commanded; and their offences were proved to be so outragious, that *Alexander* was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his return out of *India*, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the Virtue of him whom they had slain. The end was, that *Cleander*, and the other chief, together with six hundred Souldiers, who had been the instruments of their ravages, were delivered over to the Hangman; Every one rejoycing that the wrath of the King was at last powred out upon the Ministers of his Anger.

Nearchus, and *Onesicritus* were now returned from searching the Coast, and made report of an Island they had discovered, rich in Gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discovery, after which they should come up *Euphrates*, and meet the King at *Babylon*.

Alexander

Alexander drawing neer to *Babylon*, went to visit the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasagardes*, where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsanes*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an Eunuch, who was in speciall favour with the King, was neglected, he suborned some loose fellows to accuse *Orsanes* for robbing *Cyrus* his Tomb, for which he was condemned to die, and *Bagoas* assisted the Hangman with his own hands to torment him. At this time also *Alexander* caused *Phradites* to be slain, suspecting his greatness Hence (saith *Curtius*) he began unreasonably to shed blood, and to believe false reports. Indeed, he took the way to make all men weary of him, and his Government, seeing tyranny is more dreadfull than all adventures that can be made against it.

He visits the Sepulchre of *Cyrus*.

His cruelty.

About this time *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himself having lived seventy three years, and Historians say, that before his Death, he foresaw, and foreshewed the Death of *Alexander*, promising to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

Calanus burnt himself.

From *Pasagardes*, *Alexander* went to *Susa*, where he Married *Statira*, the Eldest Daughter of *Darius*, giving her younger Sister to his beloved *Ephestion*, and eighty other *Persian* Ladies to other of his Captains. To his wedding Feast, he invited six thousand Guests, to each of which he gave a Cup of Gold.

His marriage, and feasting

Unto this place came to him three thousand young Souldiers out of his Conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the mony in his keeping, fled with five thousand Talents, and six thousand hired Souldiers; But when he came into *Greece*, he was there slain. *Alexander* much rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, who would not be corrupted with *Harpalus* his Bribes: Yet he sent a command to them, that they should receive their banished men again, whereunto they all for fear, yielded, except the *Athenians*, though they saw that it was a manifest preparation to their bondage.

Harpalus slain.

After

His Army discontented.

After this there followed a marvellous discontent in his Army, because he had resolved to send into *Macedonia* all those old Souldies which could no longer endure the travell of the War, and to keep the rest in *Asia*. He made many Orations to satisfie them, but all his words were in vain during the heigth of their fury; Yet when their first passions were evaporated, they became more tractable. And with such as were licenced to depart, he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, & *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had Governed from the time of *Alexanders* departure out of *Europe*, who (during that time) had subdued the rebellious *Greeks*, discharged the trust committed to him with great fidelity, and sent him from time to time so many strong supplies into *Asia*.

He sends for *Antipater*.

Certainly if *Alexander* had not taken counsell of his Cups, he would have cast some better colour upon this alteration, and given *Antipater* some stronger reasons of his remove, than to imploy him in conducting a new supply of men to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* could make no other construction of this remove, but that he had a purpose to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. The truth is, the King notwithstanding his undantedness, had no great mind to grapple with *Antipater*.

Ephestion dies.

Alexander having thus sent for *Antipater*, made a journey into *Media* to settle things there, were *Ephestion* whom he loved, and favoured above all others, died. The King greatly lamented his loss, hanged the *Physician* that could not cure him, and built him a Monument that cost twelve thousand Talents. After which he returned to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent, and that, not to excuse, but to free himself; And if we may believe *Curtius*, he suborned his Sons *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who were *Alexanders* Cup-bearers, to give him poison; *Thessalus* (who was one of the conspiracy) having invited him to a Drinking-Feast for that purpose. Others say that by his inordinate drink-

Alexander dies.

drinking, he fell into a Feavour whereof he died.

A little before his Death, his Friends about him, asked him to whom he would leave his Empire? He answered, *To the most worthy man.* Then asked they him, when they should give him Divine Honors? He answered, *When they themselves were happy*; which were the last words that he spake, and so he died, having lived not all out thirty three years, nor reigned thirteen. His Will.

As soon as he was Dead, his great Captains sought to inrich themselves by his Spoils, and whilst they were sharing the World amongst themselves, his dead Body lay many days in that hot Countrey unburied, stinking above ground: *A notable Embleme of the Vanity of all earthly things.* Besides this, his vast Empire was divided amongst his great Captains; To *Ptolomæus Lagi* was allotted *Egypt*, and *Affrica*; To *Laomedon*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; To *Python*, *Media*; To *Eumenes*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*; To *Antigonus*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia* the Greater; To *Cassander*, *Caria*; To *Menander*, *Lydia*; To *Leonatus* *Phrygia* the Less; To *Lysimachus*, *Thracia*, with the neighbouring Countries; To *Antipater*, *Macedonia*, and the neighbouring Nations. But these men, not contented with their shares, fell out amongst themselves, making War one upon another to their own destruction; For *Perdiccas*, warring upon *Egypt* was slain by his own Souldiers; *Antipater* died; *Eumenes* was betrayed by his own Souldiers, and slain by *Antigonus*; *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, was slain by *Cassander*; *Cleopatra*, sister to *Alexander*, was slain by the treachery of *Antigonus*; *Antigonus* himself was slain in Battel by *Cassander* & *Lysimachus*; *Roxane*, the beloved Wife of *Alexander*, together with her Son *Alexander*; and *Barsine*, another of his Wives, which was Daughter to *Darius*, were all slain by *Cassander*. And presently after the whole Family of *Cassander* was rooted out; *Ptolomy* died in *Egypt*; *Lysimachus* was slain by *Seleucus*; and *Seleucus* himself presently after by *Ptolomy*. So that all the Family of *Alexander*, within a few years after his Death, was wholly extirpated; And all his The vanity of all earthly things. The confusions after his Death. Gods Justice.

Friends, and great Captains, by their Ambition, and mutuall contentions, came moſt of them to untimely ends.

When the dead Body of *Alexander* had layen ſeven days upon his Throne, at laſt the *Chaldæans*, and *Egyptians* were commanded from thenceforth to take the care of it; But when they came about it, they durſt not at firſt approach to touch it: But anon after, ſaying their Prayers, that it might be no ſin unto them being but mortals, to lay their hands upon ſo Divine a Body, they fell to work, and diſſected it, the Golden Throne whereon he lay, being all ſtuffed with Spices, and hung about with Pennants, and Banners, and other Emblems of his high State, and Honour.

The care of his Funerall, and of providing a Chariot wherein to carry his Body to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, was committed to *Aridæus*, who ſpent two whole years in making proviſion for it, which made *Olympias*, his Mother, (ſeeing him lye ſo long unburied) in great grief of heart to cry out, and ſay; *O my Son! Thou that wouldſt needs be accounted amongſt the Gods, and kepteſt ſuch ado about it, canſt not now have that which every poor man hath, a little Earth, and Buriall.*

Long after when *Julius Cæſar* had Conquered *Pompey*, and was idle in *Egypt*, *Lucan* tells us, that he viſited the Temples, and the Cave, wherein the Body of *Alexander* the Great lay, In theſe verſes,

——— *Vultu ſemper celante timorem,*
Intrepidus Superum ſedes, & Templa vetuſti
Numinis, &c.

Then with a look ſtill hiding fear, goes he
The Stately Temple of th'old God to ſee,
Which ſpeaks the Ancient *Macedonian* greatneſs;
But there delighted with no Objects ſweetneſs,
Nor with their Gold, nor Gods Majeſtick dreſs,
Nor lofty City Walls; with greedineſs
Into the Burying Vault goes *Cæſar* down,
Where *Macedonian Philips* mad-brain'd Son,

The

The prosperous Thief, lies buried; Whom just Fate
Slew in the Worlds Revenge.——

His Character.

Alexander was very Learned, and a great Lover of Learning and Learned men, insomuch as he rewarded his Master *Aristotle* with eighty Talents for his History of *Living Creatures*. He so prized *Homers Iliads*, that in all his Wars, he carried it in his pocket, and laid it under his Pillow anights. He loved his Master *Aristotle* as if he had been his Father, and used to say, *We have our being from our Parents, but our well-being from our School-Masters.*

His love to his Mother.

His Mother *Olympias* was very severe and morose in her carriage; and once *Antipater*, his *Vice-Roy* in *Europe*, wrote large Letters of complaint to him against her; to whom he returned this answer: *Knowest thou not that one little tear of my Mothers, will blot out a thousand of thy Letters of complaint*; When he heard the Philosophers conclusion concerning the unity of the world, he wept, because there were no more worlds for him to Conquer but one. An evident note of his great ambition: which also manifested it self hereby; That when he came to the Tomb of *Achilles*, he fell a weeping, considering that *Achilles* had a *Homer* to sing his praises, and to perpetuate his memory, whereas he had no such Poet to set forth his Commendations. Also he commanded that no man should draw his Picture, but *Apelles*, the most exquisite Painter in the world, and that none should make his Statue in Brass but *Lycippus*, the most excellent Workman in that kind.

His Ambition.

Flattery.

Alexander used to carry his Head on one side inclining to the left, wherein his Court-Parasites (to ingratiate themselves with him) imitated him. One desiring to see his Treasures, and his Jewels, he bad his Servants shew him, not his Talents of Gold, and Silver, and such other precious things, but his Friends.

He degenerated after his victories.

When he had overcome *Darius*, and gotten poſſeſſion of all his Dominions, and Treaſures, he began to degenerate into the *Aſian* Luxury. His Chaſtity and moderation were turned into Pride, and Luſt. He judged his Country manners, and the Diſcipline of the former *Macedonian* Kings too ſordid and mean for him. He imitated the pride of the *Perſian* Kings, he made him a Crown and Robs like unto *Darius*. He grew ſo proud and inſolent, that he ſuffered his Souldiers to fall down and worſhip him like a God. Yea, he comanded his ſervants, and ſlaves to do ſo. He clothed his Captains and Horſe-men like unto the *Perſians*, which though they diſliked they durſt not refuſe. He gat him three hundred ſixty five Concubines, of the beautifulleſt virgins that could be found in *Aſia*, after the manner of the *Perſian* Kings, one of which lay with him every night. He had his Troops of *Eunuches*, with Muſicians, Jeſters, Singing women *&c.* He ſpent whole dayes and nights in profuſe Feaſting, and Revelling All which was very offenſive to his old Captains, and Souldiers.

When he was a Boy, he took both his hands full of perfumes, and caſt them into the fire as he was Sacrificing, whereupon *Leonidas*, one of his Schoolmaſters ſaid to him: *O* Alexander, *when thou haſt Conquered thoſe Countries wherein theſe odors grow, then thou maiſt be ſo liberall, but in the mean time be more ſparing.* Afterwards, when he had Conquered *Arabia Felix*, he ſent to *Leonidas* a hundred Tallents of *Myrrhe*, and five hundred of *Frankincenſe*, bidding him to be hereafter more Liberall in his ſervice of the Gods.

His bounty.

He was of ſo bountifull a diſpoſition, that it was a greater trouble to him not to be asked than not to give. He wrote to *Phocian*, that he would make uſe of his friendſhip no more if he refuſed his Gifts. *Serapion*, a young Boy that uſed to play at Ball with him, gat nothing becauſe he asked nothing: whereupon the next time he played, he threw the Ball to all but *Alexander*,

ander, the King marvelling at it, asked him why he threw not the Ball to him? *Forſooth* (ſaid *Serapion*) *becauſe you asked it not.* *Alexander* laughing at the jeſt, ſent him a liberall Gift.

As he was travelling through the Deſerts of *Perſia*, himſelf and his Army were in great ſtraits for want of water: One of his Souldiers having two Sons ready to die of thirſt, ſought up and down, and at laſt found a little water, wherewith he filled a leather Bottell, and was running with it to his Sons: but meeting *Alexander* by the way, he filled it out into a diſh, and profered it to him. *Alexander* asked him, whither he was carrying it the man told him that his two Sons were ready to die with thirſt: *But* (ſaid he) *pray you Sir, do you drink it; For if my Sons die I can get more, but if you die, we ſhall not have ſuch an other King.* *Alexander* hearing this, gave him the water again, and bid him carry it to his Sons.

His Temperance.

Alexander in his younger dayes was ſo moderate, and temperate, that he would often open his cheſts, and look upon his Garments, to ſee if his mother had not provided him, either delicate or ſuperfluous Apparell.

Alſo when the Queen of *Caria*, to ſhew her great love to him, ſent him daily variety of Diſhes and Dainties, and at laſt ſent her Cooks, and Bakers to him, he returned them back again, ſaying, *That he had no need of their ſervice; for his Maſter* Leonidas *had provided him better Cooks, by teaching him to dine and ſup Frugally, and ſparingly.* Alſo when he had any rare, and dainty Fruits, or Fiſhes ſent him from the Sea, he uſed to diſtribute them amongſt his Friends, reſerving very little or none for his own uſe.

One craving a ſmall gift of him, he gave him a whole City, and when the Poor man ſaid, *That it was too much for him to receive*: Yea (ſaid *Alexander*) but not for me to give.

As

As he was advanceing to Conquer a Kingdom in *India*, *Taxilis*, who was King thereof, came and met him, saying, *O Alexander, What need we fight, if thou come't not to take away my food and water, for which its only fit for wise men to fight? If thou seekest after Riches, if I have more than thou, I will give thee part of mine: if thou hast more than I, I will not refuse part of thine.* *Alexander* being much taken with his speech, said to him, *Go to, I will contend with thee in bounty*, and so they mutually gave and received many Gifts. At last *Alexander* gave him a Thousand Tallents, which much grieved his Friends, and rejoyced the Barbarian.

His Chastity.

He shewed an admirable Example of his Chastity in the heat of his youth, when having taken the Mother, Wives, and Daughters of *Darius*, women of admirable beauty, yet, neither by word, nor deed did he profer them the least indignity, thinking it a greater honour to overcome himself than his Adversaries: And when he looked upon other Captive Ladies that excelled in stature and beauty, he merrily said, *Persides oculorum dolores esse*: That the *Persian* women were a disease of the eyes, and yet he looked on them but as one so many Statues. When he was informed that two of his Captains under *Parmenio*, had ravished two of the *Persian* Ladies, he wrote to him to enquire after the matter, and if he found it true, he should cut off their Heads, as of Beasts born for the hurt of mankind. He also sent him word, that himself was so far from contemplating the Beauty of *Darius* his Wife, that he would not so much as suffer her to be commended in his presence; and that he was so carefull of their Chastity, that they lived in his Camp, shut up in their Tent, as if they had been in a Temple.

At the Death of *Ephestion*, his Favourite, he did not only clipp the haire of his Horses, and Mules, but plucked down also the Battlements of the City walls, that they might seeme to mourne for his Minions Death, shew

ſhewing now deformity inſtead of their former Beauty.

Porus, an *Indian* King, fighting valiently againſt him, received many wounds, and at laſt, being overcome, and falling into his enemies hands, they brought him to *Alexander*, who hearing of his coming, went forth, with ſome of his Friends, to meet him, and asked him what he would have him to do for him, *Porus* anſwered, *My only deſire is, that thou uſe me like a King*: *Alexander*, admiring his magnimity, replyed, *This I will do for my own ſake: but what wouldeſt thou have me doe for thine?* *Porus* anſwered, *That all was contained in his former demand of Kingly uſage*: *Alexander* was ſo pleaſed with this, that he reſtored him to his Kingdom, and gave him an other bigger than his own.

FINIS.

PLANTS.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF CHARLES THE GREAT, KING of *FRANCE*, AND EMPEROR of *GERMANY*.

By *Sa. Clarke*, sometime Minister in St *Bennet Finck*, London.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Miller* at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door. 1665.

THE LIFE & DEATH OF CHARLES THE GREAT KING of FRANCE, AND EMPEROR of GERMANY.

By S.A. Clerke, Sometime Minister in St Peters Parish London.

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Printed for William Miller at the Gilded Acorn in St Pauls Church-yard, near the West End. 1656.

THE

LIFE & DEATH

OF

CHARLES the GREAT,

King of *FRANCE*, and Emperor of *GERMANY*.

PEPIN, sirnamed *The short*, the 23d. King of *France* (a wise and valiant Prince) had two Sons, *Charles* and *Carolomian*, and five daughters: *Birthe*, who was maried to *Milon* Earl of *Mans*, by whom she had great *Rowland*: *Hiltrude*, maried to *Rene* Earl of *Genes*, by whom she had the renowned *Oliver*; *Rohard*, *Adeline*, *Idubergue*, *Ode*, and *Alix*. King *Pepins* Children.

Pepin being toiled out with great Wars, much broken with the care of Publike affairs, and now grown Old, that he might imploy his last dayes in the maintenance of Justice and Peace, the burden of War he laid upon his Eldest Son *Charles*, a wise and a valiant young Prince, of whose modesty and obedience he was well assured: And then retiring to *Paris*, he was not long after surprised with sickness, in which he recommended his two Sonnes to the *Estates* of

Pepins death.

France, to give them portions at their pleasures, and so ended his dayes *Anno Christi* 768.

His Character.

He was a Religious Prince, wise, moderate, valiant, loving to his Subjects and beloved of them, happy in his Father, and his Children, and in his Government; An excellent Patterne for other Princes, who by his Example, hold it for an undoubted *Maxim*, *That the strongest Fortress, and best security for a Prince, is the love of his Subjects, and the surest bond of his Authority, a respect gotten, and preserved by virtue.*

Charles made King.

Pepin being dead, the *Estates* of *France* assembled together, and by their joynt consents, divide the Kingdom betwixt his two Sons *Charles*, and *Caroloman*, by equal portions. Brothers these were of divers humors, who had certainly ruined each other by this equality of power, had not the death of *Caroloman*, within three years after, divolved the Goverment of the whole Realm upon *Charles*.

His Education.

Charles was endowed with singular gifts both of Body and Mind, which were much improved by the sedulous care of his Prudent Father, manifested in the virtuous education of him: For which end he procured *Paul* of *Pisa*, a learned man, to instruct him in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, and one *Aymon* to read to him *Philosophy*, and the *Mathematicks*: Himself also trained him up in Feates of Armes, and Warlike exercises. But above all, and as the ground of all virtues, he was carefull to have him trained up, and well instructed in Religion, which all his life after he loved, and honored with great Reverence the Church and Pastors thereof. He called the study of Humane Sciences his Pastimes, and the companions of his Sword, and did sometimes recreate himself therein. He loved Learning and Learned men by Nature. He delighted in *Poesy*, as some of his writings do shew; but especially in *History*, wherein he was exceeding well read. Charity, Temperance, Equity, care of Justice to releive his Subjects, to keep his Faith and promise, both to Friend and Foe, and to use a Victory modestly, were the notable effects of his excellent knowledge, as remarkable in him as in any Prince that ever lived. The Uni-

Universities of *Paris*, and *Pisa* (either Founded, or endowed by him) witnesse the great love and honour that he did bear to learning.

During the Life of his Father *Pepin*, he shewed how much he had profited in Armes under so good a Schoolmaster, having great Commands under him, which he discharged with notable reputation; and the improvement of his skill and ability after he came to his Kingdom, shew plainly, that there was never any Soldier that carried Sword with more valour, nor great Captain that commanded with more Obedience, or that performed Noble Actions with greater successe, or that used his Victories with more mildnesse, and judgment. Neither did ever King or Prince rule with more authority, nor was more reverently obeyed by his Subjects and Soldiers then our *Charles*; who therefore well deserved the name of *Charlemagne*, or *Charles* the *Great*, by reason of his great virtues. He was of a lively disposition, quick, active, and vehement: *Quicquid egit, valdè egit*: Yet modesty, and wisdom did so season, and moderate his vivacity, and vehemency, as gave a great lustre to both, and kept them within their due bounds: And this mixture of divers humors so tempered with moderation, made him as admirable for his Judgment, as venerable in his Person and countenance. His Valour and other vertues.

There appeared in him a grave, sweet Majesty in a goodly Personage: His Body was large and strong: He was very patient of labour: Had a quick spirit, was cleer and sound, both in apprehension, memory, and Judgment; Resolution never failed him in difficulties, nor a Reply in Discourses. Terrible he was to some, Amiable to others, according to the Cause, Persons, and Occurents; which virtues purchased him such great esteem, as that he was beloved, respected, and reverenced of all men, which effects the story of his raign will shew: For having received a great Kingdom from his Father, he enlarged it with wonderfull successe; God having raised him up to be a Bulwork to Christians against the inundation and rage of Barbarous Nations in the decay and ruin of the Empire. And in prosecuting the Narrative hereof, I shall first set down his actions during the Life of his His Endowments.

his Brother *Caroloman*, then what he did from the time of his death, till he was made Emperor, and lastly what his Deportment was from thence to his Death.

Caroloman's envy.

Caroloman, being Crowned King at *Soissons*, as *Charles* was at *Wormes*, began to be extream jealous of his Brothers greatnesse, whom, with grief, he saw to be beloved, honored, and obeyed by all the *French*, and that deservedly for his singular virtues and endowments both of Body and mind. This jealousie (too ordinary a concomitant of Princes) made him seek by all meanes to undermine, and overthrow the affairs of *Charlemagne*, whose eyes were fixed upon *Italy*, as the fittest, and most glorious *Theatre* wherein to exercise his valour, and to maintain his authority and power amongst Christians; and *Caroloman* did all that possibly he could to cross his designes therein. But before I bring him upon that stage, give me leave to shew you what at this time was the State of *Italy*, and *Rome*.

The State of Rome.

Rome (sometimes the Head of the World) was of late become the *Chaos* of all confusion, the Randevouz of all Barbarous Nations, as if they had vowed the ruine thereof by turnes, having already sackt it three times. For under the Empire of *Honorius*, *Anno Christi* 414. The *Goths*, under their King *Alaricus*, after two years seige, took it, and sackt it, but did not dismantle it. Forty five years after, during the Empire of *Martian*, *Anno Christi* 459. the *Vandales*, under the conduct of *Genserick* their King, took it again, sackt it, spoiled and disgraced it, leading the Widdow of the Emperor *Valentinian* the third, away in Triumph. And in the time of *Justinian* the Emperor, the *Goths*, under the command of *Totila*, having weakned it by a long seige, took it, sackt, and dismantled it. Thus *Rome* was no more *Rome*, but a spectacle of horrid confusion: after so many devastations retaining nothing of her antient beauty, but only the traces of her old buildings, and the punishment of her Idolatry and Tyranny; Afterwards the *Longobards*, or *Lombards* held *Italy*, for the space of two hundred years, till by our *Charlemagne* they were subdued, and expelled.

Pre-

Presently after the Death of *Pepin*, the Church of *Rome* fell into great confusions by the practices of *Didier* King of *Lombardy*, who having corrupted some of the Clergy, caused *Constantine*, Brother to *Toton*, Duke of *Nepezo*, to be chosen Pope, which he persecuted with such violence, that he procured *Philippicus*, who was already Canonically chosen, to be deposed: But the better party, seeing themselves contemned by the *Lombards*, assembled together, and by common consent, chose *Steven* the third (a *Sicilian* by birth) Pope; who being conscious to his own weakness, resolved to call in the King of *France*, and to oppose him against his too-powerfull enemies.

Severall Popes chosen.

Charles being thus follicited by the Pope, sent twelve Prelates speedily to *Rome*, that he might strengthen the Popes party against the other, intending in a greater need to apply a greater remedy, and the matter succeeded according to his desire. For a Councel being assembled at *Lateran*, they confirmed *Steven*, lawfully chosen, and deposed *Constantine*, who was set up by disorder and violence. But *Didier* would not rest satisfied with this affront, and seeing that force had succeeded no better, he resolved to try Policy, intending to undermine *Steven* with fair pretences. For which end he sent to congratulate his Election, purged himself in reference to the Anti-Pope *Constantine*, now degraded: accused both him and his Brother *Toton* of ambition, and protested to live with *Steven* in amity; and to manifest this his good meaning, he desired him to be pleased with his repair to *Rome*, that there he might confer with him in private. The Pope (who never seeks to the *French* but in case of necessity) was easily perswaded by *Didier*, who came to *Rome*, conferred with the Pope, and made great Protestations of his Obedience to him. But these his faire shewes continued not long.

Steven confirmed.

Didiers Policy.

There was at this time at *Rome* a Governour for the Easterne Emperor, called *Paul Ephialte*, him *Didier* corrupted, and the administration of Justice being in his hands, he made use of him so cunningly, as that in the presence of Pope *Steven*, he caused him to seize upon two of his chief Secretaries

The Popes Secretaries hanged.

cretaries, *Christopher*, & *Sergius* (whom *Didier* accused of some pretended crimes) and presently to hang them in an infamous manner. Their greatest offence was, because they favored the *French*. Neither did he rest here, but caused all the principal Citizens to be banished, whom he observed to be of the *French* faction, that so, having removed all hinderances, he might be Master of *Rome* in despite of the Pope.

The Pope sends for K. *Charles*.

Steven was not so dull but he discovered the *Lombards* practice exceedingly to tend to his prejudice: whereupon he sent to *Charlemagne*, beseeching him to prepare an Army against *Didiers* force. This *Charlemagne* easily assented to, and fully resolved upon: But *Didier* had provided a divertisment in *France* by the meanes of *Caroloman*, to stop *Charles* his passage into *Italy*, making work for him in *Guienne*, where there arose a perilous Warre upon this occasion.

Troubles in *Guienne*.

Though the Country of *Guienne* depended upon the Crown of *France*, yet were there many Tumults raised by the practices of some Noblemen of the Countrey, who frequently stirred up the people (mutinous enough of themselves) to Rebellion. The cause of these Troubles was, the abuse of the former Kings Clemency and Bounty, who suffered such people as he Conquered, to enjoy their priviledges and liberties. *Eudon* (a Nobleman of *Guienne*) began first under *Martel*, *Jeffery* and *Hunult* his Children, and heirs of his discontent, had continued it under *Pepin*, and *Jeffery* being now dead, *Hunalt* succeeded him with the like hatred, which *Caroloman* fomented, that he might imploy him against his Brother *Charles*.

Guienne was a part of *Charles* his portion: But *Hunalts* design was, to withdraw that Country wholly from the Crown of *France*, and for that end he pretended a Title to the Dukedom thereof, labouring to procure the people to Elect him, having the promise, and assistance of *Caroloman* to further him therein. Indeed the countenance of *Caroloman* could do much; but the wisdome and courage of *Charlemagne* prevailed more: For being advertised of *Hunalts* practice, and of his Brothers secret designes, he armed with

with ſuch ſpeed, as that he ſurpriſed the Townes of *Poictiers*, *Xante*, and *Angouleſm*, and all the Country adjoyning, *Hunalt* (who had reckoned without (*Charles*) finding himſelf thus prevented, fled to a Noble man of that Country called *Loup*, whom he held, not only to be firme to his faction, but alſo his truſty and affectionate friend. *Charles ſubdues Hunalt.*

Charlemagne being informed hereof, ſent preſently to *Loup*, requiring him to deliver *Hunalt* into his hands, who was guilty of high Treaſon; and in the mean time he built a Fort in the middeſt of the Country, where the Rivers of *Dordonne*, and *Liſle* do joyn, which he called *Fronſac*, the better to ſecure his Country againſt ſuch Invaders. *Loup*, not daring to refuſe, delivered up *Hunalt*, and all his Family into the hands of *Charles*, who pardoned *Loup*, and all that obeyed him; thus ending a dangerous Warre without blowes: And to *Hunalt* he granted life, and liberty, and the enjoyment of his goods; leaving a memorable example to all Princes how to carry themſelves in a Civil War, preventing a miſchief by prudence, and diligence, and not to thruſt their vanquiſhed Subjects into deſpair by rigour. *Charles* his Policy and Clemency.

Caroloman ſeeing his practices againſt his Brother to ſucceed ſo ill, undertook a journy to *Rome*, with an intent to cauſe ſome alterations there, which yet he covered with a pretence of devotion. He alſo took his Mother *Berthe* along with him, and in their paſſage, they were honourably entertained by *Didier* King of the *Lombards*, where *Berthe* treated, and concluded a marriage between her Son *Charlemagne*, and *Theodora*, Siſter, or Daughter to this *Didier*, who was one of the greateſt enemies to her Sons good Fortune. Yet *Charlemagne* (to pleaſe his Mother) received his Wife, but ſoon after, put her away, as neither ſuiting with his affects, or affaires, and ſo, that which was intended as a cauſe of love, bred a greater hatred betwixt theſe two Princes. *Caroloman* having effected nothing at *Rome* anſwerable to his deſire, but only diſcovered his fooliſh, and malitious jealouſie, too apparent under his feigned devotion, returned into *France*, and there ſoon after died. *Anno Chriſti* 770. *Charles* his marriage.

Carolomans death.

Leaving the intire Kingdom to his Brother, who had now no Corival.

Charles his second marriage.

Charlemagne having put away his Wife *Theodora* upon suspition of incontinency, he married *Hildegard*, or *Ildegrade*, Daughter to the Duke of *Sueve*, his Vassall, by whom he had *Charles*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*, and three Daughters, *Rotrude*, *Berthe*, and *Gille*, who were the Nursery of his Noble Family. But *Carolomans* jealousie died not with him, but survived in his Wife *Berthe*, who (being impatient of her present condition, and thrust headlong with a spirit of revenge against her Brother in Law, *Charles*) retired with her two Sons to *Didier*, King of *Lombardy*, as to the most bitter, and irreconcilable enemy of her Brother *Charles*. *Didier* intertained her and her Children very curteously, hoping by them to promote his design: But it proved the leaven of his own destruction. His practice (together with the Widdows) was to procure the present Pope, who (*Steven* being dead) was one *Adrian*, a *Roman* Gentleman, to Crown, and confirm the Sons of *Caroloman* for Kings of *France*, wherein the *Lombard* had two designs. First, by this meanes to bring the Pope in disgrace with *Charlemagne*, that he might the easilier suppresse him, being destitute of the *French* aides, whereon he chiefly relyed; and Secondly to set *France* in a flame, by setting up new Kings in it. *Didier* therefore earnestly besought the Pope to grant this favour to the Sons of *Caroloman* for his sake: But *Adrian* (well acquainted with the *Lombards* humour) was so resolute in denying his request, as that they fell into open hatred. And *Didier* being much displeased with this repulse, took Armes, and with his Forces entred into the *Exarchy*, being a *Signory* under the Popes jurisdiction, and besieged *Ravenna*, the chief City of the *Exarchie*: Whereupon the Pope sent his Nuncio to him, to expostulate the cause of this so sudden War against his Subjects; desiring him to restore what he had taken, and not to proceed in this Hostile manner without any reasonable cause, and that upon the pain of *Excommunication*.

Pope *Adrian*.

Didiers Policy.

He makes Warre against the Pope.

At

At the ſame time there fell out a great occaſion to encreaſe the hatred between *Charlemagne* and *Didier*: For that *Hunalt* (who had bin before vanquiſhed in *Guienne*, and to whom *Charles* had ſhew'd ſo much favor) very ingratefully retir'd himſelf to *Didier*, who did not only receive him courteouſly, but honored him by making him Generall of his Army which he had raiſed againſt the Pope. And *Didier* ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far abuſed by the inſinuations, and perſwaſions of *Hunalt*, touching the meanes to attempt ſomething againſt the Eſtates of *Charlemagne*, that holding *Italy* undoubtedly for his own, he plotted a War, and aſſured himſelf of a certain victory in *France*. Thus Ambition and Covetouſneſſe haſten mens ruine. The Pope having no other defence to ſecure his Eſtate but his *Excommunication*, which againſt *Didier* proved but *Brutum fulmen*, a meer ſcarecrow, he was forced to have recourſe to *Charlemagne*, as to his Sacred Anchor, or laſt Hope, intreating ſpeedy aide from him in this his great neceſſity. *Charlemagne* had great reaſon to Arme againſt *Didier*, who had alwayes croſſed his affairs; fed and fomented his Brothers jealouſies, entertained his Widdow, and Children, and laboured to have them choſen Kings of *France*, and all to trouble or ruin his eſtate. He had alſo received his rebellious Subjects, and with their aid, practiced to make a War againſt him.

Hunalts ingratitude

The Pope ſends to *Charles* for aid.

The ſollicitation, and requeſt alſo of the *Roman* Church was a great incentive to induce him to Arm, againſt him, who profeſſed himſelf to be an open enemy to the Chriſtian Religion, whereof the former Kings of *France* had ſhewed themſelves *Protectors*, and *Guardians*. But that he might not attempt any thing raſhly, he firſt ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Pope, to aſſure him of his good will, and promiſing not to e wanting to him in his neceſſitie: Yet withall, to tell him, that he thought it beſt, firſt to uſe mildneſſe, before he attempted force againſt the *Lombard*. He therefore ſent alſo his Ambaſſadors to *Didier* to ſummon him to reſtore what he had taken from the Pope, and to ſuffer him to live in Peace. *Didier* (who relied much upon his Policy) gave good words to the Ambaſſadors, promiſing them to perform all that *Charles*

Charles Arms againſt *Didier*.

required, but in effect, he would have the Pope to accept of conditions of Peace from him, and that the Children of *Caroloman* ſhould be declared Kings of *France*.

Didier proſpers in his Wars.

Theſe demands were judged ſo unreaſonable, that the Treaty was broken, and the *French* Ambaſſadors returned home: And *Didier* proſecutes his War againſt the Church more eagerly then he did before; and having ſpoiled all the Territories of *Ravenna*, he took *Faenza*, *Ferrara*, *Comachia*, *Campagnia*, and *Romandiola*, Towns of the ſix Governments, or *Hexarchy*. *Charlemagnes* Ambaſſadors, upon their return, inform their Maſter, that the War with the *Lombard* could not be avoided: and they found *Charles* in a Poſture fit to invade *Italy*: For he had Levyed a goodly Army to ſuppreſſe the rebellious *Saxons*, who (impatient of the *French* yoke) revolted daily from his Obedience, which Army was now ready to be imployed againſt the *Lombard*.

Charles calls a Parliament.

Yet was not *Charlemagne* willing to attempt any thing in a matter of ſuch importance without the adviſe of his Eſtates, and therefore he preſently ſummoned a Parliament, and (being loath to loſe time) in the mean ſeaſon he cauſed his Army to March, and to make there *Rendevouz* at *Geneva*, (a Town under his Obedience, and in the way to *Italy*) and having divided his Army into two Parts, he ſeized upon the Paſſages of Mount-*Cenis*, and St. *Bernard*, which are the two entrances from *France* into *Italy*.

Enters *Italy*, and beates *Didier*.

The Eſtates at their meeting having found the Cauſes of War againſt *Didier*, King of *Lombardy*, to be juſt, *Charlemagne* cauſed his Army to advance with all ſpeed, and to joyn near to *Verceil*. There *Didier* attended him and gave him Battel: But at the firſt encounter he was vanquiſhed by *Charlemagne*. After which, the *Lombard* rallying, and reenforcing his Army, fights him again, and was again beaten, and ſo ſhattered were his Troops, that he was enforced to ſuffer his Enemy to be Maſter of the Field; which proved an infallible Harbinger to his totall Ruine. Thus having tumultuouſly truſſed up what he could in ſuch haſte, he ſent his Son *Aldegiſe* to *Verona*, with the Widdow and Children of

of *Caroloman*: and caſt himſelf into *Pavia*, which he had diligently Fortified, as the Fortreſs, or Dungeon rather of his laſt Fortune.

Charlemagne purſues him at the heels, and with all his Forces beſieged him in *Pavia*, reſolving to have it at what price ſoever. And to make his reſolution the more manifeſt, he ſent for his Wife and Children into *Italy*, to the end that the *Italians* (who hitherto were doubtfull to whom to adhere) might know his mind, and without attending any new occurrents, might reſolve to obey the Victor. *Charles* beſieges *Pavia*, & *Verona*.

Having thus cooped up *Didier* in *Pavia*, and ſeiſed upon all the avenues, he reſolved to attempt *Verona* alſo, which they held to be the ſtrongeſt place in all *Lombardy*. So leaving his Uncle *Bernard* to continue the ſiege of *Pavia*, he marched with part of his Army to *Verona*.

His beginnings being ſo ſucceſsfull, and this Check given to *Didier*, (who was now, as it were, ſhut up in Priſon,) gave a great alteration to the affaires of either party amongſt theſe people of diverſe humours. The *Spoletines*, and *Reatines*, and thoſe of *Ancona*, of *Fermo*, and of *Oſſino* (ſtriving as it were, which ſhould be firſt) yielded to *Charlemagne*, and deteſted the wretched, and forlorn eſtate of *Didier*, as a worthy reward of his Treachery, Injuſtice, and Violence. The *Venetians* (who were *Neuters*, and ſpectators of this *Tragedy*, and had never dealt in any ſort with *Didier*) offered amity and ſuccours to *Charlemagne*, who deſired them to keep the Seas quiet, leſt the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* ſhould eſpouſe *Didiers* quarrel, and cauſe any new diſturbance. The *Italians* ſubmit to him.

Charlemagne ſtaid not long about *Verona* before the City began to think of yielding: and *Berthe*, the Widdow of *Caroloman*, was the chief Inſtrument to draw them to a ſurrender, the *French* Forces being (as ſhe ſaid) very formidable. *Aldegiſe*, the Son of *Didier*, ſeeing the Citizens ſo unanimous in their reſolutions to open their Gates to the Conqueror, and being unable to relieve his Father, he ſecretly ſtole away, and fled to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*. Then did *Verona* yeild to *Charlemagne* upon compoſition, who *Verona* taken,

who received both the Inhabitants, and *Berthe* to mercy, keeping his agreement punctually with them; upon *Berthe* & her Children, he inflicted no punishment; but only blamed them for their uncivil rashness, and enjoyned them to return into *France*, there to do better, and to live more honorably. This being about *Easter*, *Charlemagne* took the oportunity to go to *Rome*, where yet he staied only eight dayes to visit the most remarkable places, and to confer with Pope *Adrian*. The Pope made *Charles* a *Patrician* of *Rome*, which was a step to mount him to the *Empire*. From thence he hasted, and came to *Pavia*, which had now been besieged for the space of ten moneths: and being pressed by Warre without, and by the Famine, and Pestilence within, it at last yeilded upon composition: and *Didier* (who had hated *Charles* without cause, and attempted War rashly) fell into his enemies hands, who yet shewed himself Prudent in undertaking the War, and mild and modest in his use of the Victory.

And *Pavia.*

Thus *Charlemagne* having begun the War justly, and ended it happily, ruined the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, carrying *Didier* prisoner with him to *Lions*, or to *Leig*; for Authors agree not of the certain place. This was *Anno Christi* 776. A notable date to present the *Tragicall* end of so great a Kingdom, which had continued in *Italy* for the space of two hundred and four years under Princes of diverse dispositions. But Pride, Injustice and Tyranny, had provoked the wrath of God against them, so as whilst they thought to take from another, they lost their own; To usurp the liberties of others, they fell into ignominious slavery themselves; and their subtilty proved the occasion, and hastener of their ruine. An excellent Pattern for Princes and great States not to attempt an unjust and unnecessary War, nor to usurp upon any other mans right, thinking to prevail over a good cause by Craft and Policy.

Didier taken Prisoner.

Charlemagne (as was said before) used his Victory with great moderation towards the Conquered Nation, which gave great content to all the *Italians*, who held it a gain to have lost their old Master, & to be rightly made free by being sub-

Charles his moderation

ſubject to ſo wiſe a Lord. For he left unto them their ancient liberties, and to particular Princes (ſuch as were Vaſſalls to *Didier*) their *Signeories*. To *Aragiſe*, Son in Law to *Didier*, he left the Marquiſat of *Beneventum*. He placed *French* Governors in Conquered *Lombardy*, whom he ordered to treat theſe his new Subjects with the like mildneſſe, as he ſhewed to thoſe of his antient Patrimony left unto him by his Predeceſſors.

A Councel at *Rome*.

During the Seige of *Pavia*, Pope *Adrian* held a Councel at *Rome*, in favour to *Charlemagne*, to give him honours anſwerable to his merits of the Church, wherein it was declared, that the right to give all Benefices throughout all *Chriſtendom* did belong to him.

New troubles in *Italy*.

No ſooner was *Charlemagne* returned into *France*, but *Aldegiſe* (the Son of *Didier*) ſought to diſquiet *Italy*, being aſſiſted by *Conſtantine*, the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and the practiſes of *Rogand*, to whom *Charlemagne* had given *Friul*, who now revolted from his Obedience. But the vigilancy, and care of the Governors whom *Charlemagne* had ſet over his new-conquered Subjects, ſoon put an end to theſe Rebellions: and *Rogand* being taken, ſuffered according to his demerits, being beheaded by the Kings commandment. Thus *Italy* remaining quiet to him, and his, (as conquered by a juſt War) it was afterwards incorporated into the *French* Monarchy in his poſterity, being given in Partage to the Children of *France*, whilſt the good Government of the *French* Kings maintained the dignity of the Crown.

But ſuppreſſed.

Charles his Wars with the *Saxons*.

But the end of this War proved the beginning of another in *Germany*, whereof the *Saxons* were the chief promoters, drawing other People of *Germany* in to their aſſiſtance. This War continued the ſpace of thirty years, yet not without ſome intermiſſions: The *Saxons* having ſtill a mind to oppoſe and Croſs *Charlemagne* in his proceedings, eſpecially when he was buſied in other affaires of great conſequence.

Theſe *Saxons* were ſubject to the Crown of *France*, eſpecially under *Martel*, and *Pepin* his Son. The motives of this War were diverſe: The impatiency of a People deſtring

The cauſe of it.

ring their antient liberty, and not able to bear ſubjection to a forreigner: the hatred & jealouſie of a Potent neighbour, threatning them with ſervitude: A controverſie about the limits and bounds of their Lands: But the greateſt, and moſt important cauſe was, the diverſity of Religion: For the *Saxons* were obſtinate in retaining and cleaving to their *Pagan* ſuperſtition, which they had received from their Forefathers, and *Charlemagne* urged them to forſake their *Paganiſme*, and *Idolatry*, and to make open profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; being moved with Zeal to the general advancement of the Truth, and the private Duty of a Prince to his ſubjects, to provide for their ſoules health. Upon this controverſie about Religion the *Saxons* fought eight times with *Charlemagne*: eſpecially taking advantage when they found him buſied elſewhere, watching their oportunities either to croſs him in his deſignes, or to fruſtrate his attempts. At ſuch time as he was in *Italy* againſt *Didier*, they played *Rex*, not only in rejecting the *French* command, but alſo in making War againſt thoſe Cities in *Germany* which obeyed *Charlemagne*. They had taken *Ereſbourg* from the Crown of *France* even upon his return, and beſieged *Sigiſbourg*, robbing, and ſpoiling all the Country round about.

Charles calls a Parliament.

Charlemagne (who would never undertake any weighty matter without good adviſe) aſſembled a Parliament at *Wormes*, and by their Counſel and aſſiſtance, levied a great Army, to Charge the *Saxons* in diverſe places at once. This reſolution ſucceeded happily: For having vanquiſhed the *Saxons* twice in one moneth in a pitched Field, he ſoon reduced them to their antient obedience: Uſing his Victories with much modeſty and diſcretion; deſiring rather to ſhew them the power of his authority, then the rigour of his force. The chief amongſt the *Saxons* was *Widichind*, and asReligion was the chief motive of their frequentRebellions; ſo *Charlemagne*, ſeeking the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Religion in *Saxony* with great Zeal, after much reluctance, happily effected it. For having vanquiſhed this *Widichind*, by reaſon and humanity, he brought him to the

The *Saxons* overcome.

know-

knowledge of the Truth; and by his grave and prudent converſation, he perſwaded him without any Violence, to leave and forſake his *Pagan* ſuperſtition, which force of Armes could never have effected in him, nor in the *Saxons*. *For mens ſoules are not be compelled with force of Armes, but with reaſon.* And by the meanes and endeavours of this *Widichine*, the greateſt part of the *Saxons* were brought to the knowledge of the true God, and the obedience of the *French* Monarchy: And the moſt obſtinate were forced, either to ſubmit, or to abandon their Country. And indeed great numbers of *Saxons* retired themſelves into divers ſtrange Countryes. And converted.

Thus the War with the *Saxons* was happily ended (which had been long & dangerous) and the Conquered, by the Truth were the true Conquerors, by attaining to the knowledge of the true God. *Charlemagne* was very carefull to have them well inſtructed in the Truth: For which end he appointed godly and learned men in all places, and gave them honourable maintenance, whereby he ſhewed that his Pietty was not inferior to his Valour, and happy ſucceſſe; and for a preſident to Princes to make Religion the Soveraign end of their Armes and Authorities.

This *Widichind* was very eminent, both for Wiſdome, Valour, and Authority in his Country; and from him are deſcended many famous Families: as the two *Hemies*, the one called the *Fowler*, and the other of *Bamberg*; and the two *Othos*, all of them Emperors: as alſo the Dukes of *Saxony*, the Marqueſſes of *Miſnia*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, and the famous race of *Hugh Capet* in *France*.

From this War of *Saxony* did ſpring up many others in the Northen parts, of which we ſhall hear afterwards; but becauſe in the *Interim* their fell out great Wars in *Spain* againſt the *Sarazins*, which (like a Deluge) threatned to over-run all *Chriſtendom*, I ſhall intermit the former, till I have ſpoken ſomething of this latter, that I may proceed with the more clearneſs in the remainder of this Hiſtory.

The motive of the *Spaniſh* War, was more upon pleaſure then neceſſity: But Zeal of Religion gave a colour and ſhew *Charls* his Wars in *Spain*.

ſhew of neceſſity to the Heroical deſignes of *Charlemagne*, who ſought to enlarge the limits of the *French* Monarchy by his Armes. But this his *Spaniſh* War, as it was undertaken upon lighter grounds, ſo was it, more painfull, more dangerous, and leſſe ſucceſſefull then that of *Italy*, whereunto neceſſity and Duty had drawn *Charlemagne*; yet did his wiſe and wary proceeding in the action, warrant him from all blame. The occaſions which moved him to bend his Forces againſt the *Sarazins* in *Spain* were, the aſſurance of good ſucceſſe, the quiet and peace of his Realme, that he might have opportunity to imploy his Souldiery, the hate of the *Spaniards* againſt the *Sarazins*, and the generall fear of all Chriſtians, leaſt theſe Caterpillers ſhould creep further into *Europe*.

This was the eſtate of *Spain* at this time. The *Sarazins* had conquered a great part of it, and were divided under diverſe Commands which had the Title of Kingdoms. Yet theſe diverſe Kings (being apprehenſive of their common danger) reſolved to unite their forces againſt *Charlemagne*, their common enemy; and foreſeeing the Tempeſt, they ſought to prevent it, and to croſs the deſignes of *Charlemagne*: For which end, they ſuborned King *Idnabala*, a *Sarazin*, being a very ſubtile, and crafty man, to inſinuate himſelf into the acquaintance, and familiarity of *Charlemagne*, which ſtratagem prevailed more then all their Power and Forces.

Charles circumvented.

Charlemagne was much quickned to this War by *Alphonſo*, ſurnamed the *Chaſt*, King of *Navar*, & by the *Aſturians*, and *Gallizians* (Chriſtian People of *Spain*) who ſuggeſted to him that the War would be eaſie, profitable, and honourable, and therefore moſt worthy the Valour, and Fortune of *Charlemagne*. This *Idnabala* alſo (under a ſhew of friendſhip) laboured to haſten him to the execution of this enterpriſe, from which he knew well he could not divert him, that he might the better betray him by diſcovering his Counſels to the *Sarazins*.

Charles calls a Parliament.

Charlemagne being wel-affected of himſelf, and thus excited by others, aſſembled a Parliament at *Noyon*, and there con-

co ncluded a War againſt the *Sarazins* in *Spain*. The army which he imployed in this action was very great, both for number of men, and Valour of Commanders, and Cheiftaines, being the moſt choiſe and worthy Captaines in all *Chriſtendom*: amongſt whom, theſe were of chiefeſt note, *Milon* Earl of *Augers*: *Rowland* the Son of *Milon*, and *Berthe*, Siſter to *Charlemagne*; *Renald* of *Montaubon*. The four Sons of *Aymon*: *Oger* the *Dane*: *Oliver*, Earl of *Geneva*: *Arnold* of *Belland*: *Brabin*, and many others. The Valour of which perſons hath been fabulouſly related by the Writers of thoſe dark times (who for the moſt part were *Friers*, concerning whom the Proverb was, a *Fryer*, *a Lyer*,) with the addition of a thouſand ridiculous Tales, ſo that the truth is hardly picked out from the midſt of ſo much error: Yet what is moſt probable, and can be gathered out of the moſt authentick Authors ſhall be here ſet down. They ſay, that *Charlemagne*, to make this undertaking more honourable in ſhew, did at this time inſtitute the *Order of the twelve Peers of France*.

His great preparations.

Charlemagne being entred into *Spain* with his brave Army, found no object for them whereon to exerciſe their Valour: For the *Sarazins*, reſolving to make a defenſive, rather then an offenſive War, had withdrawn themſelves into their Cities, which they had fortified ſtrongly. The moſt renowned of the *Sarazin* Kings at this time, were *Aigoland*, *Bellingan*, *Daniſes*, *Marſile*, and *Idnabala*: But this laſt, as was ſaid before, made ſhew of much friendſhip to *Charlemagne*, and of open hatred againſt the other *Sarazin* Kings; with whom notwithſtanding he held ſecret and ſtrickt intelligence to betray *Charlemagne* unto them.

His entry into *Spain*.

The firſt City that the *French* attempted was *Pampelune*, in the Kingdom of *Navarr*, the which they took by force, but with much paines, danger, and loſſe. Having ſackt this City, and put all the *Sarazins* in it to the ſword, they marched to *Saragoce*, which yielded to them upon compoſition, as did alſo many other ſmall Townes, being terrified with the example of *Pampelune*. This proſperous beginning encouraged *Charlemagne* to advance forward, relying on his

Pampelune taken.

wonted Fortune and good ſucceſſe : But as he paſſed thorow the Provinces of *Spain*, like a Victorious Prince, without any oppoſition, he divided his Army, and gave part of it to be conducted by *Milon* of *Angers*, his Brother in Law, who in his March near unto *Bayon*, was ſet upon by *Aigoland*, the *Sarazin* King, who in this common danger had thruſt an army into the Field, and now aſſaulted *Milon*, and his Troops, little expecting any enemy, and took him at ſuch an advantage, as he defeated him.

Milon defeated.

This loſſe was very great: For Writers ſay that forty thouſand of the *French* here loſt their lives; *Milon* himſelfe being alſo ſlain for a confirmation of the *Sarazins* Victory. *Charlemagne* was at this time afar off, and ſo not able by any diligence to prevent the loſſe. Yet he ſuppreſſed his grief and trouble, leaſt he ſhould diſcourage the whole Army: and ſo haſtning thitherward, he gathered up the remainder of thoſe broken, and diſperſed Troops, withall, keeping the Conquered Cities, and ſuch as were Friends in their due Obedience : But after this there fell out another accident.

Aigoland entred *France*.

Aigoland being puffed up with Pride through his late Victory, marched with his Army into *Gaſcoine*, and beſieged *Agen*, to divert *Charlemagne* from his purſuit, and to draw him home to defend his own Country. So as *Charlemagne*, fearing leaſt his own abſence, and the *Sarazins* late Victory ſhould cauſe any alteration in the minds of them of *Guienne*, being then Subjects of whom he had no great aſſurance, he returned into *France*. *Aigoland* had now continued ſome moneths at the ſiege of *Agen*, yet had prevailed little, but only in over-runing the Country, which he did freely (without any conſiderable reſiſtance) even unto *Xaintonge*: the Country-men in the mean time retiring into the Walled Townes, expected the return of *Charlemagne* their King: *Aigolands* Army was very great, and puffed up with the remembrance of their late Victory: So as *Charlemagne* returning with his Forces from *Spain* well tired, he maintained his Countries more through his authority, then by preſent force; yet did he give life to the courage of his Subjects with his

Charles returnes.

pre-

preſence, and bridled the proud *Sarazin*, who could not be ignorant with whom he had to deal, nor where he was, being environed with the enemies on all ſides, and in an enemies Country.

Hereupon *Aigoland*, pretending an inclination unto peace, gave *Charlemagne* to underſtand that he had been the firſt Invader, and that his own comming into *France* was only to draw his enemy out of *Spain*, and to cauſe him to leave to the *Sarazins* their conquered Countries free: and therefore (ſaid he) the Treaty of an accord is eaſy, ſeeing all the queſtion is only to leave to every man his own, and to ſuffer him to enjoy it quietly, the world being wide enough for us all. But to the end this Treaty might take good effect, after many meſſages to and fro, they reſolve to come to a Parlee: and upon *Charlemagnes* Faith given, *Aigoland* came to his Camp. *Aigolans* Policy.

Charlemagne, either really moved with a Zeal for Religion, or at leaſt, making it the colour of his Actions, gave the *Sarazin* to underſtand, that he ſhould have his Friendſhip if he would leave his *Pagan* Superſtition, be Baptiſed, and make open profeſſion of Chriſtianity. The *Sarazin*, although he had a goodly Army, yet not willing to hazard any thing, and content with his former revenge upon *Charlemagne*, deſired nothing more then to return quietly into *Spaine*. And being now in the middeſt of his enemies Camp, to maintain his reputation, he made no ſhew at all of fear, but talking to his own advantage (as if no force, but only reaſon ſhould move him) he entred into a ſerious and cunning diſcourſe with *Charlemagne*, ſhewing, That unneceſſary Wars were the ruin of mankind, and that he was grieved to ſee ſo much Blood ſpilt: That he had not begun, but followed, being urged by neceſſity to defend himſelf and his Country againſt the Forces of *Charlemagne*: That he was not yet ſo dejected, nor his Forces ſo weak as to refuſe the Battel: But for that it would be an infinite loſſe to hazard the lives of ſo many men, he deſired rather to make tryal of the right by ſome Troops, and they that vanquiſhed ſhould be deemed to have the right, and true Religion

on their ſide: Proteſting to yeild to that Religion which ſhould appear to be beſt upon this tryal. This Propoſal, and condition was accepted by *Charlemagne*: The Combate was fought, the proof made, and the Chriſtian Troop vanquiſhed that of the *Sarazin*.

Aigo'ands diſſimulation.

Then did *Aigoland* proteſt openly, that he would become a Chriſtian, but in heart he had no ſuch meaning, and therefore took this opportunity to fly from his promiſe. He gives *Charlemagne* a viſit, and finds him at the Table, well accompanyed with his chief followers, (for then it was the Cuſtome of Kings not ſit, and eat alone) but, caſting his eye aſide, he ſaw twelve poor men ill apparelled, ſitting upon the ground, near to the Table of the Noblemen; and demanding what thoſe poor, miſerable Creatures were which did there feed apart: One anſwered, *That they were the ſervants of God*: He then replyed, *ſurely your God is of ſmall account, whoſe ſervants are ſo miſerable, and contemptible*: And thereupon takes an occaſion to retire himſelf, having loſt nothing, but made great advantage by this Treaty: Having hereby qualified the force of *Charlemagne*, viewed his Army, made ſhew of his own Courage and dexterity, and all, without an Ambaſſador.

Charles returnes into *Spain*.

Charlemagne on the other ſide, ſeeing himſelfe thus deluded and affronted, was reſolved to take revenge for ſo notable a loſs of men, and ſo bold an attempt of the *Sarazin*, ſo that withall ſpeed he raiſed an Army of a hundred and thirty thouſand men, and being thus fraught with Choller and indignation, he returned into *Spain*. His firſt entry was proſperous: For in the encounter he defeated *Aigolands* Army near to *Pampelune*, and for a Seal of his Victory, he carried away the head *Aigoland* his enemy, who was ſlain by the hand of *Arnold* of *Belange*, a Noble and Valiant Knight: But the ſequel was not anſwerable to the beginning: For notwithſtanding the overthrow of the *Sarazin* Troops, all the reſt in *Spain* were not vanquiſhed, where there were more Kings, and more men of War, who kept correſpondence with *Amurath*, King of *Babylon*, which place was their Nurſery, and Storehouſe.

Aigoland overthrown and ſlain.

Mar-

Marſile and *Belingand*, two Brethren, were the chief of the remainder of the *Sarazin* Army, wherein there was a great *Babylonian* Gyant, called *Ferragat*, of an exceeding ſtature, him did *Rowland* ſlay, who was Nephew to *Charlemagne*; after which the *Sarazins* gathered together the relicts of their brooken Troops, and made a ſhew of reſolute men, vowing to ſell their lives at a dear rate to *Charlemagne*, being favoured by many great, and good Townes in the Country. *Charlemagne* makes a ſudden ſtop and purſues not his Victory, God reſerving to himſelf a Soveraign power over all mens deſignes, yea, over the greateſt, and in matters of greateſt conſequence, to the end that all may learn to ask counſell and ſucceſſe of him, and it was his will, and pleaſure that the *French* Forces ſhould not conquer and poſſeſſe *Spain*, the which he had reſerved as a portion for another Nation.

The *Sarazins* Rally. A Gyant ſlain.

Thus *Charles*, who ſhould have proſecuted his late Victory vigorouſly, grew remiſs, which encouraged *Idnabala* the *Sarazin* (who had free acceſſe into the Camp) to make a motion of Peace. He was a good Secretary of his own Companions minds, what ſhew ſoever he made of ſpeaking of himſelf. *Charlemagne* (finding by his late experience that the event of Warre is uncertain and doubtfull, and that this War tended to the loſs of his Subjects, who imployed both their lives and goods for the purchaſs of an uncertain Victory, and ſeeing himſelf overburdened with great affairs in his other Eſtates, to the preſervation whereof reaſon did ſummon him rather then to ſeek for new) he ſeemed not unwilling to hearken to the motion of *Idnabala*, who aſſured him that he found the *Sarazins* affaires to be ſo deſperate, that they would be glad to embrace his friendſhip at whatſoever rate they purchaſed it. The Treaty hereupon began, and the cheif Article was propounded, which was, that they ſhould embrace the *Chriſtian* Religion, and this *Charlemagne* ſeemed to urge with great vehemency: but finding the *Sarazins* obſtinate in their refuſall, he was content to grant them peace, paying him ſome great ſumms of money, as a token that they had been vanquiſhed by him.

A Treaty of Peace.

And

A Traytor.

And accordingly he sent a Noble man of his Court, named *Ganes*, to treat with them, who (being by Bribes corrupted by *Marsile*, and *Bellingand*) undertook so to order businesses, that *Charlemagne* should return into *France*, and by the way, should receive a notable disgrace: yet they seemed to make such a Composition and agreement, which in shew, was very honorable for *Charlemagne*: to whom they promised to pay (as an Homage, and acknowledgment for the peace he should grant them) what sums of mony he would appoint, and that thereupon he should retire with his Army into *France*; yet leaving such Forces in *Spaine* as he pleased, to see the condition which should be agreed upon, performed. But *Ganes* had discovered to them, that *Charlemagne* upon other accounts, was necessitated to return, and therefore desired to leave the smallest Forces that he could in *Spaine*.

Charles returns into *France*.

The Agreement being thus concluded, *Charlemagne* departed with his Army, attending a better opportunity to effect what he had designed: and he left his Nephew *Rowland* only with twenty thousand men, to see the conditions performed. And to make his passage into *France* the more easy, he commanded him to lodge in a place of advantage, in the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, called *Ronsevaux*: and so the *French* Army marched backwards to *France*, under the conduct of *Charlemagne*, who little dreamed of such an affront as he shortly after met with.

Whilst the *French* Army were upon their retreat, *Marsile* and *Bellingand* slept not, but gathering together all the Forces they could, they lodged them secretly in the hollow Caves of those Mountaines, being places inaccessible, and wholly unknown but only to the Inhabitants of those Countries. They had intelligence given them by *Ganes* what number of men *Charlemagne* had left in *Spaine*, under the command of *Rowland*, to whom the reputation of his Uncle, and the good will of the People of *Spaine* in the Chiefest Townes, was of more use then his twenty thousand men, although they were the choise of all the Army. *Rowland* had no fear of an Enemy, when as returning to his Garri-

Rowland assaulted.

son

ſon, he was ſuddenly ſet upon by the *Sarazins*, who were far more in number then the *French*, who ſeing themſelves thus treacherouſly aſſaulted, and compaſſed in, defended themſelves valiantly againſt thoſe miſcreants: But ſtill freſh Troops of *Sarazins* iſſued forth of theſe Caves on every ſide in ſo great numbers as that in the end, the *French* (tired and ſpent in ſo long and painfull a conflict) were oppreſſed by the multitudes, rather then overcome by the Valour of their enemies.

Rowland in ſo great and extreame a danger (gathering togeather the pieces of his ſhipwrack) performed both the Duty of a good Commander, and of a valiant, and reſolute ſouldier, fighting gallantly, and having beaten down a great number where the enemies were thickeſt, he at length came where King *Marſile* was, whom he ſlew with his own hands. But *Belingand*, holding the Victory abſolutely his own, purſued the *French* with great violence, in ſo much as *Rowland* (not able to hold out any longer) retired himſelf apart, and finding his Death approaching, he endeavoured to break his good Sword *Durandall*, but his ſtrength failing him, he dyed of Thirſt, through ſo long and difficult a combate in that hot Country: and with him dyed *Oliver*, *Oger* the *Dane*, *Renald* of *Montaubon*, *Arnald* of *Belland*, and other Nobles Perſonages, who are the ſubject of many fabulous ſtories: Yet the Fame of their ſingular virtues, and proweſs is engraven in the Originals of true Hiſtories, where it ſhall never be blotted out.

His Valor.

His Death.

Charlemagne having intelligence brought him of this great and unexpected loſſe, returned ſuddenly to take his revenge upon the *Sarazins*, of whom he killed an infinite number in ſeverall places: and being informed of the Treaſon of *Gaines*, he cauſed him to be drawn in pieces by four Horſes, as the only author of this miſerable defeat. And being tranſported with a juſt diſdain, and indignation for this ſo baſe an affront, he had purpoſed to have paſſed on in *Spain* to take further revenge. But the great and weighty affaires of his other Eſtates called him back into *France* to attend upon

Charles overcoms the *Sarazins*

them. And ſo ended his *Spaniſh* Wars with ſmall ſucceſſe, having troubled *Charlemagne* at divers times, for the ſpace of fourteen years. For God had appointed the limits of his deſignes, as reſerving to himſelf a Soveraign power over all mens enterprizes, even of the greateſt.

Returns into *France*.

Charlemagne made a Tomb for his Nephew *Rowland*, and honoured the memory of thoſe other worthy warriers (who died in the Bed of Honor) with Monuments: after which he was neceſſitated to undertake divers other Wars, both in *Italy* and *Germany*, in all which it pleaſed God to give him better ſucceſſe. *Italy* (during *Charles* his Troubles in *Spain*) had rebelled, being provoked thereto by *Adalgiſe*, Duke of *Beneventum*, who endeavoured to repoſſeſſe the Race of *Didier*: but that attempt was ſoon ſuppreſſed by *Charlemagne*, to the coſt of the *Lombard* Rebells: yet ſhortly after enſued another War in *Germany*.

A Rebellion in *Italy*.

His Wars in *Bavaria*.

The like occaſion alſo bred a War in *Bavaria*: For the King *Taſſillon*, who was Son in Law to *Didier*, King of *Lombardy* (being eagerly preſſed by his Wife, and wonderfully diſcontented with *Charlemagne*) ſhaked off the yoke of ſubjection, and betook himſelf to Armes: But *Charlemagne* ſurpriſed him with ſuch celerity, that *Taſſillon* was forced to ſue for Peace; which *Charlemagne* granted upon condition of his ſubjection, and loyalty: But again *Taſſillon*, not able to contain himſelf raiſed a new War in another place, as when we ſtop one breach, it finds vent by another. He ſtirred up the *Huns* and *Avars* (a neighbouring People to *Auſtria*, which was one of the Eſtates of the *French* Monarchy) againſt *Charlemagne*, who yet ſuppreſſed them with happy ſucceſſe; and *Taſſillon* himſelf being again vanquiſhed by *Charlemagne*, and found guilty of Rebellion and Treaſon, was condemned to loſe his Eſtate according to the *Salique* Law: and with him, the Kingdom of *Bavaria* ended, being now wholly incorporated into the Crown of *France*.

The *Huns* and *Avars* (of whoſe names joyned together, the word *Hungary* hath been made) were alſo puniſhed by *Charlemagne*, and brought under the yoke of the *French* Mo-

Monarchy. They had formerly attempted by War to diſquiet the Country of *Auſtria*, whom *Charlemagne* had at divers times oppoſed by his Forces, ſo that the War, at times; had continued for the ſpace of eight years, and the final iſſue was, that all the Country obeyed him: The *Danes* alſo, the *Sorabes*, and *Abrodites*, and the *Weſtphalians*, (who had all joyned in this War of *Hungary*) were alſo brought under the obedience of *Charlemagne*. The limits of the Northen Kingdom called *Auſtraſia*, were ſo enlarged, that it was divided into two Kingdoms, and the Realm of *Auſtria* which joynes upon *France*, was called *Weſtriech*, that is to ſay, the Realme of the Weſt; and that which is towards *Danubius*, was called *Oſtriech*, that that is the Kingdom of the Eaſt, *Auſtria* being then of a greater command then it is at this day. For it contained all *Hungary*, *Valachia*, *Bohemia*, *Tranſilvania*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*: Then was the *French* Monachy of a vaſt extent. But all theſe Nations have ſince, either returned to their firſt beginning, or new Lords have ſeized upon them.

His Victories.

Thus the *French* Monarchy was greatly enlarged by the proweſs and Valour of *Charlemagne*: and his Children were grown up, as in age, ſo in knowledge & experience, through the carefull education which their prudent Father gave them; who framed them to the management of affairs, intending them to provide that they might firſt ſucceed him in his virtues, and afterwards in his Kingdoms. But man purpoſeth and God diſpoſeth, *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Hungary* made the *Roman* Empire in the Weſt, and *Charlemagne* being Maſter of theſe goodly Provinces, was in effect an Emperor, but only wanted the Title, and the ſoleme Declaration of this dignity. And ſhortly after, the Providence of God that gave him the former, miniſtred opportunity to him for the enjoyment of the latter, which came thus to paſſe.

His education of his Children.

Leo was at this time Pope of *Rome*, againſt whom there was ſtrange ſedition raiſed by *Sylveſter*, and *Campul*, men of great credit in the Court of *Rome*. Theſe men (with their adherents) upon a ſolemn day of Proceſſion, ſeized upon

A Sedition in *Rome*.

Leo before St. *Laurence* Church, whom they ſtripped of his Pontifical Robes, caſt him unto the ground, trod him under their feet, and bruiſed his face with their fiſts, and having dragged him ignominiouſly through the dirt, they caſt him into Priſon: where yet he ſtayed not long, being freed by a Groom of his Chamber called *Albin*: and ſo having recovered St. *Peters* Church, he ſent to *Vingiſe*, Duke of *Spoleto*, intreating him to deliver him from this miſerable Captivity. *Vingiſe* failed him not, but came to *Rome*, and carried the Pope along with him to *Spoleto*; where yet he ſtayed not long, but from thence went to *Charlemagne* into *France*, whom he found full of Troubles. He complained that many of the *Romans* fought to uſurp his power into their hands, and adviſed the King, to exact an Oath of Fidelity of them. *Paſchalis* was there ſoon after him, and accuſed the Pope of Adultery, and other groſſe Crimes. *Charlemagne* diſmiſſed them both, and promiſed to be at *Rome* within a few moneths, and accordingly prepared for his journey.

The Pope freed out of Priſon. Flies to *Charles*

Charles goes to *Rome*.

In *December* Anno *Chriſti* 800 *Charlemagne* was received in *Rome* with all ſhewes of Honour, and within eight dayes he went into St. *Peters* Church, and in the preſence of all the people and Clergy, he asked, who had any thing to ſay againſt Pope *Leo*? *Paſchalis*, or *Paſchaſires*, and *Campulus* had publiſhed the Popes Crimes by Writ: but knowing how *Charlemagne* ſtood affected towards both parties, they appeared not; ſo none proſecuting theſe crimes againſt him, the Pope was abſolved upon his Oath; wherein he ſwore by God and the four Evangeliſts, that all theſe things were falſe which they layed to his Charge: Whereupon the King declared him innocent, and condemned his accuſers, and within few daies three hundred of them were beheaded in the *Lateran* Field for their preſumption, and affectation of liberty, on the eighteenth of *December*; and ſhortly after, *Charles* was choſen Emperor: but before I ſpeak of that, I muſt repreſent you with a brief view of the preſent eſtate, and condition of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

Clears the Pope upon his Oath.

The

The seat of the *Roman* Empire, since the time of *Constantine* the great, remained at *Constantinople*, a City of *Thrace*, situated in a convenient place for the guard of the Easterne Provinces: After which, all the West being full of new Guests, who had expelled the *Romanes*, the name, authority and power of the Empire remained in the East, where now the State was in a strange confusion, the mother being banded against her Son, and the People amongst themselves. The State of the Easterne Empire.

Constantine the Son of *Leo* the Fourth, was Emperor at this time, who from his Infancy was governed (together with the Empire) by his Mother *Irene*: But being now come to the age of twenty years, he assumed the Government into his own hands. There was then a great division in the East, which had been continued from Father to Son for fourscore yeares together, about bringing Images into the Churches. The Bishops would needs bring them in: But the Emperors together with the greatest part of the People opposed themselves against them. This contention had its beginning under *Philip Bardanes*, was continued under *Leo Isaurus*, and from him was derived to his Son *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronimus*, and to *Leo* the Fourth, Son to the said *Constantine*. This filled all the East with infinite scandalls. Contention about Images.

The same fire of contention continued in the minority of our *Constantine*, who was yet governed by his Mother, a woman of a violent spirit, who had undertaken the protectiō of Images, & held a Councel of many Bishops for the defence thereof: But the people growing into a mutiny, by force expelled them from *Constantinople*, where their Assembly was held. But *Irene*, being resolved to carry on her design, assembled another Councel at *Nicea*, City of of *Bithinia*, honored for having intertained the first general Councel under *Constantine* the Great, the first of that name: where it was Decreed, that Images should be placed in Churches for devotion. But *Charlemagne* did not allow of this Decree, and either himself, or some other by his Command, did write a small Treatise against this Councel, the which beares this Title, A *Treatise of* Charlemagne, *touching Images, against the* Greek *Synode*. A Counsel from them.

Charles against Images.

This

This crafty Woman made choise of the City of *Nicea*, that the name of the ancient first Councel held there, might honour this new invention with the pretext of Antiquity: For there are some that confound the first Council of *Nicea* with the second, and *Constantine* the fourth with the first.

Constantine continued in the hereditary hatred of his Father, and Grandfather against Images, so as being of age, and in absolute possession of his Empire, he disannulled all these new decrees, and caused the Images to be beaten down in all places: Yet did he make all shews of respect to his Mother, yeilding unto her a good part of his authority and command: which respect was the cause of an horrible *Tragedy*. For this Woman being transported for two causes (both by reason of her new opinion, and for despight that she had not the whole Government in her own power) grew so unnatural, that she resolved to dispossess her Son of the Empire, and to seize up on it herself: And indeed the authority which her Son had left her, and the free accesse which she had unto his Person, gave her oportunity for the execution of her design. For having corrupted such as had the cheif Forces of the Empire at their command, and won them to her with her Sons Treasure, she seized on his Person, put out his eyes, and sent him into Exile (where, shortly after, he died of grief) and took possession of the Empire.

An unnatural Mother.

These unnatural and *Tragick* furies were practised in the East, whiles that *Charlemagne*, by his great Valour built an Empire in the West. *Irene*, in her Son *Constantines* life time would have married him with the eldest Daughter of *Charlemagne*: but this accident crossed that design.

After the Death of *Constantine*, *Irene* sent to *Charlemagne* to excuse herself of the murther, disavowing it, and laying the blame upon such as had done it (as she pretended) without her command. And to win the good liking of *Charlemagne*, she caused him to be dealt withall about marriage (For at that time *Festrude* was dead) with promise to consent that he should be declared *Emperor* of the West, and that

Irene treats with *Charles*.

that ſhe alſo would reſign unto him the Empire of the Eaſt: But *Charlemagne* would not accept of her profers. The Nobility and People of the *Greek* Empire did ſo hate *Irene*, as having ſuffered her the ſpace of three years, in the end, they reſolved to diſpoſſeſſe her.

Irene hated and depoſed, *Nicephorus* ſucceeds her.

This Woman, the unnatural murtheress of her own child, being thus publickly hated and deteſted, *Nicephorus*, a great and Nobleman of *Greece*, aſſiſted by the Chiefeſt in the Court, and with the good liking, and conſent of the People, ſeized upon the Empire, and took *Irene*, whom yet he only baniſhed, to give her oportunity and means to live better then ſhe had done: And afterward he treated, and agreed with *Charlemagne*, that the Empire of the Eaſt continuing under his command, the other of the Weſt ſhould remain to *Charles*.

He treats with *Charles*.

By this Tranſaction of *Nicephorus*, and the conſent of the *Greeks*, the poſſeſſion of the Empire was ratified and confirmed to *Charlemagne*, and now began the Diviſion of the Empire into the Eaſt and Weſt. That of the weſt began in *Charlemagne*, and continued in his Poſterity, whileſt they were inheritors of their Fathers virtues: But afterwards it was tranſlated to the Princes of *Germany*, who yet acknowledge *Charlemagne* to have riſen from a *German* ſtock, being born at *Wormes*, Crowned at *Spire*, and interred at *Aix*, all Cities of *Germany*. Hitherto we have repreſented, what *Charlemagne* did whileſt he was King of *France* only: Now we are come to conſider what hapned to him, worthy of Memory, whileſt he was *Emperor*.

The deeds of Charlemagne *after he came to the Empire.*

The *Romaniſts* do boaſt that the Pope gave the Empire of the Weſt unto *Charlemagne*: But the truth is, the Popes had not yet come to that hight as to pretend to a power of diſpoſing of Empires and Kingdoms at their own pleaſure: But the right of *Charles* came another way. For before he came to *Rome Anno Chriſti* 800. he had all *France* under his Government, together with *Franconia*, and *Auſtraſia*: He

His large Dominions.

He had ſubdued a great part of *Spaine* unto the River *Iberus*, from the *Sarazins*: As alſo *Saxony*, *Weſtphalia*, *Dacia*, *Hungary*, *Iſtria*, *Dalmatia*. He had likewiſe ſubdued all *Italy*, except *Magna Græcia*, and therefore he was entitled, *Charles* by the Grace of God King of the *Frenches*, Emperor of the *Lombards*, and *Patricius* of *Rome*: So he ſtiles himſelf in his Epiſtle to *Alcwin*: and *Alcwin* in an Epiſtle to him ſtiles him, The Glorious Emperor [*Gallicarum*] of *France*, and *Rector & Defenſor Eccleſiæ*: Both which Epiſtles are in the ſecond Part of *Alcwins* Works. His Coronation was by the Decree and Prayers of the *Romane* People. *Sigisbert* in his *Chronicon*, ſhewes the time, and cauſe, ſaying: The *Romanes*, who in heart were long before falne from the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*: Taking the oportunity that *Irene* had picked out the eyes of her own Son the Emperor, with one General conſent they reſolved to Proclaim King *Charles* for their Emperor, and to Crown him by the hands of the Pope: So on *Decemb.* 25. *Anno Chriſti* 800. they Crowned him by the hands of Pope *Leo*, as the Emperors were wont to be Crowned by the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*; and the People cried thrice, *Carolo Auguſto, à Deo Coronato, Magno & Pacifico Imperatori, Vita & Victoria*, And the Pope anointed him: As alſo his Son *Pepin*, whom *Charlemagne*, by a ſolemn Decree had made King of *Italy*. And the Pope knowing the dangers which had oft befaln himſelf and his Predeceſſors, intreated the Emperor that he would be *Protector* of the Church of *Rome*.

His title to the Empire.

Naucler.

Thus *Charlemagne*, the King of *France*, was advanced to the Empire, partly by Inheritance, partly by the ſword, by dedition, and the Title was given him by the People, and the Biſhop of *Rome*: yet nothing was proper to the Biſhop, but the Coronation and other Ceremonies, which he performed in the name of the People, according to the Cuſtom at *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame time alſo it was agreed, that all the Chief men of the City, as well *Eccleſiaſtical*, as *Secular*, ſhould give their Oath of Fidelity unto the Emperor. Secondly, That the Emperors *Miſſus* ſhould reſide in the Pallace of St. *Peter* to decide Pleas amongſt

An agreement betwixt *Charles* and the Pope.

mongſt the People: and that there ſhould be allotted for his maintenance, a part of the former Emperors Patrimony. Thirdly, That if any mans cauſe was perverted by the ordinary Judges, and the wronged perſon ſhould implore the aid of the *Miſſus*, or Emperors Commiſſioner, for Juſtice; and the *Miſſus* ſhould adjure the Judges, ſaying, *By the Faith ye owe unto my Lord the Emperor, I require you to do this man Juſtice:* Then none ſhould dare to decline, either to the right hand or to the left, although the wrong were done by any of the Popes kinſmen. Fourthly, That the Mulcts which ſhould be impoſed upon any guilty perſon, ſhould be equally divided between the Emperors *Miſſus*, and the Popes *Miſſus*. Fifthly, That if any goods fell under *Eſcheat*, they ſhould appertain to the Church, without an expreſſe gift of the Emperor. *Continu. Eutrop. Catal. Teſt. Verit.*

Yet all this right was not ſufficient for *Charlemagne*, nor did he enjoy the Empire without contradiction. For he was forced to overcome the envy of this aſſumed Title with great ſums of mony; Eſpecially the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* envyed it; but *Charlemagne* by his magnanimity prevailed againſt their contumacy, wherein he excelled the *Greeks*: and he ſent many Ambaſſadors unto them: eſpecially unto *Irene*, not only to treat for Peace, but about her marriage, that thereby he might the better confirme his Title: But before his Ambaſſadors came the ſecond time to *Conſtantinople* (*Irene* being ſick) the People had Crowned *Nicephorus* on the firſt of *November Anno Chriſti* 802. *Charles* is envied.

Yet did *Nicephorus* renew the League with *Charlemagne*, which *Irene* had before made with him: but (as *Sigonius* ſaith) with expreſſe condition, that *Venice* ſhould be free betwixt the two Empires. In the mean time *Nicephorus* was moleſted by the *Sarazins*, and was forced to agree with them upon hard conditions: He was alſo moleſted by the *Bulgarians*, over whom he obtained one great Victory; but when he refuſed all conditions of Peace, they aſſembled together again to fight for their Lives and Land, in which Battel they *Zonar.*

Nicephorus is slain.

overthrew, and killed *Nicephorus*, and his son *Stauracius* was wounded in the fight, and fled to *Adrianople*, where he was afterward declared Emperor. But after three Months *Michael Rangabis*, his Brother in Law, shut him up in a Monastery. Then were mutual Ambassadors sent between the two Emperors, & a perpetual Peace was concluded betwixt them.

Charles the Great was Crowned Emperor in the thirty-third year of his Raign, upon the 25th of *December*, and in the fifty eighth year of his age. He fought many Battels and was always victorious. He had (as was said before) Wars with the Heathenish *Saxons*, which, by times, lasted thirty years: He oft-times overcame them, and granted them liberty, upon condition that they would imbrace the *Christian* Faith; but upon every oportunity their Duke *Wedekin*, shaked off both Loyalty, and *Christianity*. At several times when *Charlemagne* had obtained a Victory, his manner was to erect a new Bishoprick: So that he erected seven Bishopricks in that province, to which he annexed Princely Power, knowing well, that such fierce People might sooner be tamed by Religion then by Armes. The places where these were erected, were, *Breme*, *Verda*, *Minda*, *Paterborne*, *Osnabourg*, *Hildesem*, and *Halberstad*. But though he gave the Bishops power of Governing, yet the Nobles did not altogether loose the power of administring in Publike affairs. At last, because the *Saxons* revolted again, he removed ten Thousand of them, with their Wives and Children, into *Brabant*, and *Flanders*, and sent some *French* to inhabit in their roomes.

The *Saxons* oft rebell.

Charles his Prudence.

Crantz. in *Saxon.*

Bishopricks erected.

Charlemagne lived fifteen years after that he had united the *Romane* Empire to the *French* Monarchy; yet not without many troubles. For *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneventum* sought to disturbe *Italy* in the behalf of the *Lombards*: but *Charles* prevented it betimes, imploying against him his Son *Pepin*, a Worthy and a Valiant Prince: and *Grimoald* being vanquished, was entreated with all mildnesse, and being restored to his Estate, he became afterwards a very affectionate, and obedient servant to *Charlemagne*, who was a Prudent Conqueror, that knew as well how to use, as how to get a Victory.

Troubles in *Italy*.

After

After this it followed, that for ſome attempts made by the *Venetians* againſt the Empire of *Charlemagne*, in the behalf of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*: or (as others ſay) upon the falſe information of *Fortunatus*, Patriarch of *Grado*, that *Charlemagne* commanded his ſon *Pepin*, King of *Italy*, to make Wars againſt them: which he accordingly began with great reſolution, and took the Cities and Fortreſſes which the *Venetians* held within the main land, and at length beſieged the City of *Venice* it ſelf, both by Sea and by Land, to the relief whereof the *Greek* Emperor ſent a Fleet: about which Authors agree not; for ſome ſay, that *Pepin* wholly took *Venice*: Others ſay, that he only took ſome Iſlands thereof, and that the Place which is called *Rioalto* defended it ſelf: How ever it was, this War continued long, *Obeliers*, and *Becur*, two great Perſonages, being the cheif Commanders for the *Venetians*. At laſt Peace was concluded betwixt them, and the *Venetians* had liberty to live after their own Lawes and cuſtoms, and the *Venetians* won great reputation for being able to defend themſelves againſt ſo potent and Victorious an Enemy. *Charlemagne* would have the Country which he had Conquered from the *Lombards*, to be called *Lombardy*, that by retaining their Name, he might ſomewhat ſweeten their ſervile condition, in the ruin of their Eſtate.

War with the *Venetians*.

But now *Charlemagne*, finding himſelf old and broken, and his Children Valiant, Wiſe, and Obedient, he reſolved to make his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*, wherein he divided his Kingdomes between his three legitimate Sons, to wit, *Charles* his Eldeſt, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*: In which he made his eldeſt Son *Charles* King of the greateſt, and beſt parts of *France*, and *Germany*. To *Pepin* he gave the Kingdom of *Italy*, and *Bavaria*, with ſome other Provinces. And to *Lewis* he bequeathed *Provence*, and that part of *France* which bordereth upon *Spaine*, together with ſome other Provinces. But all ſucceeded after an other manner then he intended, God the Soveraign diſpoſer of Kingdoms, having decreed otherwiſe to diſpoſe thereof. He endeavoured alſo to reduce all his Kingdoms under one Law, making choiſe

Charles makes his Will.

of the *Roman* Laws above all others, both for the dignity of the Empire, and becauſe they ſeemed to him, to be moſt Juſt and equal: But the *French*, being loath to alter any thing in their cuſtomary Laws, deſired, and obtained of him that they might be governed by the ſame: So as *Gaul*, *Narbonne*, (which comprehends *Daulphine*, *Languedoc*, and *Provence*) do uſe the written Laws (as the ancient Provinces of the *Romans*) and the reſt of *France* obſerve their cuſtomary Laws.

He gives Laws to his Subjects.

It afterwards happened that a great Fleet of Infidels which inhabited *Spaine*, with the aid, and aſſiſtance of ſome *Africans*, invaded the Iſles of *Sardinia*, and *Corſica* in the *Mediterranean* Sea, for the defence whereof, the Emperor *Charlemagne* ſent commandment to his Son *Pepin* that he ſhould ſend thither againſt them a valiant Captain whoſe name was *Bucaredus*, who took ſo good order as that he drove thoſe Infidels out of thoſe Iſlands, and ſlew five thouſand of them in one Battel. And with no leſſe good ſucceſſe, the Emperor undertook an other War againſt the Dukes of the *Bohemians*, and *Polanders*, which is a part of the ancient *Sarmatia*, who infeſted the Countries under his Dominions, againſt whom he ſent his Son *Charles* with great Forces of *Burgonians*, *Saxons*, and *Germans*: And this young *Charles*, imitating his Father, Warred valiantly, and with diſcretion againſt them, and coming firſt to a Battel with the *Bohemians*, led by *Leo* their Duke, he overcame them, as he did alſo at other times, and at laſt ſlew *Leo* their Duke; the like ſucceſſe he had alſo againſt the *Polanders*, ſo as at length they all became his Fathers Subjects. And for theſe Victories of *Charlemagne* he was ſo much feared, and renowned through the World, that a great King of the Eaſt; and *Amurath*, the greateſt of all the *Mahomatiſts*, ſent their Ambaſſadors, with rich Preſents unto him, deſiring peace, and friendſhip: and the like did all *Chriſtian* Kings.

Infidels beaten,

And the Bohemians and Polanders.

Charlemagne thus living with honour, and in tranquillity, *Godfrey* King of *Denmark* (which was a dependance of the Realm of *Germany*, and part of *Charles* his Portion, as was hinted before) made War againſt him. This *Godfrey* was a mighty

His War with the King of Denmarke.

mighty Prince, and commanded over a large Dominion, and with great Forces came into *Frieſland* and *Saxony*, where he did great harm. Againſt whom, the Emperor addreſſing himſelf (though he was now Old, and unweildy) ſpeedily departed with a great Army: but by the way news was brought him that King *Godfrey* was dead, and that his Army was returned into their own Country. And upon the ſame day news came alſo, that his Son *Pepin* (who had raigned in *Italy* in great proſperity) was dead in the City of *Millan*, which was an occaſion of great grief to the old Emperor. Then did he return to the City of *Aken*, or *Aix*, unto which place Ambaſſadors came to him from *Hermigius*, who ſucceeded *Godfrey* in the Kingdom of *Denmark*, humbly deſiring Peace. The like came alſo to him from the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and others alſo from *Ambulat*, a King of the *Moors*, who raigned in a great part of *Spaine*; to all which he returned gracious anſwers, and granted their Petitions: withall, giving hearty thanks to God for that he was generally ſo well eſteemed of. But after this Sunſhine, an other ſtorme returned, *as the clouds return after the raine*: For it pleaſed God to take away an other of his Sons, called *Charles*, who lay on the borders of *Germany* for the defence thereof; ſo as now his whole hope reſted in his third Son *Lewis*.

Pepin dies,

And *Charles*.

Thus man purpoſeth and God diſpoſeth. Thus the Sons die before the Father. Thus we ſee the greateſt cannot free themſelves from the common calamities of mankind. Thus both great Kings, and great Kingdoms have their Period.

Crownes have their compaſſe; Kingdoms have their date:
Fortune her frowns: Felicity her fate.

Thus *Charlemagne* loſt his Children, and his great Empire her beſt ſupport under God: For theſe two Princes (like Stars of the greater magnitude) did ſhine bright by inheriting their Fathers virtues, and Valor, leaving behind them

Lewis their Brother, with large Territories, and few vertues, to Govern ſo great an Eſtate.

New enemies riſe up.

After the Death of theſe two great Princes, many enemies roſe up againſt old *Charlemagne*, who ſeemed (as it were) to have loſt his two Armes: as the *Sarazins* in *Spaine*, the *Sclavonians*, and the *Normans* in the Northern Regions: But he vanquiſhed them all, and brought them into his obedience and ſubjection, old and broken as he was.

His love to the Church.

Charlemagne all his Life time held the Church in great reverence, and had imployed his Authority to beautify it, and bountifully beſtowed his Treaſure to enrich it: But this great Plenty, joyned with ſo long and happy a Peace, made the Church-men to live loſely.

He called five Councels.

Charlemagne (being himſelf well inſtructed in Religion) knowing of what great importance it was, to have ſuch as ſhould inſtruct others to be ſound in the Faith, and holy and exemplary in their lives, he at ſundry times, called five Councels in ſundry Places of his Dominions (For as yet the Popes had not challenged that Power to belong to them) for the Reformation and good Government of the Church: As at *Mentz*: at *Rheimes*: at *Tours*: at *Chaalons*: and at *Arles*: and by the adviſe of theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies*, he made and publiſhed many Orders for the good of the Church which were gathered together in a Book called, *Capitula Caroli Magni*. A worthy Preſident for Princes who ſeek true honour by virtue, whereof the care of Piety is the cheifeſt Foundation.

His Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions.

In the Preface to this Book, he thus ſaith, that he had appointed theſe Conſtitutions with the Advice of his *Presbyters*, and *Counſellers*: and that herein he had followed the Example of King *Joſias*, who endeavoured to bring the Kingdom which God had given him, to the worſhip of the true God: Some of his Conſtitutions are theſe. He commanded to look to, and to try the learning and Converſation of ſuch as were admitted into the Miniſtry. He forbad private Maſſes, Alſo the Confuſion of *Dioceſſes*, requiring that no Biſhop ſhould meddle in an others *Dioceſſe*. He forbad that any

Books

Books ſhould be read publickly, but ſuch as were approved by the Councell of *Calcedon*. He forbad the worſhipping of Saints. He commanded Biſhops not to ſuffer *Preſbyters* to teach the People other things then what are contained in, or according to the holy Scriptures. And *Lib.* 2. *Ch.* 3. he ſaith, *Although the Authority of the Eccleſiaſticall Miniſtry may ſeem to ſtand in our Perſon: Yet by the Authority of God, and Ordinance of man, its known to be ſo divided, that every one of you, in his own place and order, hath his own power and Miniſtry: Hence its manifeſt that I ſhould admoniſh you all, and you all ſhould further and help us.* He admoniſhed Biſhops eſpecially, to teach both by Life and Doctrine, both by themſelves, and the Miniſters that were under them, as they would anſwer the Contrary in their accounts at the Great Day. He Ordained that the Biſhop of the firſt See ſhould not be called the Prince of Prieſts, or the higheſt Prieſt, or have any ſuch Title, but only ſhould be called, *The Biſhop of the firſt See.* That none can lay another foundation, then that which is laid, which is *Chriſt Jeſus*, and that they which lay Chriſt for their foundation, its to be hoped that they will be careful to ſhew their Faith, by bringing forth good Workes.

A Councel at *Frankfurt*

He held alſo a great Councel in the City of *Frankfort*, of the Biſhops of *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, which himſelf honoured with his own preſence; where, by generall conſent the falſe *Synod* of the *Greeks* (they are the words of the Originall) untruly called the ſeventh, was condemned, and rejected by all the Biſhops, who ſubſcribed to the condemnation of it. This was that Coucel (ſpoken of before) called by *Irene* at *Nice*, wherein the bringing of Images into Churches for devotion, was eſtabliſhed. In a Word, if *Charlemagnes* medling with *Italy*, and his advancing the Pope, for confirming that which he had taken, could be excuſed, he was unto all Princes a patterne of magnificence; of Zeal in Religion, of learning, eloquence, temperance, prudence, moderation, &c. *Alcwin* ſaith of him, *Charles* was a Catholick in his Faith, a King in power, a High Prieſt in Preaching, a Judge in his equity, a Philo-

His Temperance.

losopher in liberal ſtudies, famous in manners, and excellent in all honeſty. He was ſo temperat, that notwithſtanding his great revenues, he was never ſerved at the Table with above four diſhes at a meal, and thoſe of ſuch meat as beſt pleaſed his taſte, which he uſed to the ſame end for which God created them, which was for ſuſtenance, and to ſupport his Body, not for ſhew and pomp.

His Exerciſes.

His ordinary exerciſe was hunting when he was at leiſure, in time of War: and in times of peace, he attended to ſuch as read Hiſtories to him, and ſometimes he heard *Muſick*, with which he was much delighted, having good skill therein himſelf: He was very charitable, and a bountifull Almesgiver, and ſo carefull to provide for the poor Chriſtians, that in *Syria*, in *Africa*, and in *Ægypt*, and in other Provinces of the Infidels, where Chriſtians lived, he found meanes to have Almes houſes, and Hoſpitalls erected, and endowed for thoſe that were Poor.

His Charity.

His laſt Wars.

But there fell out a new accident, which drew our Great *Charles* again to Armes in his old age, and that was this; *Alphonſo*, King of *Navarr*, ſurnamed the *Chaſt*, by reaſon of his ſingular, and ſignall temperance in that kind, did inform, and advertiſe him, that there was now a very fit oportunity, and meanes offered for him utterly to ſubdue the *Sarazins* in *Spain*. *Charlemagne* (who infinitely deſired to finiſh this work, which he had ſo often attempted with no great ſucceſſe) gave ear to the information and advice, whereupon he raiſes an Army, and marches into *Spain*, relying on the *Spaniards* favour, and aſſiſtance, they being *Chriſtians*. Indeed *Alphonſo* meant plainly, and ſincerely, but ſo did not his Courtiers, and Nobles, nor aſſociates, who feared *Charles* his forces no leſs then they did the *Sarazins*, & if *Charles* prevailed, the moſt confident of *Alphonſo's* ſervants and Officers doubted to be diſpoſſeſſed of their places, and Governments by a new Maſter: and therefore they laboured to croſs *Alphonſo*, and to countermand *Charles*; but the Lot was caſt, his Army was in the Field, and he was reſolved to paſſe on: But when he was entred into *Spain*, he encountered with ſo many difficulties, that being diſcouraged, he

he returned back into *France*, and ſo concluded, and put a period to all his Warlie enterpriſes; embracing again the care of the Church, and of Religion, as a fit ſubject for the remainder of his dayes.

His preparation for Death.

Charlemagne was threeſcore and eight years old when he left the Wars, after which he ſpent three whole years in his ſtudy, to prepare himſelf for Death, in which time, he read much in the Bible, and read over alſo St. *Auguſtines* works, whom he loved and preferred before all the other Doctors of the Church: He reſided alſo at *Paris*, that he might have oportunity of conferring with learned men. There he erected a goodly Univerſity, which he furniſhed with as learned men as thoſe times could afford, and endowed it with great priviledges: For he had an exceeding great care to make it a Nurcery for the holy Miniſtry, that from thence the Church might be ſupplyed with able Teachers, whence alſo grew ſo many Colleges of *Chanons*, with ſufficient revenues annexed thereunto.

Thus *Charlemagne* ſpent three years happily in the only care of his Soul, leaving an illuſtrious example to all Princes, to moderate, and ennoble their greatneſſe with Piety, and ſo to enjoy their Temporal eſtates, as in the mean time not to neglect their eternal concernments, and to think of their departure out of this Life in time.

He makes His Will.

Foreſeeing his Death (whereunto he prepared himſelf by theſe exerciſe) he made his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*, leaving his Son *Lewis* the ſole heir unto his great Kingdoms, and bequeathed to the Church much Treaſure. But all things and Perſons in this World have an end: His *Teſtament* was but the Harbinger to his Death; for preſently after, he was taken with a pain in his ſide, or Plureſie, and lay ſick but eight dayes, and ſo yielded up his Spirit unto God that gave it, *Anno Chriſti* 814. and of his age ſeventy one, and of his Raign forty ſeven, including fifteen years of his Empire: His Body was interred in a ſumptuous Church which he had cauſed to be built in the City of *Aquiſgrave*, or *Aix la Capelle*, where he was born, and his memory was honored with a goodly *Epitaph*.

His virtues.

His large Dominions

His Character.

His Zeale.

He was one of the greateſt Princes that ever lived: His vertues are a patterne to other *Monarchs*, and his great ſucceſſes the ſubject of their wiſhes. The greatneſſe of his *Monarchy* indeed was admirable: For he quietly enjoyed all *France*, *Germany*, the greateſt part of *Hungary*, all *Italy*, and a good part of *Spain*. At the time of his Death he was in peace with the other Kings of *Spain*, as alſo with the Kings of *England*, *Denmark*, *Bulgarie*, with the Emperor *Leo* of *Conſtantinople*, and withall the Princes of that time.

This Noble Prince was endued with ſo many excellent virtues that we read of very few in antient Hiſtories that excelled him, ſo that he may be juſtly compared with the beſt of them: For in Martial Diſcipline, in Valour, in Dexterity, in feats of Armes, there are none that exceeded him. He obtained as many Victories, fought as many Battles, and ſubdued as many fierce and Warlike Nations as any one we read of, and that both before, and after that he was Emperor. He was tall of Stature, very well proportioned in all his members, paſſing ſtrong: of a fair and grave countenance, Valiant, mild, mercifull, a lover of Juſtice, liberall, very affable, pleaſant, well read in Hiſtory, a great Friend of Arts and Sciences, and ſufficiently ſeen into them, and a man who above all, loved and rewarded learned men. He was very Charitable in his Kingdoms, yea, in his very Court, he harboured and relieved many Strangers, and Pilgrims. In matters of Faith and Religion he was very Zealous; and moſt of the Wars which he made, were to propagate and enlarge the Chriſtian Faith.

He (being miſled by the darkneſſe of the times wherein he lived) ſuperſtitiouſly honoured, and obeyed the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope that was Biſhop thereof, together with other Biſhops and Prelates, commanding his Subjects alſo to do the like. He was alſo very devout, and ſpent much of his time in Prayer, Hearing, and Reading. In his Diet he was very temperate, and a great enemy to riot and exceſſe; and though he was Rich and Mighty, yet fed he his Body with what was neceſſary and wholeſome, not rare, coſtly, and ſtrange.

And

His blemiſhes.

And yet his virtues were not without their blemiſhes (as the greateſt commonly are not without ſome notable vices) For in his Younger dayes, he was much given to women, adding Concubines to his lawful Wives, by whom he had divers Children: But this was in the time of his youth: For afterwards he contented himſelf with his Wife, and for a remedy of this imperfection, though he was three or four times a Widdower, yet he ever maried again the Daughter of ſome great Prince or other.

To conclude all, he was an excellent Emperor, that loved and feared God, and dyed when he was very Old, and full of Honour, leaving *Lewis* (the weakeſt of his Sons) the ſole heir of his great Empire, but not of his virtues: So that this great building ſoon declined in his poſterity.

He had engraven upon his Sword *Pro Deo, & Religione*, For God, and Religion: He uſed to ſet his Crown upon the Bible, as our *Canutus* ſometime put his Crown upon the *Rood*, both of them thereby intimating, that as all honour was due to God, ſo true Religion was the beſt *Baſis* of Government, and that Piety was the beſt Policy.

His *Epitaph*.

The *Epitaph* which I ſpake of, was this.

Sub hoc conditorio ſitum eſt Corpus Caroli *Magni, atque Orthodoxi Imperatoris, qui Regnum* Francorum *nobiliter ampliavit, & per annos Quadraginta ſeptem fœliciter tenuit. Deceſſit Septuagenarius*, Anno Domini 814. *Indictione* 7. *Quinto Calend. Febru.*

The time of his Death.

Under this Tomb lieth the body of *Charles* the Great, and Catholick Emperor, who moſt Nobly enlarged the Kingdom of the *French*, and moſt happily ruled it for the ſpace of forty and ſeaven years. He died in the ſeventy and one year of his age: In the year of our Lord eight hundred and fourteen, the ſeventh *Indiction*, on the fifth Calends of *February*.

His Wives and Children.

He had five Wives: the first was called *Galœna*, the Daughter of the King of *Galistria*, by whom he had no Children. The second was *Theodora*, the sister (or as others say) the Daughter of *Didier*, King of *Lombardy*; whom he kept not long, but repudiated her for sundry reasons. The third was *Hildebranda*, Daughter of the Duke of *Suevia*, whom he loved exceedingly, and had by her three Sons, viz. *Charles* his eldest, whom he made King of the greatest, and best part of *France*, and *Germany*: *Pepin* his second, whom he made King of *Italy*, *Bavaria*, &c. *Lewis* his youngest, to whom he left the Empire intire, his Brothers being both Dead, in their Fathers Life time. This *Lewis* was surnamed *Debonaire*, or the *Courteous*. He had also three Daughters; the eldest was called *Rothruda*: the second *Birtha*; and the youngest *Giselia* who would never marry. His fourth Wife he had out of *Germany*, called *Fastrada*: And his fifth and last, was also a *German* Lady, called *Luithgranda*, of the *Suevian* Race, by whom he had no Children.

His devotion.

He shewed his love to Religion by having one, during his Meale-times, that either read to him some part of the Holy Scriptures: or else some part of Saint *Augustines* Books, especially that *De Civitate Dei*: or some History. He was also a great Friend to Learning, and therefore erected three Universities: One was *Padua* in *Italy*; another was that at *Boulognia*: the third was that in *Paris*, whereunto he was excited by our Countryman *Alcwin*, who was his Tutor.

His care of his Children.

His Sons he caused to be trained up in the Study of the Liberall Arts: and his Daughters to Learne to sow, and practice good Huswifery. He alwayes wore a short Sword at his Girdle, in the Pummel whereof was engraven his *Coat of Armes*, with which he Sealed all his Lawes, *&c.* And used to say, *Behold the Sword which shall defend my Lawes, and that shall be drawn and imployed against those that break them.* In the year eight hundred and four, The King of the *Scots* entered into the first League which was between the two Kingdoms

doms of *France*, and *Scotland*, which was confirmed by succeeding Kings, which occasioned one of them to adde unto their *Coat of Armes* a double streak of *Gules* with *Flower de Lisses* round their *Escutchion*, to shew that their alliance with *France* conduced much to the support of their Kingdome.

His league with *Scotland*.

FINIS.

Courteous Reader, be pleaſed to take notice that theſe Books following, are Printed for, and ſold by *William Miller*, at the Gilded Acorn in St *Pauls* Church-yard, near the little North Door.

Hickes Revelation Revealed, *Folio.*

Clarkes Martyrology Compleat, with the Perſecutions of *England* to the end of Queen *Maries* Reign, *Folio.*

---- Lives of ten Eminent Divines, ſome being as follow; Biſhop *Vſher*, Dr *Gouge*, Dr *Harris*, Mr *Gataker*, Mr *Whittaker*, &c. and ſome other famous Chriſtians.

---- Life of *Chriſt*, 4°.

---- Life of *Herod* the Great, 4°.

---- Life of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Cyrus* the Great; the one, the firſt founder of the *Babylonian* Empire, the other, the firſt founder

der of the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, 4°.

---- A Prospect of *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, together with an account of the qualities of the Inhabitants, the Commodities of the Countries, the Chiefest Cities, Towns, and Strong-holds, Rivers, and Mountains, with an Historical Narration of the Wars amongst themselves, and with the *Turks*, continued to this year 1664. As also a Brief Discription of *Bohemia*, *Austria*, *Bavaria*, *Steirmark*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Moravia*, and other Adjacent Countries, contained in a Map joyned therewith; by which Map you may know which Places are in the Power of the *Turk*, and which Christians have, 4°.

Cradocks KNOWLEDGE and PRACTICE; Or, a Plain Discourse of the Chief Things necessary to be KNOWN, BELIEVED, and PRACTISED in Order to SALVATION, 4°.

Dr *Mays* Relation of a strange Monster, 4°.

Defence of Tithes, 4°.

Estwick,

Eſtwick, Chriſts ſubmiſſion to his Fathers will, 4°

PANOPLIA, or the whole Armour of God, explained and applyed for the Conduct and Comfort of a Chriſtian in all his Tryals and Tentations by *Richard Vennour*.

Ford, of Baptiſm, 8°.

Cotton, on the Covenant of Grace, 8°.

Culverwell, of Aſſurance, 8°.

Records Urinal of Phyſick, 8°.

Ravius Oriental Grammar, 12°.

Peacocks Viſitation, 12°.

Dr *Tuckney's* Good Day well Improved, 12°.

---- Death Diſarmed, 12°.

---- Balm of Gilead, 12°.

Clamor Sanguinis, 12°.

Ariſtippus or *Balſac's* Maſter piece, 12°.

King *Charles's* Works, 24°.